Stein Ugelvik Larsen

FASCISM OUTSIDE EUROPE

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The European Impulse against Domestic Conditions in the Diffusion of Global Fascism

edited by
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CONTENTS

PREFACE 9

THE FASCIST PHENOMENON

1. Universal fascism? Approaches and Definitions 15
Roger Eatwell

2. Caught in its own Net: Post-war fascism outside Europe 46
Roger Griffin

THE SPREAD OF FASCISM FROM EUROPE

3. The Diffusion of German Nazism 71
Albrecht Hagemann

4. I Fasci Italiani All'Estero. The 'Foreign Policy' of the fascist party 95
Emilio Gentile

5. Francoist Spain and Latin America, 1936-1953 116
Raanan Rein

6. "Portugal is here too!" Salazarism and the Portuguese Community in Brazil 153
Helosia Paulo

FASCISM IN ASIA AND AUSTRALIA

7. Fascism from Above? Japan's *Kakushin* right in Comparative Perspective 183
Gregory J. Kasza

8. Images and Realities of Chinese fascism 233
William C. Kirby

9. Fascism in Interwar Australia 269
John Perkins and Andrew Moore

10. The Swastika among the Coconuts: Nazism in New Guinea in the 1930's 287
John Perkins

THE INFLUENCE OF FASCISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST

11. Kemalist Authoritarianism and fascist Trends in Turkey during the Interwar Period 313
Fikret Adanïr

12. The Failure of fascism in Jewish Palestine 1935-1948 362
Joseph Heller

13. Periphery and Youth: Fascist Italy and the Middle East 393
Haggai Erlich

NAZISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

14. Fascism, Nazism, Nationalism and the Foundation of Apartheid Ideology 427
Jeff J. Guy

FASCISM IN LATIN AMERICA

15. Fascism and Authoritarianism in Brazil under Vargas (1930 - 1945) 469
Helgio Trindade

16. The fascist and Populist Syndromes in the Argentine Revolution of the Right 529
Alberto Spektorowski

17. Was there fascism in Chile? The Movimiento Nacional Socialista in the 1930's 561
Mario Sznajder

18. Mexico 1920's-1940's: Revolutionary Government, Reactionary Politics 593
Nicolás Cárdenas and Mauricio Tenorio

FASCISM AND NAZISM IN CANADA AND USA

19. Depression Era, fascism and Nazism in the United States and Canada: Threat to Democracy or Theater of the Absurd? 635
Donald I. Warren

THE GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE ON FASCISM

20. Was there Fascism outside Europe? Diffusion from Europe and domestic impulses
Stein Ugelvik Larsen 705

Presentation of authors 819

Index 825

PREFACE

While research on fascism and Nazism in Europe has grown to an immense body of literature, there has been much less attention paid to the non-European scene. Whilst several monographs and articles have appeared on individual countries and regions outside Europe, there is still a lack of a general overview and a systematic effort to try to come to grips with the global scene of fascism and Nazism in the inter-war period. This was the main reason why we initiated the present project which we have called: Was there fascism outside Europe?

One reason for our interest was to explore the fact that no genuine fascist movement or party ever succeeded to gain political control in countries outside Europe. Somebody may object just to this denial; however, strong political forces closely resembling, or taking models from the European, organized themselves locally, and some rose to power and established fascist-like regimes in Japan, Africa and Latin America. There were also various attempted coup d'états in some countries, and there is no doubt that the 'fascist impulse' played an important role when countries outside Europe experienced similar social and economic shocks to the ones which emerged in Europe. People in the countries outside Europe also were threatened by the same types of political and ideological crises which were experienced by the Europeans, and they were looking for 'solutions' among the same options which presented themselves in the European, political landscape.

When the original group of colleagues met for the first time during the International Political Science Congress (IPSA) in Buenos Aires in 1991, we therefore agreed to launch this project in order to search for collaborators which could cover most of the global ground on substantive research of non-European fascism and Nazism. It is the results of this joint project we now publish in the present volume and we thus intend to add a new dimension to the study of the Theory(ies) of fascism by enlarging the scope of the empirical reality and by trying out European scholarly thinking on fascism and Nazism on a less often utilized empirical context. We will also try to enrich the debate on the concepts of 'fascism' and 'nazism' as such, in order to try to throw some new light on this almost classical problem. Most of the authors give an opinion on the issue, and it will also be returned to in the final chapter.

Fascism outside Europe was a phenomenon directly linked to what happened in Europe and we therefore have organized the volume by first presenting two chapters focusing on the theories of fascism as they had been developed to explain the growth of fascism in Europe. Roger Eatwell outlines the overall theoretical map which contains the main explanations

of why fascism succeeded or failed in the inter-war period in Europe. This chapter may thus serve as a convenient summary or guideline of explanations for the reader, when s/he is trying to understand the variety of parties and movements that sprang up in most corners of the world. A large part of the theoretical literature has, as Eatwell demonstrates, implied that fascism and Nazism were specifically features of the European scene during the inter-war period, and even that there were only two main regimes. We are thus talking about an European phenomena explained by European background conditions.

Closely connected to this chapter is Roger Griffin's overview of neo-fascism in the post-war period all over the world. He examines critically the concept of fascism and lists many of the ambiguities inherent in the use within the general literature on fascism. This fuzzy conceptualization has enabled many individuals and movements ever since the Second World War to be characterized, or they themselves characterized others, as fascist or Nazi. The concepts of fascism and Nazism have become common, negative slogans used to portray political enemies and used in a way which does not correspond to traits which many of us will say belong to the family of traits traditionally connected to fascism or Nazism proper.

The majority of the chapters of the volume contain analyses of fascism and Nazism in individual countries, divided into sections of geographical proximity and cultures. In the sectioned labeled 'The Spread of fascism from Europe', the four authors are analyzing how the main European fascist regimes deliberately tried to export their ideology and organization outside Europe. These regimes wanted to diffuse their ideological message as well as to get some political influence in the non-European world. But as clearly shown in many of the succeeding chapters, this dilemma between ideological export from the regime party and the potentials for real political influence within the country in question, became one of the main hindrances for fascism outside Europe. A domestic movement could very well adopt ideological imitation and even financial support, but interference from a foreign power was not acceptable to the domestic government, and often lead to the internal suppression and extinction of the movements in question.

This two-sided problem: of impact and influences, will be one of the main theoretical points of departure when trying to construct an overall explanation of fascism outside Europe in the concluding chapter. The whole complex of issues connected to the growth of original and genuine nationa-

lism versus the imported imitations, are very clearly recognized and described in all the chapters that follows and with substantial empirical documentation.

Thus the nucleus of the volume will lie within the efforts to localize the optional point where the national potential of domestic, fascist growth, the timing of the fascist impulse were 'correct' compared with global timing of critical events and corresponding to the 'right' and relevant import of European, fascist influence - can be found. This 'balanced equilibrium' was almost reached in some countries, but most often the fascist movements were far below and out of tune for achieving something near such a point.

This volume will then have it's focus on the non-European scene, but may also contribute to the understanding of why fascism and Nazism in Europe succeeded or failed in general. The spread of fascism within Europe was also hampered or accelerated by much the same barriers as were present in the non-European context. Our efforts may therefore help to bring forward some new elements of explanations to the now existing Theory(ies) which have been constructed on European material. The often larger differences between the non-European and the European context proper, may prove to be specially valuable to uncover such elements.

With these short introductory remarks I hope we have given the reader some taste of what will come, and that s/he will appreciate our ambitions of trying to break new grounds in a field of research which has grown so much over so many years. Even if we have tried to stick to the original phrasing within each original manuscript, we have made some slight adjustments to a common standard and f. ex tried to restrict the use of quotation marks only to 'real' quotations and therefore to a great extent used 'single marks'.

We are grateful to the ERASMUS program within the EU which furnished a small group of us with resources to travel and to meet in Lisbon, where we were most generously hosted by Antonio Costa Pinto at the ISCTE-University. The Norwegian Research Council has supported us with means for finalizing the manuscripts and Per O. Storli rendered valuable advice and corrections on individual chapters.

The editor is also very grateful to the staff of NORGESLEXI, to Christine Erichsen who has typed and corrected many of the manuscripts, to Arne Johan Ibsen who made the figures and tables within this volume, and particularly to Anne-Britt Eide who organized the entire manuscript into a suitable page-layout format and completed the index.

Bergen 2001 Stein Ugelvik Larsen

THE FASCIST PHENOMENON

1

ROGER EATWELL

UNIVERSAL FASCISM? APPROACHES AND DEFINITIONS[1]

Introduction

In his broad-ranging and highly influential book *Fascism: Definition and Comparison*, Stanley Payne argues (1980, pp.175-6):

> the full characteristics of European fascism could not be reproduced on a significant scale outside Europe ... As the two most assiduous students of fascism, Ernst Nolte and Renzo de Felice have insisted, it was an historical phenomenon primarily limited to Europe during the era of the two world wars.

Answering the question "Have there been major examples of fascism outside Europe" seems on the surface to be a relatively simple one. Surely it is only necessary to set out the definition of fascism, and then to test it against various alleged examples of non-European fascism, such as Japanese governments in the 1930s, Juan Perón's Argentina in the 1940s, or Saddam Hussein's Iraq in the 1990s? But this is easier said than done: as Payne notes in the opening of his history of fascism: "At the end of the twentieth century, fascism remains probably the vaguest of the major political terms" (1995, p.3). There is simply no agreement about the definition.

Payne claims that one reason for this lacuna is that whereas other major political terms have a clear denotation (for instance democracy, which derives from the ancient Greek *demos* and *kratos*, meaning roughly 'rule' and 'people'), "fascism' lacks any linguistic point of reference: saying that the word derives from the Italian *fascio* 'cannot tell us much". This could be challenged by arguing that the term *fascio*, best translated in a political con-

[1] I would like to thank Stein Ugelvik Larsen and Cas Mudde for comments on the first draft of this chapter.

text as 'union' and replete with images of the authority of the ancient Roman *fasces*, does have significant connotations. The fact that groups which used the term *fascio* before the founding of Benito Mussolini's fascist movement in 1919 came from both left and right, also indicates fertile avenues of exploration, as they clearly point to a term which may have been chosen for its syncretic symbolism, or its power to transcend existing political divisions. A more serious problem of denotation stems from the fact that relatively few indi-viduals, movements and groups have referred to themselves as 'fascist': even the Nazis, normally seen together with Italian fascism as one of the two 'classic' manifestations of fascism, rarely used the term as a form of self-description (and Nazism differed from fascism in some notable ways, which has lead some to argue that it was *not* fascist). Indeed, 'fascism' has since 1919 largely been a term used by opponents, and has become little more than a term of abuse.

However, rather than develop these arguments immediately, it is more fruitful at the outset to underline that the major problem relating to the definition of the term 'fascism' stems from the nature of the approaches adopted. In particular, there has been a strong tendency to view fascism in terms of its causes rather than its more overt manifestations. Part of this tendency is explained by the social social/science history/Marxist tendency to view the probing of 'fundamental' origins and functions as somehow more sophisticated than the analysis of 'superstructural' features, such as style and especially doctrine (Eley, 1983, p.55; Kitchen, 1976, pp.x-xi). The wide-spread misconception that there was no serious basis to fascism as an ideology - even that it was an 'anti-ideology' - has further encouraged the tendency to look at causes. In fact, fascism should be treated as a serious ideology, just like socialism or liberalism.

The overall result of these tendencies is often a confusion between what could be termed a *concept* (classification and semantic refinement) and a *theory* (the testing of hypotheses). There is also a problem of *circularity* which plagues both concept and theory building. Which comes first: the definition, or the selection of cases on which to build? Partly linked to this is the conceptual problem of the *core-radial* distinction: what is necessary and what is contingent? A related and final methodological problem concerns the need to think conceptually in terms of *concentric circles*: there were aspects of fascism which can be found in other ideologies - for instance, nationalism and corporatism. The crucial task in refining the concept of fascism - especially in producing a brief working definition - is to identify what makes it unique as an ideology. At the same time, the concept should offer theo-

retical insights, for conceptual analysis of this type should not simply be an exercise in the history of ideas, identifying a discourse which is largely divorced from the world of praxis (see also Freeden, 1994).

These - and other - methodological problems begin to emerge more clearly by briefly surveying four broad approaches relevant to the central question of whether the term 'fascism' can be used in a generic sense - namely able to transcend time and place (Eatwell, 1992; for other surveys of approaches to fascism see Ayçoberry, 1981; Larsen, Hagtvet and Myklebust, 1980; Gregor, 1974a; De Felice, 1977; Payne, 1980).[2]

Approaches to the Problem of Generic Fascism

i) Fascism as Incoherent.

Some commentators have argued that fascism was essentially anti-intellectual, a view summed up by an aphorism often wrongly attributed to Hermann Göring: "When I hear the word culture, I reach for my gun". This is linked to the claim that fascism in practice combined nihilistic violence with (in the more successful examples) shrewd opportunism and propaganda (Hamilton, 1971; Rauschning, 1938; Taylor, 1964).

The tendency to explain fascism in terms of psychological trauma - usually seen as resulting from the First World War (Loewenberg, 1971; Theweleit, 1987), or in terms of the dangerous 'authoritarian personality' created by the strict upbringing which characterized Germany and elsewhere (Adorno et al., 1950) - further points to the essential incoherence of the concept of fascism. Mass society theory too, with its focus on Durkheimian alienated 'mass man', can point in this direction - though its claim that the rise of new collectivist movements acted as a means of recreating a sense of belonging means that some attention is paid to fascism's more overt features, especially its collectivism (Arendt, 1951; Kornhauser, 1959). However, other than stressing broad ideological features such as intense nationalism, mass society theory remains agnostic about the essential nature of fascism.

Was fascism seeking the rebirth of an old community, which had broken down; or was it trying to create something radically new? This is a question

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[2] The following section is a shortened version of R. Eatwell, 'Toward a New Model of Generic Fascism', *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 4, 2, 1992. This article closely follows the paper which I gave at the 1991 IPSA conference in Buenos Aires, a meeting which set up this book. Parts of this chapter also appear in my "On Defining 'the fascist Minimum': the Centrality of Ideology", *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 1, 3, 1996.

which has polarized commentators, and although the intention has often been to identify the essence of fascism, the cumulative impact of these approaches tends towards incoherence. Most hold that fascism was anti-modernist (Nolte, 1969; Turner, 1975), whereas for others it was a progressive force in terms of goals, helping to achieve rapid industrialization (Gregor, 1979a): it has even been argued that 'there was precious little genuine anti-modernism among the Nazi rank and file' (Merkl, 1975, p.714). Such is the confusion that one commentator has claimed that fascism was 'Janus faced': in some areas in was anti-modernist whilst elsewhere (especially outside Europe) it was modernizing (Cassells, 1978). Clearly an ideology in practice has to adapt to local circumstance and traditions: but can it involve diametrically opposed principles?

Another approach that has sometimes sought to discover the *essence* of fascism, but which tends culminatively to underline its coherence, comes more from political theorists. The absence of fascist 'great texts' encourages the quest for a rogue's gallery of forerunners. Among those demoniced are Plato (for his elitism and historicism), Rousseau (for his belief in a general will which all might not perceive), Hegel (for his historicism and statism), Nietzsche (for his condemnation of bourgeois decadence and celebration of leaders) and Sorel (for his idea of manipulative myths) (for classic examples see Popper, 1948; Talmon, 1952). What exactly links these disparate thinkers is never made clear. Besides, there were notable differences between the thought of all these alleged forerunners and the later practice of fascism: Hegel, for instance, advocated the rule of law and his view of the state had more in common with what was to become conservatism than fascism (see O'Sullivan, 1983, for a sophisticated construction of an activist alternative Western fascist tradition).

ii) Fascism as a Specific National Phenomenon.

Some commentators, usually historians, have sought to overcome these apparent contradictions by claiming that the only true fascist movement appeared in Italy during the inter-war era (Allardyce, 1979; De Felice, 1977; see also Bracher, 1970). This is the extreme case of arguing that fascism can be identified, but only in a limited number of national cases.

This approach holds that there can be no question of a general concept of fascism because major differences existed between even the two 'paradigmatic' examples, Italian fascism and Nazism. The former, for instance, had by the mid 1930s recruited a greater proportion of Jews into its ranks than any other social groups for which there are statistics (Michaelis, 1978;

Stille, 1992; Steinberg, 1990). Renzo De Felice, even argues that Italian fascism had its origins on the left, whereas National Socialism grew out of the right; Zeev Sternhell similarly sees fascism as having left-wing roots and refuses to accept Nazism as fascist on account of its atavistic-biological racism (De Felice, 1977; Sternhell, 1979 and Sternhell, Sznajder and Asheri, 1994). Others point out that National Socialism was 'strictly speaking' the only 'totalitarian' Fascism regime: Fascism after 1925 might be better termed 'authoritarian' (Linz, 1975). The last point applies even more forcefully to Francoism in Spain or the Salazar regime in Portugal, both of which lacked fascism's mass-mobilising party, and were devoid of any significant challenge to traditional elites and their independent power structures (Costa Pinto, 1995; Payne, 1987; Preston, 1995).

These arguments are often replicated by those who focus more on support. Germany especially is seen as being characterized by a particular form of development (*Sonderweg*). Sometimes this is seen primarily in socio-political terms, for instance the impact of Lutheranism which is seen as making Protestants obedient towards the state; another common approach stresses the way in which the *völkisch* movement reveals a German fascination with strong leaders or tendency to define citizenship in terms of 'blood' and to demonise the Jews (McGovern, 1941; Mosse, 1964). More frequently, the focus is on socio-economic development, especially 'structural' arguments such as the claim that Germany's rapid industrialization produced a particular form of elite alliance and pressured middle class which did not allow for the emergence of a major liberal movement in the way that happened in countries like Britain (for a critique see Blackbourn and Eley, 1984).

Clearly, if national traits are pre-eminent, there can be no question of a universal form of fascism. However, whilst the national case-study has undoubted strengths (especially underlining the need to avoid excessive generalisation and to be aware of context), as a methodology for studying 'fascism', it contains a series of flaws. One concerns the way in which arguments based on national uniqueness can be tautologies: every political phenomenon is in a sense different. Another problem can be seen by briefly considering the course of Italian fascism, which differed significantly in a variety of ways, both regionally and through time. Fascism in Italy began in the cities, but took off in the countryside (though it is impossible to make a neat distinction between the two). Its early 'movement' phase was characterized by radicalism, but this was followed by a more conservative 'regime' phase - only for fascism to return to its radical roots during the chaotic Salò Republic

at the end of the war (Corner, 1975; Kelikian, 1986; Snowden, 1989; Lyttelton, 1987; Salotti, 1986). It seems strange to argue that fascism should not be used as a generic term because of national differences, when major differences can be found within Italian fascism.

The crux of this second approach has to be the claim that the differences between 'fascisms' were greater than the similarities. If they were not, then clearly fascism can be used as some form of general concept. Indeed, the real thrust of this second approach is to stress the need for sub-typologies within fascism, such as between Nazism and fascism.

iii) Fascism as a European-Epochal Phenomenon.

Most commentators, like Payne, adopt a less restrictive approach, seeing fascism as essentially a European, 'epochal' movement. They are thus willing to identify fascist movements in many countries, but fascism is not seen as a significant feature of non-European political systems, and European fascism in the post-war era is seen as a fringe phenomenon (De Felice, 1977; Nolte, 1969; Payne, 1980; Woolf, 1981).

This argument has both an ideological and socio-economic base. Ernst Nolte provides the best known example of an attempt to define the 'fascist minimum' in terms of three negatives, two style factors and a more general goal. This six-point check-list comprises: antimarxism; antiliberalism; anti-conservatism; leadership principle; party army; and the ultimate goal of totalitarianism (1968, p.385). In another major work, this definition is linked to a more detailed study of the ideas behind Fascism, Nazism and the *Action Française* in France (1969). The inclusion of the *Action Française* in the fascist pantheon has been rejected by many other writers, who see its support of monarchy and Catholicism as essentially a form of reactionary conservatism, though its integral form of nationalism reflected an important change from the open, liberal nationalism which was central to the French Revolutionary tradition (Weber, 1962). But there is a general agreement among supporters of this third approach that fascism was not totally incoherent or opportunistic. Although there are widespread differences about what constituted the core, there is usually agreement around some variation on Nolte's list approach (nationalism; authoritarianism; corporatism; etc.). Aspects of the list are frequently also related to the particular level of European intellectual and social development. A particularly clear attempt to relate it to the former can be found in Sternhell's focus on the anti-'positivist' (anti-Enlightenment) revolt of the turn of the century, which stressed factors such as the psychological appeal of the charismatic leader (Sternhell, 1979, and

Sternhell, Sznajder and Asheri, 1994). Others have sought to link fascism's quest to forge a more holistic community to the rise of a new nationalism and racism, which itself was linked to developments in the scientific field, most notably Darwinism (Mosse, 1978a). The most theoretically perceptive approach relates these ideas to societies experiencing rapid change and where there was a need to 'nationalize' the masses through a new secular religion, or through a Third Way appeal to the masses (Gentile 1996, Mosse, 1977 and 1978b).

This last point highlights the fact that supporters of fascism as a European-epochal phenomenon have tended to focus on fascist support rather than on ideology. They have sought to discern Europe-wide traits, which are held not to apply elsewhere, or to have applied much more weakly. Usually central to these explanations is the traumatic impact of World War One. The impact of the Russian Revolution and the various other left-wing revolts across Europe are also normally seen as crucial causes. They panicked much of the political and economic elite into believing that revolution was at hand, with particularly serious implications in countries which had politically inexperienced elites and party systems which lacked deep roots. They also had a powerful effect on many who were to become fascist activists. The major economic crises which hit some countries are seen as crucial too: Germany in 1932 had perhaps 40 per cent of its labour force unemployed, and others feared that their turn was next. In terms of the mass basis of fascism, these trends are normally seen as having particularly affected large sections of the middle class, and especially small shopkeepers, artisans and farmers - though recently there has been a growing amount of evidence that Nazism in particular attracted an all-class following (Brustein 1996, Falter, 1991, Fischer 1996, Hamilton 1982; Kater, 1983; Larsen, Hagtvet and Myklebust, 1980; Mühlberger, 1991) and it should also be emphasised that in some countries, notably Hungary, fascism fought a class struggle against dominant groups (Déak, 1965).

Regardless of who exactly is seen as the archetypal fascist supporter, there is no question that Europe during the early twentieth century experienced a set of major upheavals. But accepting this does not necessarily lead to endorsing the claim that fascism was a European-epochal movement. There is no logical reason why other areas could not experience relatively similar socio-economic strains. Nor is there any reason to suppose that they could not be replicated in many ways within post-war Europe. Indeed, recent years have seen a notable change of attitudes about the possibilities of a revival of fascism, particularly in Eastern Europe where economic disil-

lusionment has quickly followed the hedonistic optimism of the fall of communism. Russia may not have experienced defeat in war, but psychologically it might just as well have done and other traits, such as fear of Americanisation, could well be the functional equivalent of Western fear of communism in the inter-war period.

The argument that fascism was essentially a European movement also stems from the belief that there are more fertile concepts which are applicable to most non-European authoritarian regimes. Arguably the most common typologies, especially in Latin America, are the 'military' regime or the 'populist' movement regime (Finer, 1976; Gellner and Ionescu, 1969; Van Niekerk, 1974). However, it should be remembered that the attitudes of the military in pre-fascist Italy and in Germany were important factors both in the fall of democratic regimes and the subsequent consolidation of fascist power. Moreover, military regimes have enacted a broad spectrum of policies and have formed very different sets of relations with civilian groups. So unless coming to power through a mass movement is made a necessary part of the fascist core, the possibility is left open that military government could be fascist. Use of the term 'populism' raises the problem that it is an even more vague a term than 'fascism' (see below). Predictably, the studies which have used the concept tend to have a weak conceptualization of both 'populism' and 'fascism'. For example, Gino Germani holds that Perón's Argentina was populist more than fascist: but he sees fascism simply in terms of 'order, discipline and hierarchy' and he over-emphasizes the pluralism of Argentina and the totalitarianism of fascist Italy (1978).

iv) Universal fascism.

The first set of these universal approaches came from Marxists, who have subsequently applied the term fascist to a large number of regimes (Guérin, 1942; Poulantzas, 1979; Vajda, 1976). Even by 1939 there were a remarkably different set of strands in this approach (Beetham, 1983). The most reductionist view, holding that fascism was the dictatorship of capitalism in crisis, has now been discredited. Capitalist interests were divided, and in the classic Fascist regimes politics seemed to determine economics, more than vice-versa (Barkai, 1990; Hayes, 1982; Sarti, 1971; Turner, 1985). Variations on the Bonapartist model, which allows the state to possess 'autonomy' from capitalism and enjoy widespread popular support, have shown greater staying power. However, they raise complex issues about causality and proof. It could be argued that in Italy and Germany wages did not rise as quickly as profits, thus proving that whilst the fascist state was not 'deter-

mined' by capital, it worked in its interest. But the same facts could show the power of the political to divert funds from wages (and hence consumer consumption) in order to develop a war-oriented economy - something which was not sought by most business interests. It should also be noted that increasingly some non-Marxist historians are willing to accept that Nazism was potentially highly socially-radical (Smelser, 1988; Zitelmann, 1994). Even the more accommodating Italian fascism attempted to return to social radicalism in its dying Salò phase (although in some ways chaotic and under German tutelage, there is a clear programmatic attempt to return to the radical, left-wing roots of Italian fascism). More fundamentally, all Marxist approaches are riddled with assumptions about the nature of working class and capitalist 'interests', 'progress' and so on. Perhaps the most interesting Marxist approach can be derived from Gramsci's concept of 'hegemony' - namely the ability of the 'superstructure' to ensure conformity. Certainly his work points to the importance of the ideology and propaganda, but ultimately Marxist work fails to identify a clear set of regimes which are linked by anything other than by the vague assertion that they operate(d) in the interests of capital. The same point can be seen by considering Marxist attempts to explain why European and non-European 'fascisms' could vary so notably. Thus one important Marxist writer has claimed that although the 'classic' European fascisms were autarchic and the 'colonial' forms tended to stress free trade, this effects the different interests of international compared to domestic capital (Jaguaribe, 1968). Erroneous theory predominates over conceptual refinement.

A second approach to the nature of the Fascist regime came mainly from political science (Brzezinski and Friedrich, 1961). By the 1930s there was a growing realization that the common division of political systems into democracies and dictatorships was too simple. In particular, there seemed a problem fitting in the new communist and fascist systems. This led to the creation of the theory of totalitarianism, a regime-form characterized by features such as charismatic leadership, an 'elaborate' ideology, a single party, and terroristic state control. Although initially developed mainly to tar Stalinism and Nazism with the same brush, totalitarianism has been discerned in a broad variety of regimes - such as Hussein's Iraq, even Islamic Fundamentalism today (Laqueur, 1995). One major criticism of this approach is that its main purpose was to damn non-Western systems: it was normative as much as analytical. Another criticism concerns the way that, unlike Marxist approaches, it is non-teleological. Although an officially proscribed, monist ideology is cited as a key defining factor, the totalitarian model pays

little or no attention to what such regimes actually sought to achieve (compare communist universal brotherhood with Nazism's *Volksgemeinschaft*). A third criticism concerns the static nature of the basic model, focusing unduly on the 1930s. Thus mass mobilization is seen as a key aspect, though this was much less of a feature of communist systems by the 1970s or 1980s. This has led some commentators to talk of 'post-totalitarian' regimes (Linz, 1975). Clearly, an interesting hypothetical question is whether Fascist regimes would have developed in similar ways, a query which points to two concluding aspects. First, it is dangerous to assume that a Fascist regime has to take the form it did in the (in some ways different) classic regimes of inter-war Italy and Germany. Secondly, whatever the merits of the totalitarian model in terms of distinguishing forms of state (it has been over-maligned in this context: Sartori, 1993), it is not a model of a uniquely fascist form of government. It is necessary to bring in more ideological issues to help distinguish fascist from communist totalitarianism.

The third major type of universal approach comes from 'developmental' theorists, who see fascism as a form of dictatorship which can emerge during a key phase in the movement from an agrarian to an industrial society (Moore, 1969; Gregor, 1974b; Organski, 1965). There are some notable differences within this approach. A. Organski sees fascism as a type of regime which emerges at a particular stage in the movement from an agricultural to an industrial society (when the 'modern'-non-agricultural section of the working population reaches 40-55 per cent of the national economic complex): he thus does not hold that Nazism was fascist as it emerged too late. He is also unwilling to accept that Japan had the specific blend of rural and new elites which characterized fascism. On the other hand, Barrington Moore rejects that a blend of old and new elites necessarily leads to fascism (it did not, for instance, in pre-1914 Germany). His structural path to fascism places the emphasis on the attempt to make 'reaction and conservatism popular', a definition which means that fascism is closely identified with the entry of the 'masses' into politics. As with Marxism, fascism is associated with a particular set of economic interests and conception of 'progress', rather than with any unique regime form, or strong ideological content. The last point is much less true of A.J. Gregor, who has argued that there is a link between Italian fascism and a desire in the Third World to achieve a rapid rate of industrialization, an analysis which leads him to see a whole variety of regimes as fascist, including Castro's Cuba, Mao's China, and Nasser's Egypt. Gregor sees fascism as a form of developmental dictatorship characterised by features such as strong leaders, and organized parties. Here there

are some affinities with the totalitarian model, but his argument includes a significant ideological input, seeing 'African Socialism' as ideologically analogous to fascism (1967). The argument has many fertile aspects, but it also has many critics.

One important line of attack is based on the claim that the central methodological failing in the 'universal' approach is ethnocentrism: a tendency to use basically European (or American) political concepts in other contexts. Thus Gregor writes of fascism in African countries, which not only have very different social structures and traditions than those of Europe, but whose social and political institutions need understanding in a specific local context. For example, African mass parties and their cultural affiliates can be interested in everything from the cradle to the grave: birth, initiation, marriage, divorce, feuds, debts, and so on. Why do we think of them as 'parties' rather than, say, 'churches'? The fact that they have some aspects of Western parties, for instance contesting elections, does not mean that they are political parties in the Western sense. A linked point concerns nationalism, which was not particularly strong in many of the regimes Gregor calls 'fascist'. In Africa, which provides many of Gregor's examples, tribe rather than nation is the basic unit of loyalty. The implication of this argument is that it is inappropriate to take contemporary Western conceptual frame-works, such as 'fascism', and apply them elsewhere. There may be some legitimate parallels which can be made in areas which have been highly influenced by Western culture, for example South Africa (where some groups especially looked to Germany) or in Latin America (where the main influences were more Italian or Iberian, reflecting different patterns of immigration from Europe and cultural assimilation). However, the application of the term 'fascist' to, say, black African, Middle Eastern, or Asian cultures would seem highly debatable.

Clearly, there are major dangers here, but in the case of fascism these can be overstated. It could be argued, following Ernest Gellner (1983) that nationalism is the doctrine that the political and social unit should be congruent, and that tribalism in Africa is often a reaction against the rather arbitrary state-formation left by colonialism. This points to a wider argument in comparative politics: namely the need to strip concepts of as much culture and time baggage as possible. Otherwise comparison becomes impossible, or conclusions verge on the tautologies. For instance, if political party is understood in the context of what has existed in Western liberal democracies, and the existence of a mass party is seen as a necessary defining characteristic of fascism, then it is not surprising that such parties are usually not found in

other cultures. The upshot of this argument reinforces of the need to think of the concept of fascism in terms of general principles, rather than specific institutional or social forms.

A further reason why fascism need not be an ethnocentric concept stems from the frequently-ignored fact that fascism, understood as an ideology, was influenced in its formative period by non-Western forms of thought and government. This is very different to the concept of liberal democracy, which in its focus on the individual and limited government is an essentially Western form of thought in terms of its origins, though some commentators have repeatedly since 1945 tried to discern its 'triumph' at the world level. It is impossible to pursue this argument in detail here, as it raises vast issues in the history of political thought. Two points will thus have to suffice. Firstly, discussion of whether Japan was truly fascist never asks the question of the prior impact that Japan had on the West. Enrico Corradini, a key figure in the radical new nationalism which emerged in Italy prior to 1914, would be a good example of those who thought that Europe, especially the emerging 'proletarian nations', had to learn from Japan after its victory over Russia in 1905, and he called for the introduction of a religion of nature and heroes. Secondly, the term 'Aryan' is usually divorced from the context of a growing late nineteenth century on interest in Oriental, especially Indian culture. Such societies were seen as teaching the importance of not just hierarchies, but of an ultimately communitarian, non-materialist form of life (which was often identified in a mythical European past too), and a pessimistic, cyclical view of history rather than a linear movement towards progress.

What these last arguments begin to point towards is the fact that fascism can be considered an ideology, like any other major 'ism'. This immediately raises a further methodological problem: how to define an 'ideology'. Many have argued that the term has become completely devoid of meaning, and it is certainly true that the term is elusive. However, a large part of the confusion stems from Marxist work, which, in varying ways, has sought to reduce 'superstructural' ideologies to the 'base' forces of social class, and economic determinants. Similarly, social science functionalist work has sought to explain ideas or institutions in terms of the role they perform - for instance, seeing fascism as a form of Durkheimian 'mechanical solidarity' to prepare societies for the stresses of modern war, an approach which allows Japan to be equated with Italy and Germany in functionalist terms (Brooker, 1991). Such approaches raise interesting perspectives about the origins and social role of ideologies, but focusing on causes tends to produce a weak definition of a political phenomenon. It is therefore more sensible to define

ideology as 'a relatively coherent set of empirical and normative beliefs and thought, focusing on the problems of human nature, the process of history, and socio-political arrangements' (Eatwell, 1993). But this leaves the problem of what actually made up the fascist core.

An important attempt to refine the concept of universal fascism based largely on an ideological approach comes from Roger Griffin, who holds that fascism's 'mythic core in its various permutations is a palingenetic form of populist ultra-nationalism' (1991; 1995, p.4). This approach is developed in a multi-dimensional analysis (including support as well as ideology) of considerable sophistication. However, the core concept - and its wider implications - contains a variety of problems.

Firstly, the emphasis on myth plays down the more rational side to fascism's ideology and support (ideologically, fascism was *anti-rational* in the sense that it attacked the central truths of the Enlightenment; it was not *irrational* in the sense of not being based on reason).

Secondly, the word 'populism' poses serious problems for any definition, for - as already noted - 'populism' is arguably an even more elusive term than 'fascism' (Canovan, 1981). One meaning often attributed to 'populism' is the celebration of a particular, usually past, form of life, often associated with one group, particularly the peasantry or the 'common man'; this is often associated with an anti-collectivist focus on communitarian cooperation among individuals. Although fascist propaganda had elements of this within it, it was essentially an attempt to create a new political culture, a 'new man'. At other times, 'populism' is simply used to mean 'popular': this also causes definitional problems. Some fascists despised the masses, which partly accounts for the fact that the Nazis before 1924 were *putschist*; moreover, many fascists have sought to lead rather than follow the masses - though inevitably any successful political movement in a democracy has to a large extent to make itself appear the representative of popular sentiments.

Thirdly, the focus on 'palingenesis' introduces a confusion between pure ideology and propaganda: the idea of 'rebirth' was important to fascism not simply because it is a central theme in Western culture, but also because it allowed fascist propaganda to fudge whether what was really sought was a radically new society, or essentially a restoration of the old. Rebirth is also a philosophically banal concept, which makes its centrality to an approach which stresses ideology somewhat strange: Heidegger for instance, was least interesting when he talked about rebirth, compared to his elusive but fundamental discussion of the nature of being, especially how to achieve a new meaning for work. More generally, Griffin's definition says nothing about

economics - reinforcing the old view that fascism should be understood largely in terms of activism, myths, or even psychology. In fact, some fascists had a relatively clear idea about economic policy. This is especially true of the Belgian and French former socialists, Henri De Man and Marcel Déat, neither of whom stressed the idea of rebirth; this was also true of the more charismatic French fascist leader Jacques Doriot, another convert from the left (Burrin, 1986, esp. p.454). Even the apparently unexceptionable term 'ultra-nationalism' needs expanding to make it clear that it does not apply to the ardent defender of a more open, liberal type of nationalism: fascism was based on a more holistic nationalism, which celebrated the group over the individual, a view which had economic implications: a fascist could not be a fervent nationalist of the 'What is good for General Motors is good for America' type.

Finally, the definition seems in danger of including too much: in particular, its lack of a clear socio-economic dimension means that some of the pre-war German Leagues could be included, or even many on the right who have seen the need for some kind of 'populist' mobilization following the maxim in order for things to remain the same, things will have to change.

It is more fruitful to begin to understand fascist ideology - and the basic concept of fascism - in the following way. Fascism saw 'man' as constrained by natural traits, but as capable of development - especially when led by a great leader possessed of will. It saw conflict as endemic in history, and argued the need to produce a holistic society which would be capable of surviving external threats. In the larger European countries, this tended to be associated with a geopolitical view of natural spheres of interest - usually justifying large empires. Underpinning this was an economic and political philosophy which was hostile to both capitalism and socialism, though in some ways fascism drew on both - taking the primacy of private property (if operated in the national interest) from one and the stress on community and welfare (for those judged to be members of the community) from the other. Indeed, central to fascist thinking was a series of syntheses. The more serious intellectual side of these views can be seen in the fact that fascism in the inter-war period attracted a variety of major intellectuals, such as Giovanni Gentile and Robert Michels in Italy and Martin Heidegger and Carl Schmitt in Germany. Whilst there was an element of opportunism in some intellectual support for fascism after it came to power (for instance, Schmitt), the appeal cannot simply be dismissed in these terms - as can be seen from the case of Heidegger (Farias, 1989; Ott, 1993; Rockmore, 1992). However, this point about intellectual support is not meant to imply that this approach

to fascism derives simply from a history of political thought reading of 'great texts'. The ideological themes listed above can be discerned in a variety of ways: for example speeches or writings, and more concrete actions and policies (Eatwell, 1992; Eatwell, 1995; Eatwell, 1996).

Viewed in this way, fascism should not be confused with the major forms of right-wing ideology which emerged after the French Revolution - all of which can be discerned before the clear emergence of fascism. In particular, fascism must be distinguished from different forms of the reactionary right (Eatwell, 1989). This tended to be based on a blend of traditional elites, the church, the monarchy and army, though it sometimes encompassed new business elites who feared the working class (or who sought acceptance by largely conforming to dominant elite norms). Much of this pre-1914 right was unconcerned with any pretense to being democratic, though there were some radicals who by the turn of the century were becoming increasingly aware of the potential of a new holistic nationalism to rally the masses; there was also a growing awareness that social welfare too might counter socialism - a belief which often combined with the new nationalism in 'social imperialism'. There was even some tolerance of new political forms, such as the Leagues in Germany, as long as these could be controlled by existing elites (the Pan German League, for instance, was heavily under the influence of 'notables' such as Alfred Hugenberg). However, the crucial point about these forms of the right compared to fascism was that they were hostile to any form of politics which espoused socially radical ideas and threatened elite power - though after 1918 some on the right tried, with often fateful consequences, to use more truly fascist movements at moments of crisis.

Identifying Fascist Movements and Regimes

In this brief depiction of fascism it is a necessary to underline that it was neither ideologically vacuous nor simply a form of right-wing thought as normally categorized. However, it is important to note that unlike with Marxism, where there is a separate term which is usually applied to the linked movements and regimes ('communist'), 'fascism' is a term which serves both to denote an ideology and 'actually existing' political forms - forms which (like communism) may differ in some ways both from the ideology and from regime to regime (did Marxism *necessarily* lead to Josef Stalin and paranoid terror?; or how did Chinese communism at the time of the millenarian Cultural Revolution relate to Soviet bureaucratic-statist communism?).

In terms of identifying concrete examples of fascist movements and regimes it is helpful to return to Stanley Payne's work, and his highly influential typology of fascism (1980, p.7). Following up an idea from Juan Linz, Payne defines fascism in three ways:

i) its negations, such as anti-Marxism, anti-liberalism and anti-conservatism;
ii) its ideological themes, such as nationalism, imperialism, and corporatism; and
iii) its style, such as the organized party-mass movement, and extensive use of symbolism.

Payne then goes on to distinguish several different varieties of European fascism, most notably: i) Italian fascism, which he sees as 'pluralistic, diverse and not easily definable'; ii) an extreme National Socialism; iii) a more Catholic, traditionalist, Spanish Falangism iv) a (marginal) mystical, semi-religious fascism of the Rumanian Iron Guard; v) the 'somewhat distinct' Hungarian Arrow Cross; and vi) abortive undeveloped fascisms attempted by authoritarian right-wing regimes (1980, pp.198-9). In his latest work Payne offers a one-line definition which seeks to distill an essence from these various fascisms, arguing that it is: 'a form of revolutionary ultra-nationalism for national rebirth that is based on a primarily vitalist philosophy, is structured on extreme elitism, mass mobilization and the *Führer-prinzip*, positively values violence as end as well as means and tends to normalize war and/or military virtues' (1995, p.14).

Overall, there is no doubt that Payne's most recent book is the best general account of inter-war European fascism, and his definition offers the best existing means of identifying classic fascist movements. Thus within Europe he rejects Francoism as fascist on the grounds that it was too conservative, whereas his approach allows him to identify non-European fascist movements such as the Imperial Way faction in Japan, the Silver Shirts in Mexico, and Grey Shirts in South Africa. Nevertheless, the Payne approach incorporates a series of weaknesses.

The first concerns his treatment of ideology. Payne accepts the seriousness of fascist ideology, but it is not a primary concern. Indeed, he specifically states that any definition of fascism "must be derived from the empirical study of interwar European movements" (1980, p.4). The result is that his ideological perspective is little different from the list-definition of the 'fascist minimum' which was put forward by Nolte in the 1960s. As a heuristic

starting point this has its uses, but the list-like analysis of fascist ideology fails to bring out the serious intellectual basis to fascist ideology, its different permutations, and its ability to develop as an ideology. For instance, 'militarism' conjures up images of males in uniform, aggression and foreign wars; but it could also symbolize the 'blood socialism' which was so important to theorists like Ernst Jünger, who thought more in terms of community and sacrifice for a cause which was not determined by purely financial concerns (Mohler, 1973; Woods, 1996). Or does fascism necessarily involve 'imperialism' - or any kind of foreign expansion? Certainly British fascists like Oswald Mosley did not seek further territorial gains (Skidelsky, 1975) - and a new empire is a theme which is totally missing from most contemporary Western European fascist thinkers (of whom there have been a few, like Maurice Bardèche and Alain de Benoist). The fact that Mosley, like Déat and De Man, could develop a serious economic programme points to another weakness on Payne's ideological front: the omission of any serious discussion of the economic dimension, other than vague references to corporatism or national syndicalism. Whilst such terms were common among interwar fascist movements, they were not necessary defining characteristics - many Nazis saw Italian corporatism as too pluralist; and in the post-war era Mosley modified his views as he felt that they had previously been too statist.

A second problem with Payne's approach concerns his stress on negations. The emphasis on negations tends even more to play down fascism's serious ideology: it creates the impression that fascism was at best rather vacuous in terms of policy and at worst downright nihilistic. It is more helpful to see that fascism's negations were partly propagandistic and stemmed from the fact that fascism - as a 'latecomer' to the political spectrum - tended to attack existing ideologies and groups as a way of defining 'space' for itself (Linz, 1979). Moreover, negations are not unique to fascism, yet it is not normal to define Marxism or communism in terms of being: anti-individual rights, anti-the rule of law, anti-the bourgeoisie, or anti-the social democrats during the disastrous post-1928 Commintern 'Social Fascist' phase. To the extent that fascism's negations need underlining, they are best seen as part of its style and especially as a more fundamental part of its ideology, which included a Manichaean tendency to divide the world into 'us' and 'them', to create a sense of identity by clearly defining who the enemy is. Certainly this was a key idea in the thought of Schmitt, who during 1933-5 was the 'Crown

Jurist' of the Nazi regime and a man who since the 1980s has increasingly been recognized as a major political philosopher (Bendersky, 1983; Sartori, 1989).

This last point leads on to a third problem in Payne's approach: namely, its undue focus on the inter-war years and particular contexts associated with this period - especially Italy and Germany. Indeed, there is a sense in which his claim that fascism was essentially a movement of the inter-war era in Europe is verging on a tautology. By stating that a model of fascism must essentially derive from concrete examples within Europe during this period, contingent facets become necessary ones. The militarized political party is clearly one example: it owes much to the combination of the disastrous consequences of the First World War in some countries being superimposed on the sudden entry of the masses into politics (though it must be noted that the emergence of party militia pre-dated the war). The emphasis on anti-Semitism and even anti-communism must also be seen within particular contexts. Early Italian fascism was not in any significant sense anti-Semitic. Even the centrality of anti-communism varied across Europe, depending on its immediate importance: for instance, it was not central to early Mosleyite fascism (though attacks from the communists led to growing street confrontations). Nor did most British and French fascists view violence as cathartic. Some forms of French fascism did not even stress the leader-principle - most notably Georges Valois's *Faisceau* (Douglas, 1992).

These differences within inter-war European fascism lead on to a final problem concerning Payne's sub-typology. Some of the distinctions between different forms of fascism seem notably vague (for instance, the 'somewhat distinct' Arrow Cross) and even to count against the existence of a generic European fascism. Although Payne also makes it clear that there is a need to distinguish between fascism and various forms of the right, his divisions within fascism allow for the incorporation of both traditionalist and radical movements, religious and essentially anti-religious ones. His model overall manages to combine being over-specified (including aspects which are not central to the core definition), while in other ways being under-specified (not picking up what is crucial - what forms the hub rather than the spokes of the definitional wheel).

The last point underlines the need to produce a core-radial concept, which offers a parsimonious hub which is central to any definition and a series of other points lying more on the circumference which may or may not be present: they are tendencies rather than central defining characteristics. Such an approach can be divided into a one line definition which makes clear

what is the core, an annotated core list which helps to minimize the problems of one line definitions, or simple lists, and an expanded core-radial map.

The One-Line Definition of fascism:

Although one line definitions cannot hope to reveal the full complexity of political phenomena, or problems in their conceptualization, fascism can usefully be defined as:

> An ideology that strives to forge social rebirth based on a *holistic-national radical third way*, though in practice fascism has tended to stress style, especially action and the charismatic leader, more than detailed programme, and to engage in a manichaean demonisation of its enemies.

The Four-Point Annotated List Core-Definition of fascism:

It is important to stress that none of the key-words which follow reflect a principle unique to fascism: ideologies overlap in concentric circles, they have blurry edges. But together they form the basis of the fascist worldview.

Fascism's basic form of thought was syncretic. Among the most important syntheses were: between a conservative view of man constrained by nature and the more left-wing view of the possibilities of creating a 'New Man' (fascism has traditionally been a male-oriented ideology); between a commitment to science, especially in terms of understanding human nature, and a more anti-rationalist, vitalist interest in the possibilities of the will; between the faith and service of Christianity and the heroism of Classical thought; between private property relations more typical of the right and a form of welfarism more typical of the left. More specifically, its core involved:

Nationalism. The belief that the world is divided into nations is central to fascism, though the nation should not necessarily be equated with existing states, or ethnic groupings. The principle is not inconsistent, for example, with a commitment to Oswald's Mosley's post-war slogan: 'Europe a Nation', an idea which was strong in the Waffen-SS. Although some forms of fascism were based on biological racism, the mainstream form of nationalism was cultural, which meant it was possible to 'imagine' new nations.

Holism. Fascism is based on the view that society is more than a group of individuals, that the collective predominates over individual rights and interests. However, the principle also has an individual aspect in the sense that it portrays man as a victim of alienation, divided from other members of the true community and as incapable of finding fulfillment within existing

socio-economic structures. The individual only becomes truly free when he shakes off the conditioning of bourgeois society - a belief which can underpin a violent conception of politics.

Radicalism. Fascism is not a form of conservatism. It involves a rejection of existing society and the power of Establishment groups, be they capitalist or land-owning (though in practice it can compromise with such groups while struggling for power). Fascism involves the desire to create a new political culture, partly through mobilization and sometimes through cathartic violence. Although the idea of rebirth figures prominently in propaganda, there is no reactionary or populist desire to return to a former society or mythical past (though there is a desire to preserve aspects of the past). Fascism is an alternative form of modernity.

The Third Way. Fascism is hostile to both capitalism and socialism, but draws on aspects of both. It sees capitalism as too individualistic, too dominated by the short run and ultimately not loyal to the community. It sees socialism as too internationalist and based on false views of equality. The exact nature of the Third Way can vary, though historically corporatism was its most common goal. In political terms, fascism had totalitarian tendencies, but it was not necessarily highly statist. It syncretically seeks to draw on what is seen as the best of capitalism (the naturalness of private property, its dynamism) and socialism (its concern for the community and welfare). Far from being irrational, fascism sees such a principle as being based on a scientific understanding of human nature.

An Expanded Core-Radial Conceptual Map of fascism:

The emphasis on radicalism and the Third Way underlines especially the need to distinguish fascism from variations on the authoritarian right. This can be done through the following expanded typology, which also seeks to underline that style features are contingent rather than necessary defining characteristics, as the vast majority of approaches to fascism hold. Similarly, the negations are not necessary and may take different functional forms.

Types of Dictatorship: #1 Fascism

Ideology: Pervasive; nationalistic; stress on holistic community; criticism of both capitalism and socialism; radical in terms of its threat to traditional elites (though this may be played down as a way of courting support); emphasis on re-making political culture rather reviving an old one (more a characteristic of populism); may celebrate the past as a form of propaganda but some form of economic development is central to visions of the future,

though this is tempered by 'national' and social needs: what was good for IG Farben was not necessarily what was good for Germany in Nazi eyes. In Nazi Germany, the ultimate goal was a form of totalitarianism, where other institutions would only exist under state or party control. However, whilst the term 'totalitarianism' was coined in relation to Italian fascism, there was always a greater element of pluralism here. Some fascists even saw the central ideological emphasis on synthesis as permitting the existence of other groups, for instance syndicates, which would be coordinated with the state: there was thus to be no pluralism in the normal liberal democratic sense of allowing major sources of opposition. By the same token, early Peronism should not be rejected as fascist simply because of labour unions, which provided the basis of the Peronist movement outside the armed forces. Moreover, the increasing impossibility of achieving a closed economy and avoiding international pressures means that this aspect of classic fascism has been far less relevant in the post-1945 world of increasing globalisation - though autarchy may re-emerge in a regional form, especially in a West threatened by low wage economies. Certainly some post-war fascists (though they rarely refer to themselves as such) have taken the geo-political aspect of their views to imply extensive trade, even political connections, between large areas rather than simply within the nation: neo-fascists like de Benoist, for instance, are 'Europeanists' (not to be equated with the European Union) rather than purely nationalist, though the desire to re-forge one's own nation tends to remain the primary focus.

Style and Negations: Strong emphasis on propaganda, usually connected with mass mobilization (to be understood in terms of coerced or manipulated participation). Strong tendency towards charismatic, usually one man, leadership. Strong tendency towards the creation of a highly organized single political party - though the exact role of this vis-à-vis the leader and state may vary (compare the German and Italian fascist parties, which in some ways performed different roles, with the Italian party always more emasculated). Strong tendency to define the community in terms of the outsider as well as cultural or genetic traits. This is often linked to a legitimization of violence against the enemy, though violence can also be seen in more self-actualising terms. The fascist state may use elections and plebiscites to demonstrate the true 'democratic' nature of the regime, a reflection of the fact that the birth of fascism is closely related to the entry of the masses into politics and the need to secure popular legitimacy of some sort. Nevertheless, it is important not to adopt an approach to style which necessarily ties fascism into a particular era - other than in the sense that fascism should not be discerned prior to the rise

of the masses and the need for an ideology to exert trans-class appeal. The mass party rally, for instance, was in some ways a feature of the age before the rise of the mass media. Contemporary fascist manipulation does not necessarily have to take on all the forms of the past, though its underlying theory of a collectivist and malleable human nature remains the same. A modern form of fascism, for example, could use the mass media as the primary means of indoctrination and accept that in the more 'advanced' countries mass rallies, even mass membership parties, were features of the past. Modern technology could similarly replace old-style plebiscites: the inter-active television provides the opportunity for instant feed-back. These last points underline the fact that fascism need not come to power through the rise of a mass party - there is no conceptual contradiction between a party-less military coup and the creation of a subsequent Fascist regime, though in practice the vast majority of military regimes have not been fascist. Similarly, it is important not to see negations in terms of specific lists including facets such as anti-Marxism and anti-Semitism. Some fascist movements are not anti-semitic; moreover, the nature of the negation can vary: for instance, some post-1945 fascists have been anti-immigrant more than anti-semitic.

Types of Dictatorship #2: Right-Authoritarianism

Ideology: Less pervasive; in regimes which are typically (misconstrued) as fascist, ideology normally involves strong nationalism - for example, in Franco's Spain or Salazar's Portugal, both of which sought the rebirth of former days of glory (rebirth is a far stronger concept among those with right-wing rather than left-wing roots). However, authoritarian dictatorships usually pose no serious threat to traditional elite structure, though in some regimes one elite group may replace another - for instance, airforce generals overthrowing the army. Usually there is a campaign to destroy 'dangerous' organizations, like left-wing parties and trade unions but there is a tendency to leave civil society alone as long as it remains 'non-political'. In particular, authoritarian dictatorships are normally willing to allow business more freedom than Fascist regimes (which seek to tie them to the national interest); they sometimes espouse moderate forms of corporatism but these are largely a sham in the sense that they are designed to ensure worker compliance to the needs of business. Many authoritarian regimes seek economic development, but when authoritarian regimes are led by the traditional landed class, they may oppose 'modernization' (a problem concept understood here to mean a commitment to relatively rapid economic growth, and a more diffuse

dissemination of Western values, such as individualism). Such resistance movements may be led by religious as well as secular groups, and some modern authoritarian dictatorships are theocracies in the sense that the church rules - most notably in Islamic Fundamentalist regimes, like in Iran since 1979: in such systems there is normally a far more totalitarian attack on civil society. Another variation on authoritarianism is the absolutist regime, typified by ultimate authority lying in the hands of the monarch with political successions passing through a dynastic line: Japan prior to 1945 provides an excellent example of this form of government. Ultimately, authoritarian regimes differ from fascist ones:

i. in their lack of concern to create a secular 'new man', though there may be some attempt to encourage the rebirth of an old one.

ii. and in their lack of truly radical Third Way socio-economic concerns - traits which clearly mark fascism as a twentieth century form of government, whereas authoritarianism has much older roots, even if it sometimes takes newer forms. In practice, however, fascism's emphasis on syncretism and tendency to hide true goals behind a mask of propaganda means that the distinction may not always be entirely clear.

Style and Negations: May involve party and propaganda, but often based on coercion - typically from the police and army, though modern regimes tend to be aware of the possibilities of the media. Violence thus tends to have a functional rather than an ideological dimension. Charismatic leaders are common, though less so than in Fascist regimes. As with Fascist regimes, authoritarian regimes may use elections and plebiscites - and occasionally even allow for a plurality of outcomes. There tends to be more of a variety of styles than within fascist movements and regimes. Demonisation of the outsider can sometimes be even stronger than in Fascist regimes, partly a reflection of a less developed authoritarian ideology. Some simple dictatorships have no party and little in the way of organized propaganda and manipulation: for instance, the early period of General Primo de Rivero's government during the 1920s - a government which has been incorrectly seen by some as fascist (Ben-Ami, 1983). But many authoritarian regimes have clearly learned from fascism: Franco, for instance, seems to have believed during the early years of his rule that an organized party and extensive propaganda was necessary to underpin his rule (though these traits became more guarded after fascism's defeat in 1945). Even some extremely primitive regimes may have a considerable focus on style. Indeed, Clifford Geertz has identified in Bali a form of government where the main purpose of the state

was theatre and ceremony (Geertz, 1981). Style, therefore, cannot be the major dimension of difference between authoritarian regimes and fascist ones - the ultimate difference is one of goal (just as fascism may have had some style similarities with communism in the 1930s, but the totalitarian model omits a teleological dimension which separates these two isms). For instance, General Pinochet's Chile - which is often seen as fascist on account of its militaristic-authoritarian style - pursued an economic policy which favoured American and foreign interests in an attempt to produce a more individualist-dynamic economy - policies which would be anathema to true fascists who since 1945 can be as hostile to America as to communism (an example of changing 'negations').

Clearly both the fascist and authoritarian models depicted above could be divided into sub-types. Within the authoritarian model, some commentators distinguish between different types of military regime. One approach focuses on the exact relationship with civilian elites: hence there could be 'Direct' military rule (many Latin American dictatorships); 'Dual', where the military shares power with civilians (Franco's Spain); 'Indirect', where civilians rule but the military is the ultimate authority; and so on (Finer 1978, Pinkney, 1990). Others distinguish between types of personal rule, like the 'Prince' who relies on cunning (Mobutu in Zaire); or the prophet-like 'Father of the Nation' (like Julius Nyerere in Tanzania) (Clapham, 1985; Jackson 1982).

Within fascism, the distinction between Nazism and Italian fascism is the most important, particularly in relation to the underlying biological racism of the former. Payne and many others also distinguish between fascisms in essentially regional terms in Europe, but this approach needs treating with caution. Some of the 'Mediterranean' or 'Eastern European' forms of fascism which are identified have strong affinities with true fascism - especially the emphasis on nationalism and the need to create a new political culture, but they often lack the true radicalism of fascism. Many genuinely celebrate peasant life, or seek to defend the church - hardly core traits of true fascism. A more interesting distinction - and one which helps counter old stereotypes - would be between the more holistic, often mythical fascism (typified by many Nazis) and the more constructive, often economic-oriented fascism (typified by Mosley, De Man and Déat). A major element in Sternhell's important writings is to point to this more constructive side, though he overstates the left-wing side in his syncretic formulation that fascism = socialism+nationalism (for instance, Sternhell, 1986).

However, the main purpose of this chapter has been to produce a generic typology rather than to refine sub-typologies of classic European fascism, and it has identified the core - rather than its radial manifestations - as the attempt to forge a *holistic-national radical Third Way*, though this is not to deny that the more stylistic aspects have been important factors in gaining support for fascism and form a vital part of the radial definition.

Conclusion

The ultimate conceptual focus on ideology rather than style or more 'theoretical' approaches cuts the circular knot. In the beginning was the idea. The fact that the term 'fascism' was not coined until 1919 does not mean that there was no embryonic fascist ideology before this date; scholars regularly trace the roots of liberalism back to thinkers like John Locke, who never used the term - and in some ways differed from later self-professed 'liberals' (some early 'liberals' supported forms of slavery). Nor does it mean that proto-fascism was simply the concern of great thinkers and others whose connection with fascism was tenuous at best. The two men in Italy who have the best claims to being the founding fathers of fascism as a concrete movement - D'Annunzio and Mussolini - were both aware of intellectual developments, such as Nietzschean and Sorelian thought, and this clearly influenced their politics (Adamson, 1993; De Felice, 1978; Gentile 1976, Gregor, 1979b; Ledeen, 1977). Hitler too seems to have been more familiar with contemporary ideas than many critics have conceded, though he probably read little. The fact that most fascist leaders could not develop any serious level of ideological debate does not undermine this approach: Ronald Reagan was hardly an intellectual, but conservatism exists (and there is an interesting parallel in the way that Reagan was influenced by post-1960s New Right thought, though he probably read none of it: New Right ideas emerged before New Right parties and governments).

It is important to stress that any definition of fascism, or map of movement and regime features is essentially heuristic, an ideal type. It will never completely conform to the real world, not least as fascist movements and regimes (however defined) are made up of different groups and change through time. It is also important not to ignore the problem of ethnocentrism and to realize that terms like political 'party' cannot glibly be transferred from one culture to another. However, this is not to argue that conceptual analysis is largely an academic game, an exercise in semantic point scoring, or in constructing landless and timeless frameworks which cannot be applied in

the real world. There is a crucial methodological relationship between concept and theory which has so far not been developed. This is the fact that a good concept should point towards the most fertile avenues of theory. There is an important sense in which they must reinforce each other - they must together form a *model*, which although not itself capable of being tested, contains theoretical aspects which are: for instance, the claim that a particular type of voter was attracted to fascism.

The last point can be illustrated briefly by returning to Payne's approach. His emphasis on negations and style, or features such as rebirth, violence and militarism in his one line definition, seem to point towards fascism attracting support in very specific social conditions. In particular, the focus is clearly on the role of traumatic change, including war, and the implication is that the fascist voter is best understood in terms of some form of psychological disorder, or pathology. Griffin's approach is sophisticated precisely because he sees that concept cannot be separated from theory, but as well as developing a flawed brief definition, his central focus too points in Payne's direction. The idea of rebirth implies support from people who were attempting some form of self-actualization against an overwhelming sense of doom or crisis, a line which has been developed in the voluminous writings of Robert Lifton on the power of rebirth (e.g. Lifton, 1986). The idea of populism also points to the power of charismatic leaders, especially among people experiencing anomie caused by rapid social change and other crises.

These were unquestionably important in post-1918 Germany and Italy, and there is no doubt that in these circumstances charismatic leaders took on a particular attraction, and propaganda played a major role (Kershaw, 1987). But it is not necessary completely to adopt a rational choice explanation of fascism's rise to see that many who voted for fascism did so for good rational economic reasons, even saw fascism as a relatively legitimate political movement offering an alternative to conservative reaction or communist revolution (Brustein, 1991 and 1996). Many who turned to fascism did not seek personal rebirth; and many - especially in Italy - were not attracted before 1922 by Mussolini's charisma, which was a trait largely manufactured after he came to power. It is even possible to query how central nationalism was to the rise of fascism, especially in Italy. The advantage of seeing fascism as a *holistic-national radical Third Way* is that it points to the possibility of both affective nationalist and economic rational voters, a syncretic support as well as ideology.

However, these theoretical points are beginning to move beyond the

scope of this chapter. The refinement of theory is more the focus of the excellent set of chapters which follow - and especially of Stein Ugelvik Larsen in his fertile concluding chapter.

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2

ROGER GRIFFIN

CAUGHT IN ITS OWN NET: POST-WAR FASCISM OUTSIDE EUROPE

Fascism? What fascism?

More than seven decades after Mussolini's March on Rome the assignment to write a chapter on 'post-war fascism outside Europe' would still elicit a bewildering array of interpretations from major experts in the field. If Gilbert Allardyce were consulted, for example, the chapter would have a Cheshire Cat-like quality, since, as he declared in a notorious article, fascism for him is emphatically neither a generic concept nor an ideology: "the word *fascismo* has no meaning beyond Italy" (Allardyce, 1979, p. 370). At the other end of the scale there is James Gregor who sees fascist Italy as the prototype of the many 'developmental dictatorships' of the twentieth century which have attempted to modernize their country through mass mobilization based on a blend of nationalism with socialism (Gregor, 1974, 1979). Thus not only Indonesia under Sukarno, Egypt under Nasser, Ghana under Nkrumah, but Russia under Lenin and China under Mao could be treated as members of fascism's extended family: the chapter would quickly swell into a full length book-length.

An equally broad brush is used by Walter Laqueur in his recent *Fascism: Past, Present, and Future* (1995) which extends the category 'clerical fascism' (originally used to refer to a small group of Italian clergy who were also dedicated fascists) to religious fundamentalism in general. If this definition is accepted, the topic 'post-war fascism outside Europe' demands a bulky monograph to cover not only numerous regimes but even more movements which have arisen in non-European states over the last thirty years.

Then there are Marxist theorists of fascism. Far from forming a uniform 'camp', they have spawned a variety of approaches which accommodate fascism within the materialist conception of history, some of them of displaying considerable sophistication. What they all share is the axiomatic

assumption that fascism owes its existence to an extreme form of capitalist reaction against the threat to its existence posed by revolutionary socialism. This means that any movement or authoritarian regime invoking 'freedom', patriotism, or *raison d'état* as a pretext for smashing organized labour and shoring up existing property relations, tends to be classified as fascist. Clearly this can extend the category till it becomes even more all-embracing than Gregor's or Laqueur's.

The bulk of fascist studies operate on premises which occupy a safe middle ground between minimalists and maximalists. Here fascism is seen as a predominantly European and inter-war phenomenon, though an important watershed within it separates those who do not include Nazism as an example of fascism (e.g. Ze'ev Sternhell, 1994; Renzo De Felice and Ledeen, 1976) and those who do (e.g. Ernst Nolte, 1965; Stanley Payne, 1995). Though bones of contention exist between them, all in the intermediary camp would broadly endorse De Felice's judgment that:

> If we are to consider fascism one of the major historical events of our time, use of the word cannot be extended to countries outside Europe, nor to any period other than that between the wars. Its roots are typically European; they are inalienably linked to the changes in European society brought about by World War I and the moral and material crisis occasioned by conversion to a mass society with new political and social institutions (De Felice, 1977, p. 10).

Though expressed less explicitly and definitively, this is the taxonomic assumption which informs most of the standard works on fascism, whether monographs (e.g. Schüddekopf, 1973), or volumes of collected essays, such as the ones edited by Larsen, Hagtvet, and Myklebust (1980), or G. L. Mosse (1979). Though entitled *International Fascism*, the latter concentrates on inter-war European phenomena except for a final essay on 'the age of fascism and its legacy' which surveys a number of post-war authoritarian regimes in various corners of the world only to deny them full fascist status. H. A. Turner's *Reappraisals of Fascism* (1975) is also interesting in this context, since it contains essays which consider, but then reject, the case for recognizing a Russian and Japanese fascism before 1945.

The seminal collection of essays in *Fascism: A Reader's Guide* (1979) throws the problem into even greater relief. The only section which might have treated non-European and post-war fascism is Alistair Hennessy's chapter on Latin America, whose comprehensive survey of the scores of far right movements and regimes which mushroomed there dwells on the problem of branding any of them, even Peronism, as unambiguously fascist, with

the possible exceptions of the Brazilian Integralists and the Chilean Nacistas. Japan is awarded two fleeting references in the volume and South Africa none at all, while the general issue of neo- or post-war fascism is simply ignored.

A non-European fascism?

It is clear from its title that this book has implicitly assumed a working definition of fascism which confines it neither to Europe nor necessarily to the inter-war period. Though the contributors on individual fascisms have quite rightly spared the reader excessive agonizing about definitional issues, the approach employed by most of them implicitly corresponds to the conception of fascism as a revolutionary form of ultra-nationalism. In other words, its policies, organizational structure, tactics, and style of politics are determined by the core myth of the nation's imminent rebirth. This is the theory which informs three recent books on generic fascism (i.e. Griffin, 1991, 1995, ch. 2; Eatwell, 1995a, p. 11; Payne, 1995, p. 14), suggesting that at long last some degree of consensus may be growing up outside Marxism about the most heuristically useful approach to the term.

The hall-mark of the fascist mentality is thus a particular 'imagining' of the nation as a Phoenix rising from the ashes of the old decadent order. There is nothing intrinsically European or pre-1945 about such a myth, but clearly the geo-political habitats conducive to the emergence of a movement of any consequence inspired by it are far from universal. Its structural preconditions can be cautiously identified in the same way that certain rock formations can be recognized by trained geologists as likely to be petroliferous (with the difference, of course, that petroleum is real in the way that a generic concept is not). For a nation-state to be perceived as at the term of a period of decline and due for induced rejuvenation within a revolutionary 'new order' it must:

a) have roots in a historically constituted 'people' which can plausibly be portrayed in well-established nationalist mythology as having had a continuous organic existence (stretching back even before the era of nation-states), and to have undergone a period of decay since a cultural and political golden age;
b) have been exposed to the forces of modernization to a point where the hegemony of traditional political, social, cultural, and religious system

(tribal, feudal, dynastic, theocratic) which once ensured stability has broken down. As a result the hegemony of conservatism has given way to a pluralistic and predominantly secular civil society.

Furthermore, for a fascist movement bent on creating a new order to gain a significant mass following such a nation-state must have been:

c) subject to acute structural forces undermining the perceived stability of society which the political system is unable to accommodate, thus giving rise to a generalized 'sense-making crisis';
d) not sufficiently liberalized for there to be a broad and deep-rooted consensus on the need for government to be based politically on democratic 'rules of the game', so that calls for a new post-liberal or post-conservative order are able to exert a wide appeal as an apparent solution to the problem.

Even when all these conditions prevail, only an extraordinary conjuncture of exceptional circumstances and factors could ever enable a fascist movement to seize power, as the high degree of contingency involved in the cases of Fascism and Nazism shows (see Griffin, 1991, ch. 8).

These considerations mean that large geo-political areas of the extra-European world are ruled out as micro-climates potentially hospitable to fascism (though not, of course, to home-grown forms of racism, nationalism, and authoritarianism). Japan, for example, has seen the growth of a rich and complex post-war ultra-right, some examples of which, such as the Mishima cult, have strong affinities with fascism, but all prove on closer inspection to lack the anti-conservative or populist thrust of genuine fascism just like their inter-war counterparts.[1]

The only areas that fit the above criteria outside Europe are former European colonies which, having repressed or largely destroyed indigenous populations and cultures, erected states in which feudal and ecclesiastical elites either never secured the degree of hegemony they enjoyed in Spain and Portugal (as in the Latin world), or never arose (as in the Anglo-Saxon world). This allowed the rise of Europeanized ruling elites governing ethnically and socially highly heterogeneous states. In such countries small

[1] For example, Yusio Mishima's abortive coup of November 1970 was modelled on the non-fascist officers' revolts of the 1930s: see Kasza (1984).

pockets of genuine fascism have arisen, despite the overwhelming strength of conservatism or liberalism. In other words fascism is, as has often been asserted, an intrinsically European phenomenon, but one which is neither confined to Europe or to the inter-war period, because it is a function of *Europeanization*. Post-war manifestations of it can be usefully prospected for in Latin America, South Africa, the British dominions and the USA.

Post-war fascism outside Europe

Latin America

Latin America has never been a friendly environment for genuine fascism. The nations artificially created by Iberian colonization are still too young to be experienced by the masses as having passed from a golden period to decadence and thence to the threshold of imminent rebirth. At the same time, the forms of ultra-right represented by the Church, the propertied classes, and the military have been generally too strong to allow fascism space in which to grow on the many occasions when leftist or liberal democracy has been in crisis. The brief exception to this generalization was the 1930s, when intellectuals and activists, many of them recent immigrants from Europe who looked to their old homeland for their sense of history, projected fascist diagnoses of society onto their own country. As the chapters 15 and 17 in this volume show, in Brazil and Chile this resulted in two notable (but inevitably abortive) examples of indigenous Latin American fascism. Their suppression by superficially fascistized ('para-fascist') military dictatorships in 1937 and 1938 respectively effectively eliminated even these frail pockets of potential fascist energy.

Since the war, it is Nazism Ä rather than the worship of the national essence following the pattern of Plinio Salgado's cult of '*Brasilidade*' Ä that has inspired what little fascism there has been. This was partially true even before the war in the case of the Chilean Nacis, which was deliberately launched by German immigrants on the model of the National Socialists in their home country, though their publications also betrayed an admiration for Mosley's British Union of fascists which had its own universalizing thrust. There have been a few pathetic attempts at the emulation of neo-Nazism in Mexico (e.g. the now defunct *Movimiento Nacional-revolucionario Hispanoamericano*), El Salvador (*Vanguardia*), Bolivia (*Légion Boliviana Nacional Socialista* of the 1970s), Chile (the *Orden Nuevo*, and the *Partido Nacional Socialista Obrero Chileno*), Brazil (*Frente Nacional*), Argentina (*Frente Nacional Socialista Argentino*), and Peru (*Movimiento Nacional*

Socialista del Perú). In each case the memberships involved have been insignificant. The power of reactionary forces was simply too strong to allow enough space for a revolutionary nationalism of any importance once the 'era of fascism' had passed.

It should be added that the choice of Latin America as a hiding place for numerous war-criminals at the end of the war meant that run-away Nazis were able to form small cells in their host countries to perpetuate their beliefs. On occasion these diaspora Nazis were even able to find a more exciting outlet for their passions. Klaus Barbie, the 'Butcher of Lyons' provides one example. From the 1970s till his extradition to France in 1983 he led *Los Novios de la Muerte* or 'The Fiancés of Death', a ruthless death squad which settled accounts in the Bolivian drug trade, abetted in his efforts by several fugitive Nazis and Italian neo-fascist terrorists. The high points of the *Novios*' 'success' were the murder of a socialist leader and the part they played in the 1980 coup to bring to power Luis Meza, an army general deeply implicated in the drug trade. However, as the generation of those implicated in Nazi war crimes dies off and Latin America moves collectively away from military dictatorships towards socially, politically, and ecologically highly compromised versions of liberal capitalism, there is no real prospect of fascism asserting itself again even on such a minute scale, whether imported or not.

South Africa

Post-war South Africa remained in the hands of a white elite who ruled through the National Party government. The *apartheid* system which it erected enabled the benefits of liberal capitalism to be enjoyed by the ex-colonial classes while denying them to the indigenous population. Though this arrangement kept fascism out of power, it allowed the fascist sub-culture inherited from before the war to continue to prosper just as vigorously as it had done before. For those with a fascist mind-set, the existence within the white minority of genuine democrats, the pressure exerted by the inter-national community to abolish *apartheid*, not to mention the adoption of Marxism and terrorist tactics by a minority of black protesters, only served to rationalize the 'classic' conspiracy theory according to which 'White' civilization is allegedly being destroyed by liberals, communists and Jews.

The fact that right up until the late 1980s the ruling National Party remained both tolerant of and linked to the ultra-right guaranteed ideal conditions for the growth of numerous South African ultra-nationalist groups. Excluding 'purely' conservative and anti-communist organizations *to the right* of the already highly racist government (which operated a secret police of

which any totalitarian regime would be proud), there have been the Conservative Party, the Herstigte (or Purified) Nasionale Party, the white supremacist Federation of the Covenant of the People (a chapter of British Israel), the Anglo-Afrikaner Bond, the Movement for the Liberation and Protection of White South Africa, the anti-Semitic cultural organizations National Forum and *Volkswag* (People's Watch), the *Voortrekkers* youth movement, and the White Commando guerilla movement, to name but a few.

When President De Klerk started out on the long and bloody road to majority rule, the ultra-right's conspiracy theory of history seemed amply confirmed. Predictably, attempts were made (in May 1993 to be precise) to forge over twenty of the country's 40 odd fascist groups along with extremist members of the police and secret services into a *Volksfront* or pro-*apartheid* 'people's front' under General Viljoen. By the mid-1990s, when Mandela was presiding over the transition to a genuine democracy, die-hard fascists were bent on destroying it, while others (including some elements within the Conservative Party) channelled their utopianism into realizing the project of an all-white Boer Republic for Afrikaner. Active steps (albeit minute) towards this were taken in the Eastern Transvaal by the Orange Workers' Union (formed as long ago as 1986), and in the northern Cape Province, where a group formed in 1990 planned to establish a new country to be baptized Orania.[2]

Such schemes for a racially pure *Heimat* are reminiscent of the creation of the *Nueva Germania* colony in Uruguay by Bernhardt Förster, Nietzsche's brother-in-law in the late 19th century, except that they are to be established through a process of internal colonization *within* South Africa's borders. They received an unexpected fillip from the success with which Serb and Croat militias pursued the goal of ethnically homogeneous states in the Balkans. However, the most vehement opposition to democratic rule in South Africa was mounted by what for a time was the world's most important single fascist movement of the post-war era: the *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* or Afrikaner Resistance Movement.[3]

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[2] Incidentally, the moment an ultra-nationalist movement opts for secession within a new state and abandons the bid to regenerate the existing one, it ceases technically to be fascist according to the ideal type used here, even if the psychological dynamics of such a movement are deeply related to fascism.

[3] Payne's taxonomy when applied to the post-war non-European world detects some affinities with fascism in a host of ultra-nationalist and authoritarian regimes in various parts of the world (e.g. Nasser's Egypt, Saddam Hussein's Iraq, or Pol Pot's terror state in Cambodia). However, only the AWB emerges as unambiguously fascist (see Payne, 1995, pp. 496-520).

The AWB was formed in 1973 to fight the (then highly muted) liberalizing tendencies of the ruling National Party and to save the Afrikaner people (*Boervolk*) from the additional threats allegedly posed by the British (traditional enemies since the Boer War), by 'the world Jewish conspiracy', by international Marxism, and by the mounting pressure for democratic rights exerted by the African National Congress. Its ideology draws on South Africa's three main sources of fascist thought: the mythicized history of the colonizing Boers as a heroic and persecuted people, the 'Christian Nationalism' of the Broederbond, and Nazism. This unholy alliance is symbolized in the movement's emblem which is made up of three sevens Ä evoking the holy power to destroy 'the beast' of Apocalypse whose Biblical number is 666 Ä arranged to resemble a swastika. The organization has its own vigilante network, *Brandwag* (sentinel), a name which deliberately evokes the inter-war *Ossewabrandwag*, and a paramilitary wing, the 'Storm Falcons'.

By the late 1980s the AWB, claiming some 70.000 members and 300.000 supporters, had established itself as the main channel for anti-liberal paramilitary activism in South Africa under its leader Eugene Terre Blanche. However, its intense, and sometimes spectacular, campaign of resistance to the dismantling of apartheid came to naught, and after the foundation of a constitutionally democratic Republic it too was forced by its own logic to channel its utopian aspirations into the project to create an ethnically cleansed white homeland or Boer Republic.

The British Dominions

Australia, New Zealand and Canada before the Second World War were subject to minimal immigration pressures from non-whites. Moreover the subjugation and substantial eradication of indigenous cultures had taken place without the official erection of an *apartheid* system Ä a tribute to the destructive power of contaminated liberalism endemic to all nineteenth century colonization by European powers whatever their degree of liberalism at home. The nations were so new and the hegemony of British 'liberal' imperial values was so complete that the generation of home grown fascist myths of national rebirth was precluded, while the energies of the French minority in Canada were channelled into separatism of a liberal, not a communist or ultra-nationalist variety (though even the latter would not have qualified as fascist according to our criteria).

Since 1945, however, the situation has changed significantly in all three countries, with a major influx of 'Third World' immigrants, structural unemployment, sustained periods of recession, and the growing tension between

the Commonwealth myth of belonging and a new one based on republican autonomy. Nevertheless, in each case national identities are still closely bound up with liberal democratic values and both native sources and the historical case for an *illiberal* rebirth nationalism are absent. It is not surprising, therefore, that any examples of post-war fascism that have arisen have been both highly marginalized and mimetic, and have generally had recourse to the trans-national white supremacist fantasies of global Aryan supremacy rather than the narrow chauvinism of the type espoused by the British National Party in England.

In the 1980s Australia had several minute neo-Nazi parties and a sufficiently Nazified bonehead subculture in urban areas to inspire the 1992 film *Romper Stomper*. Sydney was the base of the Australian Populist Movement, front organization for National Action, and dedicated to the overthrow of liberal democracy and communism in the name of white supremacy. NA itself worked in association with National Vanguard, which was closely linked in turn to the Australian People's Congress, a group preaching anti-Semitism and white supremacy. Both were associated with to the Nationalist Worker's Party, New Zealand's main white supremacist party. The country also hosted the White People's Alliance, a descendent of the New Zealand chapter of the British National Front based in Christchurch. In the past the country has boasted its own National Socialist Party and a National Socialist White People's Party, as well as the Phalanx.[4]

The names alone of these minute groupings clearly indicate a debt to European role models of Nazified fascism rather than to any native historical myths.

On the other side of the globe Canada has spawned several parties also forced to look to Nazism for their role model, notably Aryan Nations, National Socialist Alliance, the National Socialist White People's Party. Even the Nationalist Party of Canada has adopted neo-Nazi policies rather than concoct an elaborate theory of that chimeric quality 'Canadian-ness' as their charter myth. In other words, since the war it is again Nazism which has established itself as a *lingua franca* of fascism, an easily customized ideological import which enables 'Caucasians' in the broadest sense to articulate their venom for democracy, Jews, Communists, non-whites and other pethates (e.g. homosexuals, feminists, the welfare state) without the need for elaborating a myth of decadence and rebirth appropriate to their own cultural

[4] Details are to be found in Ó Maoláin, 1987, an invaluable satellite survey of the world's radical right in the mid-1980s.

history and circumstances. In this respect it is likely that the Nazification of South African fascism seen in the AWB would have taken place even without inter-war precedents.

The USA

The USA confirms this pattern in a striking way. In theory it has no need to import an ideological basis for racism, especially racism directed against the blacks (Afro-Americans), as it already has an indigenous source of myth with which to rationalize it, namely fundamentalist (and hence perverted) Christianity, which can be turned against non-whites and Jews alike. Another source of racist mythopoeia is the American Dream itself, once the liberal concept of freedom and individualism has been travestied into a form of ultra-nationalism, leading to various complexions of xenophobia and anti-Communism. One fruit of such ideological autarky was the Ku Klux Klan, which thrived regionally during the major structural crises of the inter-war period without ever becoming the vehicle for *revolutionary* ultra-nationalism. Thus the only fascism to emerge before 1945 was to be found in pathetically small pockets of Fascism and Nazism cultivated by Italian and German immigrants. Despite the objective strains placed on the entire economic and governmental system by the Depression, an overwhelming popular consensus upheld the official national myth of the USA as the home of liberty, democracy and the Christian faith: Roosevelt's New Deal (sometimes compared to fascist corporatism at the time) was the greatest concession to the need for a 'new order'.

Since the war things have changed dramatically. The USA now hosts scores of minute neo-Nazi cells with such revealing names as the American National Socialist Party, the American Nazi Party, the American Revolutionary Army, the American White National Party, National Socialist Party of America, National Socialist White Workers Movement, Siegrunen, Social Nationalist Aryan People's Party, SS Action Group, and Teutonic Unity. Moreover, the 'Christian Identity' and Ku Klux Klan brands of racist extremism have been Nazified in their ideology to the point where these two historically distinct and logically incompatible permutations of ultra-right enjoy a close working relationship: indeed the United Patriotic Front was set up specifically to coordinate 'pagan' Nazi and 'Christian' Klan activities (mythic, ritual, charismatic forms of politics are impervious to such 'decadent' faculties as logic or empirical reason). Symptoms of the ecumenicalism of the

contemporary ultra-right are organizations such as the Christian Vikings of America and the Sword and Arm of the Lord, both of which blend Nazism with Christian fundamentalism in their policies.

A glimpse into the bizarre ideological world created by the Nazification of America's traditional extreme right is afforded by one organization in particular, Aryan Nations. It was originally established by the Reverend Richard Butler as a wing of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian to carve out of the North West a White Sovereign National State of America, an Aryan homeland along the lines of Orania, though on a vaster scale. Its hatred is directed at Jews (it makes the standard white supremacist claim that the US is under the *de facto* rule of ZOG, Zionist Occupation Government), as well as at all non-white ethnic groups. Towards this end it regularly holds 'Aryan Nations Congresses', gatherings of fundamentalist Christians, Ku Klux Klan, and neo-Nazi groups. It also runs Aryan Liberty Net, a nation-wide computer link to keep racists informed on the latest news in the 'race war'.[5] In 1983 some members of Aryan Nations formed a terrorist group variously known as Silent Brotherhood, White American Revolutionary Army, Aryan Resistance Movement, or simply the Order. They were inspired to do so by *The Turner Diaries*, a fictional diary written under a pseudonym by William Pierce, head of the neo-Nazi National Alliance. The book describes a right-wing guerilla war waged against ZOG, the first stage in the build-up to a global Armageddon fought at the end of the 20th century between the Aryans and *all* non-Aryans. Attempting to turn prophecy into practice, members of the Order committed two murders and a series of bank robberies amounting to four million dollars.[6]

By 1986 the Order's leaders were dead and their movement had become effectively defunct, but the story does not end there. The Oklahoma bombing of April 1995 was directly modelled on a chapter in *The Turner Diaries* (chapter five, to be precise), and provided a grim warning of the danger posed to civil society by citizens (this time associated with the 'militia' movement) who take ultra-right paranoid fantasies literally. It also illustrates the nightmare aspect of the American Dream once its implicit components of anti-Communism, survivalism, Christian fundamentalism, and white supre-

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[5] Some insight into the strange initiatic world of America's ultra-right can be gleaned from Flynn and Gerhardt (1990).

[6] These events form the background to such attempts to expose the contemporary far-right to American cinema audiences in Oliver Stone's *Talk Radio* (1984) and Costa-Gavras' *Betrayed* (1988).

macism are no longer moderated by a profound commitment to liberalism and democracy. A subterranean passage links American fascism to the scores of radical anti-communist and ultra-conservative groups so characteristic of America's political subculture, such as Liberty Lobby, Moral Majority and the John Birch Society, which in turn influence the far right of Republican politics.[7]

One moment where the covert became overt was in 1989, when David Duke, erstwhile Imperial Wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, leader of the Nazi Party and president of the National Association for the Advancement of White People, was elected as Republican Louisiana legislator. He eventually failed to be elected governor of Louisiana in November 1991, but largely thanks to the successful mobilization of the non-white vote. Republican presidential candidate Pat Buchanan espoused some policies close to those of Duke (though in arch-conservative rather than fascist key) both in 1992 and 1996, but his campaigns too came to naught (see Cox, 1992).

Despite the inevitable failure of Buchanan and all his kind to break through into mainstream politics, there remains the permanent danger that neo-Nazi ideas on the unnaturalness and inviability of the multi-racial society can be absorbed from the ultra-right into mainstream American society through ideological osmosis. The 'melting pot' process of assimilation is visibly breaking down in the States, while all over the world social groups are retrenching into their ethnic identity, as is signalled by the commercial success obtained in the early 1990s by a species of black power rap imbued with the ethos of the Nation of Islam, a form of Islamic fundamentalism which functions primarily not as a religious creed but as a signifier of distinctive ethnic identity and separateness. According to Leonard Zeskind of the anti-fascist *Democratic Renewal*, the collapse of the Soviet Empire has added a new factor by bringing about a realignment within the far right: "a sharp split inside the conservative movement, combined with growing 'mainstreaming' tendency within the white supremacist movement, could result in a confluence between former Klansmen, neo-Nazis and the more powerful ultra-conservatives" (see *Searchlight*, No. 200, Feb. 1992, p. 21).

The internationalization of fascism

For those prey to the constant fear that fascism is continually about to undergo a dramatic resurgence, whether within Europe or outside, the implications of this analysis are clear. Since 1945 the unique conjuncture of events which created 'the era of fascism' has no longer obtained in Europe

[7] See the section on the USA in Ó Maoláin (1987).

(see Griffin, 1991, ch. 8; Griffin, 1996), so that revolutionary nationalism has remained marginalized in the extreme, except where quite exceptional conditions of crisis have caused it to flare up in parties and extra-systemic movements (i.e. briefly in the newly united Germany and in more sustained fashion in the former Soviet Empire). Outside Europe even these crisis conditions have not materialized, except temporarily in South Africa, so that fascism is very much a dead letter as far as the revolutionary threat it poses to existing regimes is concerned.

Nevertheless, the picture alters if the question changes to whether fascism has adapted to post-war conditions sufficiently well to be a permanent part of the ultra-right subculture which foments ethnic tensions and racial hatred in Europeanized societies. Fascism originally thrived in the con-text of the crisis of liberal democracy and international capitalism in the inter-war period. It has survived tenaciously despite their spectacular recovery since 1945 by developing two apparently conflicting organizational features. One stems from the radical instability of most fascist movements which operate outside the sphere of electoral politics: they tend to form and reform, change leader, invent a new name, merge with or break away from larger groups, all the while experiencing a steady turn-over or throughout of members, some of which may even belong to several formations simultaneously. This fissiparous, mercurial behaviour is not an astute survival ploy, but merely symptomatic of many ideological forces when they are radically marginalized by hegemonic values (the ultra-right in Weimar Germany displayed a similar behaviour pattern between 1919 and 1925). At the same time it is a behaviour pattern which makes fascist groups very difficult to monitor, ban, or call to account. If a formation is ever outlawed its leaders simply open up shop under a new name with the ease that the owners of deliberately bankrupted businesses can.

The other strategy (this time more deliberate) has been to internationalize. Though fascism is a form of ultra-nationalism, it can easily develop a trans-national dimension, either by cultivating a concept of nation which links it to a particular ethnic group and not to a particular territorially defined state, or by creating links with 'sister' movements abroad dedicated to defeating common enemies in the cause of a distinct but equivalent national renaissance. The internationalization of fascism since 1945 has taken several forms. One is its Europeanization, which obviously falls outside our remit (see Griffin, 1993). Another we have already encountered on several occasions, namely the detachment of Nazism from the homeland of Germany to become the ideology of the entire Aryan 'race' anywhere in the world.

Universal Nazism

Within a year of the Axis defeat in 1945 the *Front noir international* had been set up along with its sister organization *Secours noir international* to forge links between fascists the world over and provide them with material assistance. These bodies remained shadowy, but it is possible that they were the fruits of a meeting in August 1944 at a meeting of high-ranking Nazis in Strasbourg which also secured their funding (see Algazy, 1984, p. 293). A number of international and pan-European organizations had their roots in FNI and SNI. Several pan-European initiatives followed, notably the creation of the Mouvement Social Européen at Malmö in 1951, but as far as 'Universal Nazism' is concerned the next important date is August 1962 which saw the formation of the World Union of National Socialists (WUNS) under the auspices of Colin Jordan, leader of the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement. The second of the three aims of WUNS was 'to defend the Aryan race and western civilization and help them progress in every part of the globe where Aryans live, whatever their nationality.'

Crucial for the internationalization of Nazism was the choice as world leader of WUNS Lincoln Rockwell, the head of the American Nazi Party, and the decision that its international headquarters would be in Arlington, Virginia. After Rockwell's assassination in 1967 the Danish chapter of WUNS under Riis-Knudsen became more important than the American one under Matt Koehl, but the USA continues to be a major channel for Nazi and racist fascist affiliations the world over. One symptom of this is that when Gerhard Lauck was expelled from Germany in 1973 he chose Lincoln, Nebraska for the new headquarters, the NSDAP-AO, the 'foreign' organization of the NSDAP. Lauck's group is backed by American white supremacist groups and has links with Nazis in Scandinavia, Germany and Austria. Another is that the USA is the home of William Pierce, leader of the National Alliance, and author of *The Turner Diaries* which we encountered earlier as the inspiration of the Oklahoma bombing, and can be regarded as the *Mein Kampf* of Universal Nazism's terrorist wing.

Another source of the internationalization of Nazism is CEDADE, which despite standing for Spanish Circle of Friends of Europe, has established a tentacular network of links between national fascist groups with a pan-European orientation such as the French *Faisceaux Nationalistes Européens* and the Portuguese *Ordem Nova*, as well as with groups in the Americas. It also has branches in Argentina, Ecuador, Uruguay, and Bolivia. Ideologically CEDADE is more innovative than WUNS, mixing Nazi eugenic policies and

anti-semitism with such themes as ecology, youth, and the new 'Europe of nationalities'. Its various chapters produce a steady flow of publicistic propaganda.

A further neo-Nazi initiative with globalizing intentions was the creation in the 1970s of Viking Youth as an international 'scouting' (i.e. youth) movement dedicated to inculcating a new generation with sound racist principles and a revolutionary ethos. It has branches in six European countries as well as in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. More successful than Viking Youth in perpetuating a Nazi political culture, though sometimes in a purely anarchical and theatrical (and hence unfascist) spirit, has been the adoption of Nazism by the international skinhead movement (see Ford, 1992, pp. 46-8).

Revisionism

There is a yet more original product of the internationalization of post-war fascism, one which in terms of the impact which it has had on mainstream Western culture is probably also more influential. 'Historical revisionism', which subsumes the more specific campaign of disinformation known as 'Holocaust denial', has become a major publicistic phenomenon, straddling national boundaries and political groupings. It refers to a vast outpouring of pamphlets, books, articles and conference papers in a variety of languages which, either resorting to crude gutter-press rhetoric or using orthodox academic discourse and semiotics, seek to rehabilitate the Third Reich by 'proving' that it bore no resemblance to the calculatingly inhuman and eventually genocidal regime known to liberals, communists, and Jews. Apart from trying to remove the bad image which fascism acquired through its identification with Adolf Hitler, revisionism is also a ploy to foster anti-Semitism and delegitimize the creation of the State of Israel in 1948. The systematic murder of well over four million Jews is dismissed either as mass hysteria or, worse, as a deliberate lie calculated to win international sympathy and thereby strengthen the grip of the Jews on international finance and political establishments. With good reason one expert portrays Holocaust denial literature as the post-war equivalent of the *Protocols of Zion* (see Seidel, 1986, pp. xx, 39).

It would be misleading to imply that revisionism is exclusively a form of neo-Nazism. Though it is an important component of the Nazi need to rewrite history in a pseudo-scientific discourse, revisionist themes crop up frequently in the writings of the French *Nouvelle Droite* thinkers and their many European associates who look on the demagogic NSDAP as having

betrayed an Indo-European 'Conservative Revolution' against liberalism and communism. Revisionism also appears in the rabid anti-Communist propaganda (after all Marxism is 'Jewish') of such organizations as the World Anti-communist League and the crypto-fascism of the German neo-fascist Frey's *Deutsche Volksunion*. It has also become a staple element in 'pure' anti-Semitic racism devoid of the revolutionary programme needed for it to be fascist.

Its salient feature in the present context, however, is its internationalism. One of the main centres of the movement is the Institute for Historical Review set up in 1979 in California, which holds conferences and publishes both a journal and a newsletter. The IHR has links with the influential white supremacist Liberty Lobby and is affiliated with leading revisionists in Argentina, France, Germany, Sweden, Australia, Canada (home of the notorious expatriate German and doyen of revisionism, Ernst Zündel). Britain has also made an important contribution: not only is David Irving a star performer on the international neo-Nazi revisionist conference circuit,[8] but his revisionist reinterpretations of aspects of the Third Reich and the Second World War have been published by some of Britain's most prestigious publishing houses.

Fascist ecumenicalism

However, to consider only such institutionally coordinated aspects of fascist internationalism as WUNS, CEDADE and revisionism would be like researching socialist internationalism by concentrating only on the Marxist Internationals. This would be to ignore the intricate web of less formal contacts and linkages between activists of many hues of radical left thought the world over throughout the history of the movement. One of the most striking features of contemporary fascism is the readiness of factions which theoretically should be at loggerheads to cooperate in forming a common front against mutual enemies. A valuable insight into this trend within contemporary fascism is offered by former member of the National Front in Britain, and now vociferous anti-fascist, Ray Hill. When he was sent by the National Front to help establish the South African branch in the late 1970s he took part in discussions with the Herstigte National Party over a common strategy and enjoyed a close relationship with the *Unione Internazionale per la Difesa dell'Ovest* (International Union for the Defence of the West) set up in Johannesburg by a group of Italians who still venerated Mussolini.

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[8] For more on revisionism see Schmidt (1993); Eatwell (1995b).

UNIDO had set itself the task of welding into a single force the HNP, the AWB and the South African chapter of the Ku Klux Klan.[9] It published a periodical, whose title, *Noi Europa* (We Europe) underlines the fact that 'Europe' and 'the West' are often used interchangeably by fascists, and that Eurofascists feel a kinship with white racists wherever they may be. This is borne out by the fact that (till his deportation) a member of the SANF's directorate, Max Bollo, had contacts with the New European Order, based in Switzerland, and that the 1989 issue of the highly influential German pan-fascist periodical *Nation Europa* (Vol. 39, No. 5/6, May/June 1989), which has been published monthly since 1946 'in the service of the European New Order', is entirely devoted to South Africa. One of the articles shows six different versions of the redrawn map of South Africa once an all-white homeland on the basis of ethnic homogeneity has been created. More disturbingly, investigations into the killing of Chris Hani, black leader of the South African Communist Party, in May 1993 not only revealed that the assassin was a member of the AWB, but that the murder weapon had been supplied by a South African Conservative Party MP who had links with the neo-Nazi British National Party, the anti-communist Western Goals Institute headed in Britain by David Irving, and the Christian Social Union in Bavaria (see *Searchlight*, No. 216, June 1993, p. 16).

Further insight into the internationalization of fascism is offered by events in the former Soviet Empire since the Berlin Wall went down. Western business and the Mafia were not the only ones to see in the newly 'liberated' societies a vast area of untapped potential. In Hungary where skin-head Nazism, anti-Semitism, and anti-Roma feeling are rife, one of the fastest growing racist periodicals in the early 1990s was *Új Rend*, which encourages contacts between Hungarians and extremists in Scandinavia and Australia and is printed on the presses of Gerhard Lauck's NSDAP-AO in Lincoln, Nebraska.[10] Meanwhile German neo-Nazis have been targeting the former East bloc as a growth area, one of special interest for those ir-redentists who want the expansion of Germany to her 1939 borders. In the first years of the new Germany scores of minor and several major figures on the neo-fascist scene, notably Frank Hübner, leader of the eventually out-

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[9] See Hill, 1988, ch. 2. For more insights into the state of fascist ecumenicalism in the 1980s it is instructive to look closely under the heading 'international affiliations' which Ó Maoláin includes in so many entries of his *World Directory of the Radical Right*.

[10] *Searchlight*, No. 202, (1992), p. 17. On the resurgence of the ultra-right in the former East bloc see also Hockenos, (1994).

lawed *Deutsche Alternative*, Franz Schönhuber, leader of the *Republikaner*, and Gerhard Frey, leader of the *Deutsche Volksunion*, have made a bee-line to find potential partners there. One exotic fruit of this link-up was the publication of the Euro-fascist *Europa vorn* (Europe to the fore) on the presses of the Ukrainian *Pamyat* movement (see *Searchlight*, No. 216, June 1993, p. 17).

There seems to be a consensus that Russia West of the Urals is to be treated as part of Europe and therefore does not fall into our remit. It should be noted as a symptom of the internationalism of contemporary fascism, however, that the rapid rise of the violently anti-semitic *Pamyat* in the early 1990s was encouraged by informal contacts with a number of fascist and ultra-right groupings abroad.[11] At the same time, meetings between Russian intellectuals and French and Belgian leaders of the *Nouvelle Droite* were ensuring that 'Indo-Europeanism' had spawned a new permutation, 'Eurasianism'. Equally significantly some hard-core fascist ideologues within Zhirinovsky's Liberal Democratic Party of Russia were openly espousing the vision of an ethnically pure Russia which, once regenerated, would be in a position to help Europe (especially Germany) and the USA 'solve' their own problem of racial decay (see Griffin 1995, pp. 387-92).

The Arab connection

There is a potentially more sinister aspect of fascism's post-war internationalization to be mentioned. This is the internationalization of fascist terrorism. Given that a radical hostility to Israel is, for very different reasons, a common denominator between fascists and many Arab states, it is not surprising if there has been a degree of collaboration between them. In the late sixties a Belgian secretary to *La Nation Européenne* (pan-European fascism again) was adviser to Al-Fatah, and another Belgian neo-Nazi helped with its recruitment drive. In 1969 Nazi leaders in Madrid decided to give full support to Al-Fatah and other PLO groups, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine acquired a former Nazi commander for their training camp in Basra. Since then a number of links between European Nazis and the PLO have come to light (see Wilkinson, 1981, pp. 125-6). In Ray Hill's time as a mole within the British ultra-right, he came across evidence that money funding the distribution to British MPs of the revisionist classic *The Six Million Reconsidered* in the early 1980s came from the World Muslim

[11] *Searchlight*, No. 184, (Oct. 1990), pp. 14-5; No. 211, (Jan. 1993), pp. 16-7. On *Pamyat* ideology see "Pamyat: an appeal to the Russian people", in *Soviet Jewish Affairs*, Vol. 18, No. 1, (1987) - sampled in Griffin, 1995, pp. 374-6.

League, an organization based in Karachi but linked to Saudi Arabia. This is nothing new. Egyptian anti-Zionists were negotiating with the British neo-Nazi Colin Jordan in 1962 to fund anti-Semitic propaganda, and ever since the mid-1970s European fascists from such terrorist groups as the *Nuclei Armati Rivoluzionari* and *Wehrsportsgruppe Hoffman* have participated in its paramilitary activities (see Hill, 1988, ch. 10).

The links between fascism and the Arab world were still strong well into the 1980s, when Libyan sources were subsidizing the National Front's journal *Nationalism Today*, and supplying funds to both the Strasserite faction which took control of the NF in 1983 and the paramilitary group Column 88 (the 88 stood for Heil Hitler, H being the eighth letter of the alphabet).[12] The NF reciprocated by advertising Colonel Gaddhafi's *Green Book* and supporting the Ayatollah Khomeini in their broadsheets. The front page of *National Front News* of March 1988, for example, announced that 'revolutionary nationalist groups, racial separatists and the anti-Zionist nations of the Middle East, are beginning to recognize a common set of interests and enemies which make closer cooperation between both beneficial and inevitable.' In typically palingenetic style it goes on "Against our common enemies - capitalism and communism - we are at last beginning to develop a credible alternative: the *Third Way*."[13]

Just how far the international affiliations of fascism can grow in geographical extension and surreality is shown by the case of the Australian People's Congress. In the mid 1980s it was led by Robert Pash, who also ran the National Vanguard, which preached white supremacy on Ku Klux Klan lines. Both APC and the NV, however, claimed to have the support of Gaddhafi's government. Though Gaddhafi denied this claim, the fact remains that the NPM's magazine *The Green March* advocated a version of the revolutionary political system outlined in the Colonel's *Green Book*. Nevertheless, despite the potential terrorist threat posed by collaboration between Islamic extremists of the Middle East and the ultra-nationalism of European racists, united in their hatred both of Western (or 'American') capitalism,

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[12] Column 88 is now defunct, but in the 1990s a new neo-Nazi paramilitary group resurfaced in Britain with essentially the same name: Column 18 (i.e. Adolf Hitler). See *Searchlight*, No. 215 (May 1993), pp. 3-4.

[13] *National Front News*, No. 103 (March, 1988), p. 1. The page is reproduced in *From Ballots to Bombs* (published by *Searchlight*, undated but c. 1989), which traces the complex mutations of British fascism in the 1980s and its increasing internationalization.

materialism, secularism and 'Zionism', there is no evidence that it has become a reality. The fascist outrages which have grabbed headlines in Germany and the USA have been strictly domestic affairs.

Fascism on the Internet

Subscribers to Marshall McLuhan's theories of the global village would probably regard the last symptom of fascism's contemporary 'internationalization' to be the most insidious: the extensive use of Internet by every complexion of the palingenetic ultra-right. Since the early 1990s scores of Web sites have sprung up, still predominantly based in the USA and Canada, though Europe is catching up fast. Neo-Nazis, revisionists, Christian Identity fascists, militias, survivalists, skin-head racists, individuals, grouplets, movements, and parties from all over the world are all availing themselves of the chance to disseminate information and views which are practically uncensurable. Within days of the Oklahoma bombing in April 1995 William Pierce, author of the very book which inspired it, had published a three page article on the Internet entitled "OKC Bombing and America's Future" defending the murder of so many American citizens, calling for a "united front against government terrorism", and emphasizing the need to "lay the groundwork for an America in which there is no terrorism".

Roger Eatwell has summed up the advantages to the extreme right of its access to the Internet in terms of a) the low cost, and potentially high-quality, presentation, set-up and distribution of information; b) the ability to tailor messages to different types of audience who self-select the type of information they want; c) the ability of Internet to create an effective sense (illusion?) of ideological community; d) the ease with which items on the Web bypasses national laws and boundaries. He quotes the British Union of fascist's magazine *Spearhead* which stated in October 1995, two months after it set up its own Web site, "the Internet is the most significant development for politics since the development of television" (see Eatwell, 1996).

The availability of an unstoppable stream of fascist propaganda, views, and information on the Internet has predictably aroused some concern in liberal circles. However, the impact of this new medium as a means of recruiting new members to fascist organizations, or in some way fascistizing the climate of society at large, is at present unclear. Certainly its dangers are easily exaggerated. First and foremost, despite its own voluntarist myth of the 'triumph of the will', fascism can only become a significant force when a particular conjuncture of structural conditions in society is present, and for the foreseeable future this conjuncture is simply absent. Secondly, it can be

argued that only 'surfers' already actively looking for racist pages or strongly predisposed to racism are likely to read material relating to fascism, so that the Internet is more likely to act as an agency of reinforcement and organization for fascism, rather than it creation and propagation. (Incidentally there is also a torrent of *anti-fascist* and *anti-racist* opinion and information being served up on the Internet, and one might well ask why it should be any less effective in converting casual surfers to a different point of view than ultra-nationalist opinion). Nevertheless, in the context of any survey of contemporary non-European fascism, it is clearly important to recognize that it has already firmly established itself as one of the countless discourses to be transmitted to anyone with access to a modem from the electronic Tower of Babel being constructed at the heart of the global village.

The persistence but impotence of international fascism

> The Organization still required time to reorganize and reorient the European populations newly under its control before it could hope to deal in a conventional manner with the enormous numbers of Chinese infantry pouring across the Urals into Europe; all its dependable troops at that time were hardly sufficient even for garrison duty in the newly liberated and still not entirely pacified areas of eastern and southern Europe.
>
> Therefore, the Organization resorted to a combination of chemical, biological, and radiological means, on an enormous scale, to deal with the problem. Over a period of four years some 16 million square miles of the earth's surface, from the Ural Mountains to the Pacific and from the Arctic Ocean to the Indian Ocean, were effectively sterilized. Thus was the Great Eastern Waste created. (quoted in Griffin, 1995, p. 374.)

This is the solution which *The Turner Diaries* offers to the problem posed by the fact that so much of the globe is inhabited by non-Aryans, non-Nazis, and non-fascists.

One hall-mark of fascists is that their palingenetic optimism actually feeds on the objective hopelessness of the situation in which they find themselves. It is important that anti-fascists are not themselves deluded by such manic, pathological fantasies of a new world order into overestimating their numerical strength or the objective dangers which they pose to actually existing democracy, however contaminated. In fact, those of us prone to 'realistic' pessimism about contemporary history, or locked into palingenetic hopes of a non-nationalist kind, can at least extract a crumb of comfort from the socio-political conditions which now prevail in the world. They certainly provide the basis for any amount of potential inhumanity and needless de-

struction of life, both human and non-human. At the same time they condemn both European and non-European fascism to being able to achieve little beyond fomenting local pockets of racial hatred and violence backed up by a ceaseless stream of printed or electronically generated words.

The network of fascism's international affiliations may grow ever denser, while fanatical ultra-nationalists of every complexion will attempt to lure all and sundry into its Web with their nebulous visions of imminent rebirth. Yet the objective material forces to which their 'idealist' ideology blinds them ensure that they will remain impotent to achieve the longed-for breakthrough into real power. Their ritual incantations of a new order have turned to curses without their knowing. Ideological somnambulists, as long as fascists remain true to their core beliefs they are condemned to remain for ever trapped within their paranoid misreading of the runes of contemporary history. They may carry out the occasional lethal acts against 'the forces of decadence', but such gestures can never act as the catalyst to the epic metamorphosis of the nation or the race which they envisage.

The closing lines of the *Turner Diaries* look forward to a time when the Organization will achieve 'its worldwide political and military goals', and the Order will spread 'its wise and benevolent rule over the earth for all time to come'. Even if the ecosystem may have some unpleasant surprises in store for a human species which continues to take it for granted, at least this particular scenario for the new millennium will remain a gruesome fantasy.

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THE DIFFUSION OF FASCISM FROM EUROPE

3

ALBRECHT HAGEMANN

THE DIFFUSION OF GERMAN NAZISM

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first will focus on the instruments and the aims of diffusion of Nazism outside Germany during the prewar period of the Third Reich and with a brief look at the years of war. Secondly, I will describe the spread of Nazism in Argentina, Australia, Southwest Africa (SWA), and the Union of South Africa (Union).[1] Finally, I will sum up in a short conclusion how the contradictions within the framework of organizations and goals hampered the success of the Nazi message to Germans abroad. The edition has included tabular presentations of the Auslandsorganization within the overall political system of the Third Reich and summarized some data on the support in various countries abroad.

There were obviously many conflicting issues and themes in the overall problem of spreading German Nazism abroad. One important cause of conflict lay in the divergent goals of the official diplomacy and the policy of the NSDAP party agencies. I will illustrate these conflicts in this chapter, but also go into the difficult problems of the ultimate aims of the foreign policy of the Third Reich. It is still a point of controversy whether Hitler,

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[1] According to the theme of this book only overseas territories were chosen to illustrate the diffusion of Nazism. The four countries have already been subject of relevant research due to a sound basis of source material. See for instance: H.-A. Jacobsen, *Nationalsozialistische Aussenpolitik 1933-1938* (The Foreign Policy of National Socialism 1933-1938), Frankfurt/Main 1968, 562-5 and 566-70; A. Ebel, *Das Dritte Reich und Argentinien. Die diplomatischen Beziehungen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Handelspolitik 1933-1939 (The Third Reich and Argentina. The Diplomatic Relationships with particular emphasis on Trade Policy 1933-1939)*, Köln 1971; D.M. Mc Kale, *The Swastika Outside Germany*, The Kent State University Press, 1977; J. Perkins, The Swastika Down Under: Nazi Activities in Australia, 1933-1939, in: *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 26 (1991), 111-29; A. Hagemann, *Südafrika und das 'Dritte Reich'. Rassenpolitische Affinität und machtpolitische Rivalität* (South Africa and the Third Reich. Race-political Affinity and power-political Rivalry), Frankfurt/Main 1989.

after the 'Machtergreifung' (seizure of power) followed a clearly formulated programme or whether he and the Nazi party apparatus of foreign policy were driven only by vague goals and by the causal contradictions within Hitler's dictatorship. Could Hitler's foreign policy in the end be seen as domestic policy projected outwards?[2]

In accordance with recent research on Nazi foreign policy we shall assume that in fact it was Hitler that directed all efforts of direct conquering of 'Lebensraum' ('living space') in Eastern Europe and for this single purpose used all means of diplomacy and military force to achieve it. To be more precise: The Soviet Union had to be crushed for the sake of 'Lebensraum'. At a subsequent stage Germany would necessarily have to fight for world domination against the remaining powers and in particular against the United States.[3]

However, if we suggest that the conquest and the exploitation of Eastern Europe by the 'Great Germanic Reich' was the main aim of Nazi foreign policy, we shall not be too much concerned about the daily routines of foreign policy within the Third Reich. The mere existence of a foreign political goal does not necessarily imply a linear and consistent pursuit of that objective. On the contrary, Hitler and his apparatus of power had to reckon with competing ideas and strategies for foreign policy, and also had to adjust his policies depending on the political action of the countries outside Germany.[4] Therefore, it would be wrong to assume the existence of a demoniac Hitler rationally calculating how to diffuse Nazism even to the remotest part of the globe.

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[2] H. Mommsen, "Ausnahmezustand als Herrschaftstechnik des NS-Regimes" (State of Emergency as Control Technique of the NS-regime), in: M. Funke ed., *Hitler, Deutschland und die Mächte. Materialien zur Aussenpolitik des Dritten Reiches* (Hitler, Germany and the Powers. Material on Foreign Policy in the Third Reich), Düsseldorf 1978, 45. For a concise discussion of Nazi foreign policy see: W. Michalka, "Die nationalsozialistische Außenpolitik im Zeichen eines 'Pluralismus-Konzeptionen'. Fragestellungen und Forschungsaufgaben" (The Foreign Policy of National Socialism reflecting conceptual Pluralism. Questions and Research Tasks), in: Frinke ed., *Hitler*, 46-62.

[3] M. Messerschmidt, "Außenpolitik und Kriegsvorbereitung" (Foreign Policy and War-preparations), in: W. Deist, M. Messerschmidt, H.-E. Volkmann, and W. Wette: *Ursachen und Voraussetzungen des Zweiten Weltkriegs* (Causes and Conditions for the Second World War), Frankfurt/Main 1989, 641-56. See also: M.-L. Recker, *Die Aussenpolitik des Dritten Reiches* (Foreign Policy of the Third Reich), München 1990, 51-64.

[4] Recker, *Aussenpolitik*, 64.

Mainly two factors rendered the diffusion more difficult, regardless of its final aims. Firstly, according to the dualism in Nazi foreign policy, the traditional, conservative and the revolutionary aims went together and were based on the same dualism within the instruments of foreign policy.[5]

The traditional and conservative aims were more or less synonymous with what we may term 'revisionism'. Revisionism under the Nazi government pretended to favour continuity with the foreign policy of the Weimar Republic by using the diplomatic service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Berlin as the classical instrument. Revisionist 'peace policy' during the Weimar Republic aimed at nullifying the Treaty of Versailles by direct negotiations. Under Hitler this policy was utilized in order to camouflage the revolutionary goal of Nazi foreign policy; that is the conquest of 'Lebensraum' in the East. In order to realize these goals new revolutionary instruments were created parallel to the traditional Ministry of Foreign Affairs. However, as recent research has shown, diplomacy in the 'Wilhelmstrasse' was far from being totally immune to Hitler's revolutionary aims,[6] as many former German diplomats after the war wanted the public to believe. In this context it is important to notice that this dualism produced a lot of inefficiency regarding the diffusion of Nazism abroad.

Secondly, plans and strategies for the diffusion of Nazism faced a variety of practical problems in the different countries. Competition and rivalry among the different institutions was common not only in the Reich, according to the dualistic structure of Nazi foreign policy, but also among and within the German communities abroad. The situation was complicated by the fact that these communities were usually composed of 'Reichsdeutsche' and 'Volksdeutsche'. The first mentioned were German citizens who for various reasons lived temporarily abroad, while the latter were naturalized citizens of the respective countries whose ancestors had left Germany as emigrants. Only 'Reichsdeutsche' could become party members, but Nazi propaganda was of course also indirectly designed towards the 'Volksdeutsche'.

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[5] H.-A. Jacobsen, "Zur Struktur der NS-Aussenpolitik 1933-1945" (On the Structure of NS Foreign Policy 1933-1945), in: Funke ed., *Hitler*, 171.

[6] Especially for the Foreign Ministry's participation in the destruction of European Jewry during World War II see: H.-J. Döscher: *Das Auswärtige Amt im Dritten Reich. Diplomatie im Schatten der'Endlösung'* (The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in The Third Reich. Diplomacy in the Shadows of the "Final Solution"), Berlin 1987.

Obviously, the spread of propaganda among citizens of German stock harboured a conflict of loyalty towards their host country since the latter was seriously concerned about how Nazi Germany was trying to influence and 'colour' the loyalty within this group of citizens. By publicly holding the view that National Socialism 'was not for export'[7] leading party officials in Germany tried to soften such fears. However, in practice the de jure separation between 'Reichsdeutsche' and 'Volksdeutsche' was frequently ignored by party activists abroad. Moreover, today we know that Hitler and his party leaders only for tactical reasons ordered this separation.[8]

The diffusion of Nazism outside Germany aimed at creating a worldwide block of Germans streamlined along Nazi principles. This worldwide Germanic block was to function complementary to the 'Great Germanic Reich' stretching into Eastern Europe. Apart from this general objective there is sufficient evidence to show that Nazi activity abroad also aimed at the cooperation with ideologically sympathetic groups and parties within various countries. But it would be an exaggeration to contend that this activity generally served as a 'fifth column', endeavouring to undermine the political stability of such countries.[9]

Which were the main instruments for the diffusion of Nazism outside Germany in general and outside Europe in particular? In this context we shall only focus on those party institutions which exercised a specific influence overseas: *the Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle* (VoMi),[10] the *Dienststelle Ribbentrop*,[11] and the *NSDAP-Auslandsorganisation* (AO).[12] Parallel to the activity of party, institutions the Ministry of Foreign Affairs disseminated propaganda among German communities abroad by means of subsidies to organizations and the supply of printed material sent to teachers in German schools etc.

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7 Party circular of 3 October 1933, quoted in: Jacobsen, *Außenpolitik*, 102.

8 Mc Kale, *Swastika*, 4.

9 Jacobsen, *Struktur*, 147.

10 The Central agency of the SS for dealing with persons of German descent outside Germany. See: McKale, *Swastika*, XVI.

11 The Ribbentrop Agency.

12 Foreign Organization of the NSDAP.

The VoMi was an offshoot of the *Volksdeutscher Rat* and it owed its origins to quarrels within the Rat.[13] Established in 1937, the VoMi was a subordinate organization of the SS. The organization aimed at the 'co-ordination' ('Gleichschaltung') along Nazi lines of the 'Volksdeutsche' in Europe and overseas. Hitler's deputy, Rudolf Hess, had created the Rat ('Council') in 1933 in order to manage the mediation between the 'Volksdeutsche' abroad and the NSDAP, after the latter had come to power in Germany. Hess was born in Egypt, and he was able to furnish the Rat with considerable authority due to his standing in the party and in general in the state apparatus. He managed to keep the 'Council' out of 'normal' party business and installed a number of experts which were independent of the party itself. In turn, this served to camouflage the 'Council' as a purely cultural institution which had no interest in politics. However, from the beginning the work of the 'Council' was burdened with problems. Its head, the geographer Karl Haushofer and Hess himself, were not able to enforce their ideas of steering the 'Volksdeutsche' against party leaders like Martin Bormann. Though along Nazi lines, Haushofer and Hess favoured moderation in the approach to the 'Volksdeutsche' communities abroad. The Party uncompromisingly demanded the socialization and indoctrination of all Germans abroad. It despised the artificial separation between 'Volksdeutsche' and 'Reichsdeutsche' and only for tactical reasons approved of it. It also fought against the traditional concept of preserving and cultivating Germandom abroad.

In the end the *Volksdeutscher Rat* failed in its attempt to mediate between quarreling fractions of Germans abroad and to establish a monolithic Germandom. However, the Rat was partly successful in unifying some 'Reichsdeutsche' organizations abroad that were engaged in cultural activities.

The creation of the VoMi meant a basic reconstruction as regards Nazi policy towards Germandom outside Germany. According to H.A. Jacobsen the organization's authority was based on SS-uniforms and instructions given by Hitler rather than on the qualifications of its personnel. Early in 1937 SS-Obergruppenführer Werner Lorenz was entrusted by Hitler with the leadership of the VoMi. The organization should try to unify the Germans living outside Germany and strictly avoid internal strife. It was to play a major role in the future policy of Germany.

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[13] Volksdeutscher Rat: 'Council' for persons of German descent outside Germany. The following information on the VoMi is taken from Jacobsen, *Struktur*, 151-5.

The VoMi clearly marked the distinction in its treatment of 'Reichsdeutsche' and 'Volksdeutsche'. From 1938 onwards the 'Gleichschaltung' of the 'Volksdeutsche' was intensified in accordance with a general radicalization of Nazi foreign policy since the 'Anschluss' of Austria in March of that year. But only in two cases, the Sudeten crisis in the autumn of 1938, and the crisis in Slovakia in early 1939, Hitler could use local German populations for his revolutionary ends.

A kind of special branch of the NSDAP for foreign political activity was the *Dienststelle Ribbentrop*, named after Joachim von Ribbentrop, the Reich's Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1938.[14] Since its foundation in 1934 the Dienststelle came into rivalry with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ernst-Wilhelm Bohle's *Auslandsorganization (AO)*. Ribbentrop owed his position within the party hierarchy to Hitler's special confidence and the latter's deeply rooted distrust of the diplomats in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1936 the Dienststelle comprised 160 people and it exercised considerable influence.[15] For mainly two reasons this organization had some importance overseas: it formed a kind of party liaison office for the coordination of NSDAP party statements on foreign policy. When Ribbentrop assumed power in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the Dienststelle lost influence, but without being formally dissolved. Only 32 percent of the staff joined the Ministry together with Ribbentrop.

While the VoMi and the Dienststelle usually tried to avoid publicity in their activities, the Auslandsorganization agitated more openly.

The AO was created in 1934 and came under the leadership of E.W. Bohle. It was the successor organization of the *NSDAP Auslandsabteilung* in Hamburg.[16] Bohle rose to a comparatively strong position as a result of the rivalry between Ribbentrop on the one hand and Alfred Rosenberg the leader of NSDAP's Office for Foreign Policy *(Aussenpolitisches Amt)*, on the other.[17]

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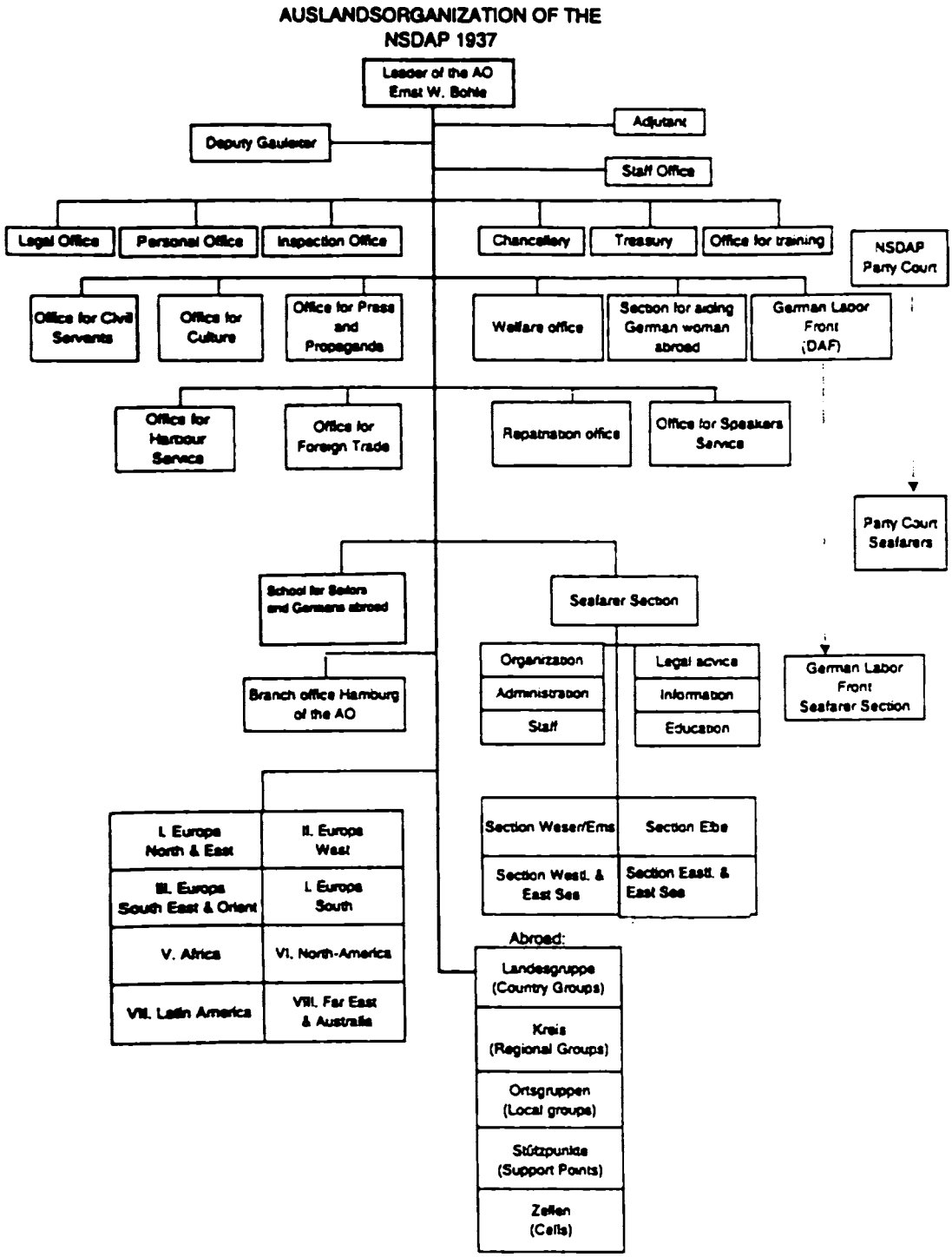
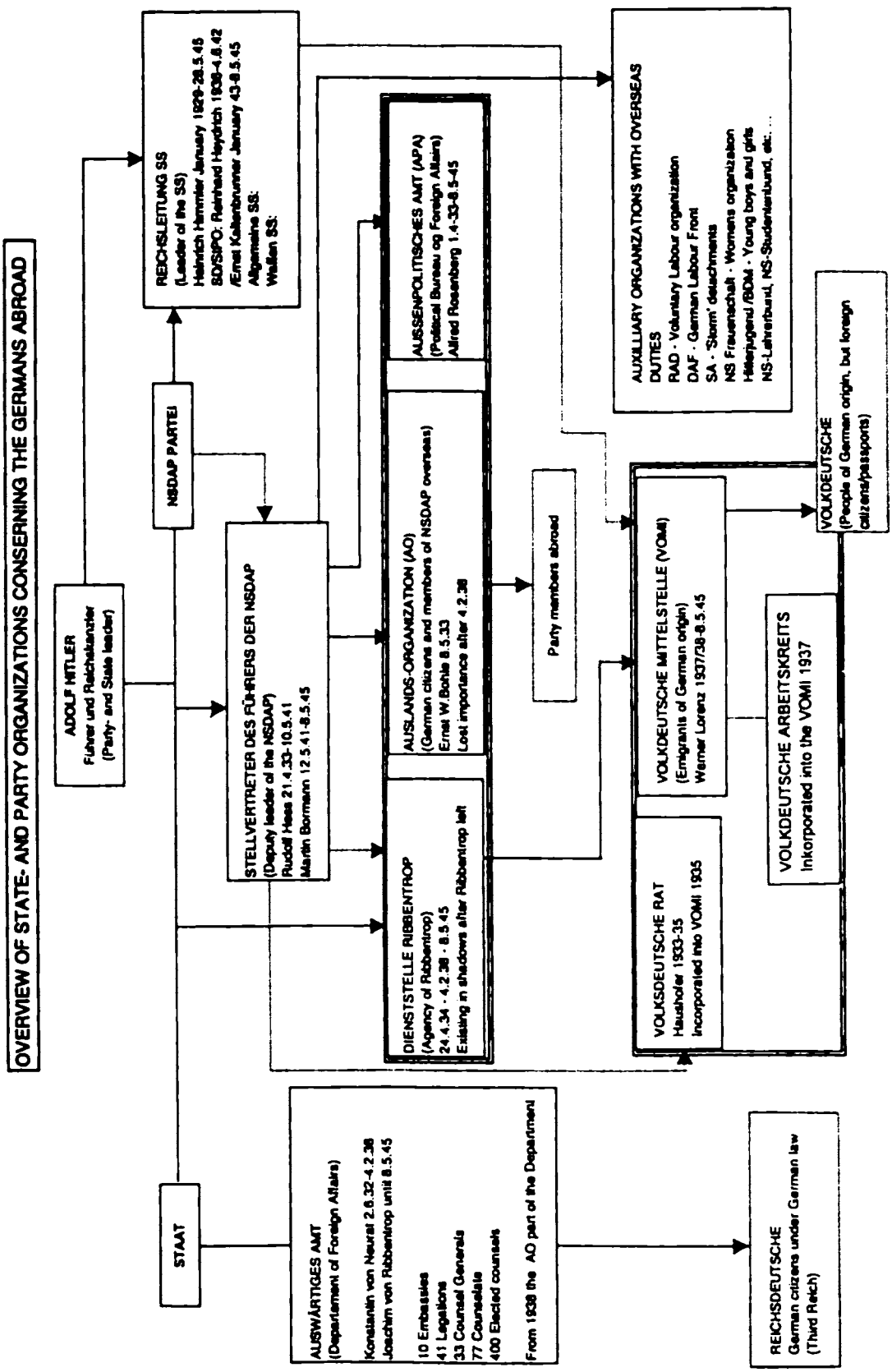
[14] For the Dienststelle see: Jacobsen, *Struktur*, 162-4.

[15] Jacobsen, *Struktur*, 163.

[16] Jacobsen, *Struktur*, 146.

[17] For Bohle see: R. Wistrich, *Wer war wer im Dritten Reich? Ein biographisches Lexikon* (Who was Who in the Third Reich. A Biograpical Lexicon), Frankfurt/Main 1987, 32-3.


AUSLANDSORGANIZATION OF THE NSDAP 1937
Leader of the AO Ernst W. Bohle
Deputy Gauleiter
Adjutant
Staff Office
Legal Office
Personal Office
Inspection Office
Chancellery
Treasury
Office for training
NSDAP Party Court
Office for Civil Servants
Office for Culture
Office for Press and Propaganda
Welfare office
Section for aiding German woman abroad
German Labor Front (DAF)
Office for Harbour Service
Office for Foreign Trade
Repatriation office
Office for Speakers Service
Party Court Seafarers
School for Sailors and Germans abroad
Seafarer Section
Organization
Administration
Staff
Legal advice
Information
Education
German Labor Front Seafarer Section
Branch office Hamburg of the AO
I. Europe North & East
II. Europe West
III. Europe South East & Orient
I. Europe South
V. Africa
VI. North-America
VII. Latin America
VIII. Far East & Australia
Section Weser/Ems
Section Elbe
Section West. & East Sea
Section Eastl. & East Sea
Abroad:
Landesgruppe (Country Groups)
Kreis (Regional Groups)
Ortsgruppen (Local groups)
Stützpunkte (Support Points)
Zellen (Cells)


OVERVIEW OF STATE- AND PARTY ORGANIZATIONS CONSERNING THE GERMANS ABROAD
ADOLF HITLER
Führer und Reichskanzler
(Party- and State leader)
REICHSLEITUNG SS
(Leader of the SS)
Heinrich Himmler January 1929-20.5.45
SD/SIPO: Reinhard Heydrich 1936-4.6.42
Ernst Kaltenbrunner January 43-8.5.45
Allgemeine SS:
Waffen SS:
NSDAP PARTEI
STELLVERTRETER DES FÜHRERS DER NSDAP
(Deputy leader of the NSDAP)
Rudolf Hess 21.4.33-10.5.41
Martin Bormann 12.5.41-8.5.45
AUSLANDS-ORGANIZATION (AO)
(German citizens and members of NSDAP overseas)
Ernst W.Bohle 8.5.33
Lost importance after 4.2.38
AUSSENPOLITISCHES AMT (APA)
(Political Bureau og Foreign Affairs)
Alfred Rosenberg 1.4.33-8.5.45
AUXILLIARY ORGANIZATIONS WITH OVERSEAS DUTIES
RAD - Voluntary Labour organization
DAF - German Labour Front
SA - 'Sturm' detachments
NS Frauenschaft - Womens organization
Hitlerjugend /BDM - Young boys and girls
NS-Lehrerbund, NS-Studentenbund, etc...
DIENSTSTELLE RIBBENTROP
(Agency of Ribbentrop)
24.4.34 - 4.2.38 - 8.5.45
Existing in shadows after Ribbentrop left
Party members abroad
VOLKSDEUTSCHE MITTELSTELLE (VOMI)
(Emigrants of German origin)
Werner Lorenz 1937/38-8.5.45
VOLKSDEUTSCHE RAT
Haushofer 1933-35
Incorporated into VOMI 1935
VOLKDEUTSCHE ARBEITSKREITS
Inkorporated into the VOMI 1937
VOLKDEUTSCHE
(People of German origin, but foreign citizens/passports)
STAAT
AUSWÄRTIGES AMT
(Departement of Foreign Affairs)
Konstantin von Neurat 2.6.32-4.2.38
Joachim von Ribbentrop until 8.5.45
10 Embassies
41 Legations
33 Counsel Generals
77 Counsellors
400 Elected counsels
From 1938 the AO part of the Departmenl
REICHSDEUTSCHE
German citizens under German law
(Third Reich)

Bohle, born in England[18] energetically organized the AO according to the "Führerprinzip" ("leader's principle"). So-called Stützpunkte, Ortsgruppen, and Landesgruppen of the NSDAP were formed abroad and they were ultimately connected to the AO headquarters in Berlin.

The AO's aim was first and foremost to organize and to gain influence over the 'Reichsdeutsche' abroad. Espionage and the spreading of Nazi propaganda were among its other fields of activity. Following the assassination of AO-Landes-gruppen leader Wilhelm Gustloff in Switzerland in February 1936, foreign governments became increasingly alarmed concerning radical Nazis among the 'Reichsdeutsche' communities. Thus as a result of this suspicion, AO and Bohle were integrated into the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was promoted Secretary of State on January 30. 1937. This manoeuvre enabled Hitler to bring the Landesgruppen abroad and their leaders under diplomatic protection. Bohle on the other hand was satisfied because he had now succeeded in entering the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was also a protégé of Rudolf Hess and through the activity of the AO in Spain, before and during the Civil War, as well as in the course of the Austrian 'Anschluss' in 1938, the AO leader was able to gain even more influence with Hess and even with Hitler. After the outbreak of the war Bohle announced serious aspirations to succeed Ribbentrop as Minister of Foreign Affairs, or at least to be promoted Minister for the colonies. With the appointment of Ribbentrop as Minister in 1938 however, Bohle's career came to a standstill. Only in the *Department for Cultural Affairs*, a section within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he was able to retain some influence, and it was in this capacity he continued to work for Germandom abroad. Since he managed to bring back many 'Reichsdeutsche' to Germany during 1936-1938, Bohle also succeeded in gaining Himmler's support, but he again faced severe difficulties when gradually one Landesgruppe abroad after the other were prohibited. It was a particular disadvantage for him that, after the 'Anschluss', Austria dropped out of his sphere of activity. During the summer of 1939 and afterwards Ribbentrop closed the opportunities for Bohle and members of his staff. Although he received an honorary title as a SS-Obergruppenführer from Himmler, Bohle slowly disappeared into the political background until the end of the war.[19]

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[18] Together with his father Hermann Bohle he went to South Africa. In Cape Town he formed the first group of the NSDAP in the Union in May 1932.

[19] Information on Bohle and the AO following Wistrich, *Wer war wer?*, 32-3.

Having gained considerable influence on party work directed towards the Germans abroad already in 1933, Bohle won his first success by declaring ineffective the ban on party membership for 'Reichsdeutsche' abroad which had been put into force from May 1. 1933.[20] Under the leadership of Bohle the AO mastered its first serious rivalry with competing organizations when it by the end of May 1933, incorporated into the AO the former party branch *Seefahrt* ('Shipping') with its approximately 7000 members. Bohle also succeeded in preventing the creation of a special Ortsgruppe for party members of the diplomatic corps abroad, as had been suggested by Alfred Rosenberg.[21]

As to the methods of the Stützpunkte, Ortsgruppen, and Landesgruppen abroad, the leader of the AO recommended "a high degree of tact, skill, and flair", especially when it came to the recruiting of new party members. Elastic methods of fighting, but based on tough principles, and with political flexibility, were his guidelines for the activities abroad. In accordance with Hitler, Bohle also argued, that "iron will and maximum fighting spirit" had to be combined with the ability to take the line of least resistance, provided that the basic goals were definite.[22]

In an important speech at the Nuremberg rally of August 1933 Bohle presented his ideas for future work. The organization, at that time still labelled the *Auslandsabteilung*, was presented as a worldwide institution, aiming at the forming of a 'totality' among Germans abroad, in the same manner as it was done in Germany by Hitler. Bohle also mentioned that the *Auslandsabteilung* had been systematically organized since 1929 and now comprised 230 Landesgruppen, Ortsgruppen, and Stützpunkte all over the globe. As to the tactics towards the existing German clubs and other social or commercial organizations abroad Bohle argued that everything could remain as it was, but that on the other hand National Socialism should be spread and accepted among all Germans. No interference with the internal affairs of the host country was allowed and all the 'Reichsdeutsche' had to adhere to was the credo: "Be loyal to the laws of your host country, do not bother about the internal policy of other foreign countries. Do not get involved with it, not even in conversation with others."[23]

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20 Jacobsen, *Außenpolitik*, 99.

21 Jacobsen, *Außenpolitik*, 100.

22 Jacobsen, *Außenpolitik*, 100.

23 Jacobsen, *Außenpolitik*, 101.

From mid October 1934 the AO and Bohle tried over and over again to get influence on all matters concerning the Germans living abroad. Ranking as a Gauleiter in the personal staff of Hess the AO leader for some time, and to considerable degree, controlled the process of 'Gleichschaltung' of the 'Reichsdeutsche' and the 'Volksdeutsche'. However, in 1934/35 Bohle overstepped the mark in his attempts to push aside rivalling institutions. Open strife within the NSDAP broke out on the question of who was to deal with the Germans living in Poland. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, von Neurath, urged with Hess for a clarification. In the end Bohle had to cede competence to Ribbentrop. The AO had to confine its activity to the 'Volksdeutsche' outside Europe, with the exception of the United States, and to all 'Reichsdeutsche' abroad.[24]

Between 1934 and 1939 the bilateral relations of the Reich with various countries, like Holland, Hungary, Sweden, Switzerland, South Africa, several Latin American countries, and the United States - suffered both from real and from supposed agitation from the AO. These countries were alarmed by the fear of 'Pan Germanism', of a 'state within the state', or of a general Fascist/ Nazi conspiracy. In some cases lack of understanding for the peculiar characteristics of host countries and the fanatical activities of some Nazis abroad, also aggravated the situation. Sometimes, as in the case of Brazil, relations were strained to such an extent that diplomats were recalled and the organizations banned.[25]

Although official and semi-official declarations from Berlin attempted to calm down suspicion as to the final aims of AO activity the success was not convincing. However, this was not a surprise: Already in 1936 there had been occasionally militant utterances by National Socialists. Germandom abroad had not only to be cultivated but also if necessary to be protected by arms.

On the whole the AO was not as dangerous in terms of a 'fifth column-activity' as claimed by many anti-Fascist groups abroad. On the other hand, it was not as harmless as its leaders wanted to make the world believe.[26] In the first instance AO served as an instrument to shape the 'Reichsdeutsche' abroad into a solid block of National Socialists. The AO also tried to counter

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[24] Jacobsen, *Außenpolitik*, 110.

[25] Jacobsen, *Struktur*, 148-9.

[26] Jacobsen, *Struktur*, 147.

anti-German or anti-Nazi propaganda outside the Reich. However, if given the chance, it would not hesitate to support actions attempting to broaden German influence on practical politics.

Another field of activity involved the collection of data on the economic situation in various countries and provided evaluation of them in order to promote German export business. It is almost needless to mention that the AO did its utmost to undermine Jewish economic competition abroad. They also worked to counter the efforts from international forces to organize boycott of German export goods. A special branch within the AO headquarters in Berlin was thus organized and directed towards interpreting the economic data provided by the Landesgruppen all over the world.[27]

Only sporadically did the AO seek direct cooperation with ideologically relevant groups abroad. This mainly because of the fear of official diplomatic complications. In some cases a strong sense of superiority towards non-German fascist groups also seems to have worked against such contacts.[28]

The outbreak of war in September 1939 altered the methods and aims of diffusion of Nazism outside Germany. While the AO wherever possible was directed to carry on influencing the 'Reichsdeutsche' abroad, the flight of Hess to Scotland in May 1941 considerably undermined Bohl's influence, since Hitler's deputy had always been his main patron.[29] In November 1941 he lost his position as Secretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From the beginning of the war, both the VoMi and the AO became predominantly occupied with the evacuation and repatriation of Germans abroad.

Argentina

From the last quarter of the 19th century a sizeable 'Volksdeutsche' community had been gathering and growing in the La Plata region.[30] In 1938, the

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27 Jacobsen, *Außenpolitik*, 155-60.

28 For details see sections on Australia and South Africa in this volume (Chapters 9 and 14).

29 Mc Kale, *Swastika*, 177-9.

30 Information on Argentina is mainly taken from McKale, *Swastika*, 22-3, 66-8. 86-7, 149-53.

number of German speaking inhabitants was estimated to 210.000 of a total population around 13 million. Among the 42.000 'Reichs-deutsche' the AO in 1937 had recruited about 1500 as members of the NSDAP.[31]

Since the November putsch in Germany in 1918 Argentine Germandom was split into two groups.[32] Lead by its mouthpiece *Deutsche La Plata-Zeitung* the socially and economically dominating section of the Argentine-Germans were monarchist and anti-democratic. Consequently this group despised the Weimar Republic. The *Argentinisches Tageblatt* on the other hand was the paper of the democrats and republicans in the colony. Its subscribers roughly numbered half of those of its competitor. The appearance of the first Nazi Ortsgruppe in the Argentine capital in the spring of 1931 widened this breach within the German community. Having started with 59 members in 1931 the party by September 1932 had expanded outside Buenos Aires and comprised seven Stützpunkte and 278 members.

During 1934 Germany established close trade relations with Argentina and dispatched a new Ambassador to Buenos Aires. His appointment was warmly welcomed by the AO leader Bohle. But the new minister was not welcomed by the *Argentinisches Tageblatt*. The *Landesgruppe Argentina* put pressure on the local Germans not to buy it, was able to have the paper banned in Germany, and put pressure on German banks and firms not to use it for their advertisements.

The Landesgruppe worked to spread Nazi propaganda throughout the country. Some of the Ortsgruppen even cooperated with the Argentine right-wing extremist organizations, often resulting in violence.

In 1935 and 1936 the *Landesgruppe Argentina* enjoyed freedom from harassment by local authorities and could complete the coordination of the *Deutsche Volksbund*. Its executive committee finally included several party members. One of them was Fritz Küster, a merchant who had been active as a representative of German firms abroad before World War I. He created both suspicion and hostility in the United States by stimulating growing affinity between the German and the Argentine armies. Argentine army units and officers visited Germany on 'study trips' and participated in military training. In 1937 the leader of the Argentine air force was invited to Germany as Göring's special guest.

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31 Figures in: Jacobsen, *Außenpolitik*, 564.

32 McKale, *Swastika*, 22passim.

The Landesgruppe also helped to establish contacts with a number of influential Argentine civilian leaders, including the ministers for Agriculture and Finance, the directors of several banks, and the head of the Argentine Academy of War.

As in Brazil, where the Nazi activities finally led to severe strains in diplomatic relations between Berlin and Rio, the AO in Argentina also faced growing difficulties as a result of their propaganda activities. In the La Plata region Bohle was however determined not to withdraw. The Justo government in Buenos Aires did not fear a direct threat from Nazism in Latin America, but it became worried about Germany's role in the Spanish Civil War, in the growing ideological polarization of the world, and in the rise of extremist ideas in Latin America. While the left-wing press of Argentina attacked the German annexation of Austria, the Landesgruppe did its best to give it a more positive public acceptance.

As in many other countries the Landesgruppe had to cope with internal problems. One of its strongest supporters, the *Deutsche La Plata-Zeitung*, was on the brink of bankruptcy and close to suspending publication. The Landesgruppe was also riddled with petty personal strifes and conflicts.

The settling of such quarrels by directives from Berlin became increasingly difficult, since Bohle in May 1938 had declared that party activities had to be reduced in scope and camouflaged, due to diplomatic conflicts with some of the host countries. One major point of quarrel in Argentina occurred over the important problem to what extent the Argentine 'Volksdeutsche' also should be influenced by the AO. The Landesgruppe had for long disagreed with the German Embassy in Buenos Aires over splitting the 'Volksdeutsche' from the 'Reichdeutsche' (German citizens) in the party organization. It disliked the idea of forming an *Association of Reich's citizens* to control its activities. Bohle's decision not to follow his own May directive, and instead continue the party's work through the *Deutsche Volksbund*, was contrary to the wishes of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Berlin. The result was a compromise, albeit in the AO's favour. Bohle agreed that the 'Volksdeutsche' and Germans with dual citizenship should be removed from the NSDAP, but he refused to cease infiltrating the Volksbund.

At the beginning of 1939 the Germans in Argentina were experiencing considerable political and economical difficulties from the United States. Washington often stressed the alleged threat of a German invasion in Latin America. German propaganda tried to counter with attacks on Roosevelt and in particular with accusations of the danger in US imperialist intentions, but they were ill-prepared to meet the American challenge. The most important

problem was the absence of coordination in the distribution of propaganda among the German agencies in Argentina, including the Landesgruppe and the Volksbund. Thus the effect of counter propaganda on Argentine press and radio was minimal.[33]

In the spring of 1939 the NSDAP was finally banned from Argentina. The deputy leader of the Landesgruppen Alfred Müller was arrested and hauled before court in Buenos Aires for alleged planning of espionage and for advocating a program for German annexation of Patagonia. Although he was eventually acquitted, public opinion was stirred against Germany, and the government issued a report with details on the activities of the Landesgruppe aiming at its suppression. On his release Müller tried in an incredible fashion to unify the Landesgruppe behind him by publishing a forged letter in *Der Trommler*, the paper of the *Landesgruppe Argentina*. The letter gave the impression that President Roosevelt congratulated him on his acquittal. On May 15. 1939 the Argentine government responded by outlawing all foreign groups.[34]

Australia

Since the mid-1920s individual members of the NSDAP could emigrate as German citizens to Australia, after the lifting of the prohibition on German immigration instituted during World War I.[35] The first party Stützpunkt was thus founded in Adelaide in 1932, while others followed in South Australia, in Sydney, and in Melbourne. According to AO-sources the *Landesgruppe Australia* in June 1937 comprised a total of 160 members. This was slightly more than one tenth of the Argentine NSDAP-party membership.

During the 1930s, the Nazis living in Australia developed close links with a number of like-minded individuals and groups. The local NSDAP also created 'front organizations', mostly with a much larger membership than the party groups. The party efforts were especially directed towards the considerable number of 'Volksdeutsche' in Australia. It was among these people the greatest success was achieved. As a contemporary Australian security report stated: "The real strength of the Nazi Party lay outside its own limits,

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[33] McKale, *Swastika*, 151.

[34] McKale, *Swastika*, 152.

[35] Information on Australia is based on J. Perkins, *Swastika*, 111-29.

in the fact that it provided a point around which the feelings for Germany of certain Australian citizens, born or naturalized, could crystallize or coagulate".[36]

The sympathy for Nazism of some middle-class Australians was based upon a misconception as to its nature and in certain cases it amounted to an incredible naivety. Especially the *Deutsche Arbeitsfront* (German Labour Front) in the Third Reich had a decided appeal among middle-class Australians. In Germany the young unemployed could be taken off the streets in order to be engaged in 'useful labour' under a quasi military discipline. This sort of actions appealed to some Australians which were concerned about the threat to the social order arising by mass unemployment. Leading Australian politicians visited Germany for the study of 'youth training' and 'work camps'. Another ideological basis for sympathy with Nazism on the part of many middle-class Australians consisted of shared ideological anti-semitism, racism, and anti-communism.

The roots of whatever support a pro-Nazi feeling enjoyed in Australia came from the Catholic-Irish and the German-Australian traditions. The former had its roots in the British rule in Ireland, and the latter in the experience from the First World War. Among people within the Catholic-Irish tradition a number became pro-Nazi in the 1930s and then as a direct extension of their Anglophobia.

From 1933 onwards, the *Landesgruppe Australia* started to develop connections with the local branches of other European Fascist groups. However, this process only reached the embryo stage before the outbreak of the Second World War. The connections to the Italian Fascists posed a particular problem for the Australian Nazis. Former German front-line soldiers in the NSDAP tended to despise 'perfiduous' Italy, which had first failed to fulfil its obligations to support Germany and Austria-Hungary in 1914 under the Triple-Alliance and then a year later had treacherously entered the war on the Allied side against Germany. Moreover, contacts between Germans and Italians in Australia were restricted because there was only a minimal overlap of residence and social class. Partly reflecting socio-occupational differences, the Germans in Australia were inclined to look upon the Italians as an 'inferior race'. Nevertheless, from 1936 onwards, as an outcome of Hitler's rapprochement with Mussolini, contacts between the Landesgruppe and Italian Fascist organizations in Australia became more extensive and convivial.

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[36] See chapter 9 in this volume by John Perkins and Andrew Moore.

Subsidiary organizations were founded by the Germans in Australia to recruit to the Nazi party people not normally eligible for membership, sympathizers and those who at the time were unwilling to join the party. They included branches of the *Labour Front* and the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft deutscher Frauen im Ausland* (Work Group of German Women Abroad) and they became particularly active from 1936 onwards. In Sydney, the overlap of membership with the work group and the *Frauengemeinschaft* (Women's Community), associated with the Lutheran Church, facilitated Nazi influence being exercised upon an organization with a larger member-ship than the Work Group. Units of the *Hitlerjugend* (Hitler Youth) and the equivalent for girls, the *Bund Deutscher Mädel* (Association of German girls) were also created.[37]

The *German-Australian Chamber of Commerce* was another organization that was 'coordinated' 1933. The Chamber subsequently served to inform the AO headquarters about 'Jewish connections' of German-based firms operating in Australia.

In view of the circumstances and the short period of time involved before the outbreak of war, Nazi efforts in Australia enjoyed a considerable measure of success. However, this judgment needs differentiation as regards certain age groups of the German-Australians. For the older generation the traumatic experience of anti-German hysteria of the First World War, and in many cases of internment camps, was too deeply implanted to be removed overnight. They were markedly reserved towards Nazi propaganda. Within the younger generation more immediate results were achieved. The stumbling block, however, was Hitler's apparent failure to realize his ambition of an Anglo-German alliance. Because of his frustration in that direction he opted for the Axis with Japan. This in turn did not at all meet the taste of many German-Australians who shared an antipathy towards Japan, and the 'coloured races' in general, forged by the White Australian policy.[38]

Africa

Sections of the NSDAP were formed on African soil in Angola, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Gold Coast (Ghana), Kenya, Liberia, Nigeria, Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique), Southwest Africa (Namibia), Tanganyika, and the Union

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[37] Perkins, *Swastika*, 117.

[38] Perkins, *Swastika*, 127.

of South Africa.[39] Except for the former German colony of Tanganyika, only the membership in South West Africa (SWA) and the Union is worth mentioning.[40]

Party membership in SWA developed from 183 persons in October 1932 to over 996 in April 1934 and to 1127 in June 1937.[41] At this date SWA, after Brazil and Argentina, had the third largest membership of the NSDAP outside Europe. The reason for this was the large German community in SWA of around 13.000 people. After the First World War the former German colony was governed by the Union of South Africa as a C-mandate on behalf of the League of Nations. During the 1920s many of the German settlers returned to the mandate territory to make a living under the rule of Pretoria. Due to arrangements between Pretoria and Berlin the majority of the SWA-Germans were subjects with a double citizenship: once they entered German soil their South African citizenship was in abeyance and vice versa.[42] The activity of the NSDAP in SWA had to face two basic conditions which to a high degree determined its methods. In the long run Pretoria's policy in SWA was designed to make the mandate territory a proper fifth Province of the Union. The older generation of the Germans in the country pursued a policy which tried to avoid this policy of incorporation of SWA into the Union. Thus, the diffusion of Nazism on the one hand could reckon with the readiness of many Germans to welcome it with open hands. On the other hand an aggressive diffusion might have rendered Pretoria suspicious and speeded up its attempts of incorporation. Apart from this strategy the SWA-Germans tried to solve some practical problems in negotiations with Pretoria, for instance, the official equality of the German language with English and Afrikaans.

The majority of the Germans in SWA warmly welcomed the January 30. 1933. They believed that a new phase in their hope and struggle for the return of the territory to the Reich had come. However, as we know, the return of Germany's former colonies had no high priority to Hitler.

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39 See the list of AO groups and members all over the world dated 30 June 1937.

40 On 30 June 1937 Tanganyika's AO group comprised 688 members.

41 Jacobsen, *Außenpolitik*, 662 and A. Hagemann, "Das Dritte Reich und Südwestafrika 1933-1939" (The Third Reich and South West Africa 1933-1939), in: *Southwest Africa Annual* (1986), Windhoek 1986, 160.

42 Information on Southwest Africa is taken from Hagemann, *Südafrika*. 49-64.

Young and undisciplined Nazi hotheads produced a lot of noise in the streets of Windhoek, particularly in order to display their fanatisicm which supposedly would in due course return the SWA to its former status as a German colony. Already before Hitler's 'seizure of power' the Auslandsabteilung of the NSDAP in Hamburg had to warn Nazis in SWA not to damage German-South African relations by their aggressive behaviour. As a party circular in 1931 put it: "Not Africa, but Germany should awake!" And: "The future of SWA is not to be decided upon in Windhoek but in Europe".[43]

However, the ideological and organizational 'Gleichschaltung' of German groups and clubs did not go along without friction. But the NSDAP ultimately succeeded in dominating them all. As in Argentina and in Australia the German opposition against the Nazi 'Gleichschaltung' came from older and former monarchist circles of the German Community. Leaders of these groups feared that a crude display of Nazism in the mandate territory would render negotiations with Pretoria difficult - or even impossible. They frequently reproached the young Nazi immigrants telling them that they did know "nothing about Africa". Internal trouble also arose from individual shortcomings of some party leaders, from contradictions within their ideological pretensions, and due to their own conduct of life. For instance, for the *German Boy Scouts* it was impossible to accept that the Landesgruppen leader did have an affair with a black woman. In addition there was a constant conflict among the German community over financial subsidies and donations from Berlin.

Pretoria watched the activities of the NSDAP and the 'coordinated' organizations carefully. In 1934 they banned the party and the *Hitler Youth* when a German youth jamboree was staged in Windhoek. Disciplinary misconducts by some youngsters during the jamboree offered the South African Police the opportunity to occupy the party headquarters in the capital and seize hundreds of documents. However, not only Nazis in SWA complained about the South African coup: among the German community it was widely understood that Pretoria by this action only wanted to disfavour political Germandom before the elections to the Windhoek parliament. And the authorities of South Africa proved successful.

Interestingly, during the last years before the outbreak of war, Pretoria did not administer the ban of the NSDAP very strongly. From the South African point of view the party should carry on splitting up the German

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[43] Hagemann, *Südafrika*, 52.

Overview of some basic data on the Auslandsorganization NSDAP Party members in non-European Countries

Group	Entrance before 'takeover' until 1933	Entrance after 'takeover' after 1933	Total numbers of members by 1937	Number of Reichsdeutsche 1937	Percent NSDAP members of Reichsdeutsche of total members	Estimate of all Germans ca 1937 / 38 numbers in thousand	Percent total NSDAP party members of Germans
Amt II							
Canary Islands	20	66	86	600	14,3	-	-
Spanish Morocco	1	28	29	120	24,2	-	-
French Morocco	-	17	17	100	17,0	-	-
	21	111	132	820	17	-	-
Amt III							
Tyrkia	22	216	238	1300	18,3	5	4,8
Palestin	4	224	228	1272	17,9	*3,6	6,3
Beirut - Syria	-	19	19	158	12,0	*3,6	0,5
Egypt	17	197	214	1178	18,2	-	-
Teheran-Iran	12	104	116	950	12,2	-	-
Kabul - Afghanistan	8	17	25	110	22,7	-	-
Bagdad - Irak	4	10	14	56	25,0	-	-
Stützp. Malta	-	7	7	17	41,2	-	-
	67	794	861	5041	17	-	-
Amt V							
Southwest – Africa	149	978	1127	13000	8,7	13	8,7
Tangranyika - Territ.	64	624	688	2140	31,2	-	-
Union – South-Africa	31	305	336	2100	16,0	35	1,0
Kamerun	24	107	131	350	37,4	0,3	43,7
Angola	11	85	96	480	20,0	-	-
Kenia Kolonie	9	68	77	390	19,7	-	-
Port. East-Africa	4	73	77	200	38,5	-	-
Abeba – Abess.	-	39	39	110	35,5	-	-
Monrovia-Liberia	4	30	34	100	34,0	-	-
Accra-Goldcoast	6	21	27	50	54,0	-	-
Lagos – Nigeria	1	15	16	50	32,0	-	-
	303	2345	2648	18970	14	-	-
Amt VI							
USA	115	454	569	no	-	8.000	-
Canada	5	83	88	information	-	500	-
	120	537	657	-	-	8500	8

*Palestine & Syria together

Group	Entrance before 'takeover' until 1933	Entrance after 'takeover' after 1933	Total numbers of members by 1937	Number of Reichsdeutsche 1937	Percent NSDAP members of Reichsdeutsche of total members	Estimate of all Germans ca 1937 / 38 numbers in thousand	Percent total NSDAP party members of Germans
Amt VII							
Brazil	348	2555	2903	75000	3,9	900	0,3
Argentina	156	1344	1500	42800	3,5	230	0,7
Chile	189	796	985	5300	18,6	30	3,3
Mexico	41	269	310	5600	5,6	13	2,4
Colombia	29	245	274	1400	19,6	2	13,7
Guatemala	51	209	260	2500	10,4	-	-
Paraguay	62	178	240	2600	9,2	11	2,2
Venezuela	6	215	221	1200	18,4	4	5,5
Peru	34	167	201	2000	10,1	2	10,1
Bolivia	4	165	169	675	25,0	1,5	11,3
Uruguay	8	135	143	2000	7,2	8	1,8
Colon-Panama	18	51	69	200	34,5	-	-
Ecuador	6	52	58	500	11,6	0,7	8,3
S. José de Costa Rica	10	46	56	645	8,7	-	-
Habana - Cuba	4	42	42	250	16,8	-	-
Honduras	2	37	41	300	13,7	-	-
Curacao	8	35	37	100	37,0	-	-
Managua - Nicaragua	3	23	29	355	8,2	-	-
Port au Prince	-	23	26	250	10,4	-	-
Paramaribo	-	13	13	140	9,3	-	-
Aruba	1	11	11	30	36,7	-	-
Ciudad-Truchillo	-	10	11	60	18,3	-	-
S. Juan de Porto Rico	-	3	3	35	8,6	-	-
	978	6624	7602	143640	0,05	1202,2	0,006
Amt VIII							
China	83	617	700	5000	14,0	4	17,5
Dutch India	23	659	682	3000	22,7	8	8,5
Japan	16	190	206	1200	17,2	1	20,6
Australia	16	144	160	3600	4,4	50	0,3
Brit. India	24	106	130	500	26,0	1,2	10,8
Mandschukuo	9	51	60	200	30,0	1,3	4,6
Manila	2	51	53	150	35,3	-	-
Bangkok-Siam	1	27	28	150	18,7	-	-
Apia Samoa	-	11	11	200	5,5	-	-
Neuseeland	-	5	5	20	25,0	2	0,3
	174	1861	2035	14020	14,5	67,5	0,03
	1683	12272	13935	182491	0,8	9769,7	0,001

community. Until September 1939 the swastika was flown freely in the mandate territory. On Hitler's birthay on April 20. 1939, shortly after the crushing of Czechoslovakia, South African armoured police moved into SWA in order to counter an imagined Nazi putsch. When seeing the swastika flying some of the policemen were reported shouting: "Look! We are too late, Hitler is already here!".

In the Union of South Africa 336 out of 2100 'Reichsdeutsche' were party members in June 1937.[44] While the Germans in SWA often found themselves in bitter rivalry with the Boers over farmland and bank loans, things looked somewhat differently within the Union.[45]

German 'experts on South Africa' at home and in the Union repeatedly hinted at the German share in Boerish blood which by one 'expert' was estimated to 33 per cent. Proceeding from these 'völkisch' ties between Boers and Germans some of the more radical 'experts' demanded a kind of German co-determination in South African politics. Political, economical, and cultural relationships between Germany and the Union of South Africa were conceived as long-term instruments to tighten relations between the two countries - at the expense of the traditional British South-African connections. They were of course deeply loathed by the majority of the Boer people due to the defeat of the Boers at the end of the Anglo-Boer War in 1902.[46] Thus, similar to the conditions in Australia Boerish sympathy for Nazism to a certain degree was a simple reflex of their Anglophobia. However, there is also evidence that Germans and Boers in some parts of South Africa only coexisted as rivals not really loving each other,[47] contrary to what especially Nazi propaganda wanted to tell. The economic success of many German farmers was for instance registered with jealousy by quite a lot of the Boers. Germans in South Africa over and over again complained about the supposed Boerish laziness and their unreliability. Here again we may see a parallel to the situation in Australia where the local Nazis tended to look

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44 Jacobsen, *Außenpolitik*, 566.

45 Information on South Africa is taken from Hagemann, *Sudafrika* 64-74 and 80-108.

46 A typical example for this kind of argumentation is the report drawn by the psychologist Count Karlfried von Durckleim - Moved in early 1935. As a reward for the report Durckleim for a while became an influential member of the Dienststelle Ribbentrop until on racial grounds he was dismissed from his post by Ribbentrop. See: Hagemann, *Südafrika*, 83-90.

47 Hagemann, *Südafrika*, 94-102.

down on their Italian, Fascist comrades. In their striving for economic success in the Union German woolbuyers did not hesitate to out-manoeuvre their Boerish rivals by forming a kind of German wool-marketing syndicate in the late 1930's. This provoked bitter complaints even from such South-African politicians who were well known for their admiration of Nazi Germany.[48]

While the establishment of cordial relationships between the Boers and the Germans was a major aim of Nazi diplomacy in South Africa, the practical goals for the *Landesgruppe Südafrika* was to form the local German community strictly along Nazi lines. As Bruno Stiller, the leader of the Landesgruppe put it: The party in the Union "is the spearhead and outpost of a people of over 70 millions. It has the duty to make each its representatives a reliable tool in the hands of the Führer".[49]

However, in its attempts to melt the Germans in the Union into one body of action the NSDAP faced similar problems as in Argentina and in SWA. The generational conflict was a great hindrance to the diffusion of Nazism. As already mentioned the older generation looked with suspicious on the party in the Union while many young Germans engaged themselves on the side of the Landesgruppe. Like in Argentina the quarrels within the German community were linked to leading German newspapers in South Africa, each of them fuelling their position with arguments and gossips about the other.

The conflict at home between the Church and the Nazi government also proved disastrous to the party's attempts to streamline the Germans in the Cape. A good deal of German cultural life in the Union was mainly linked to Protestantism and their church. While many of the Lutheran priests and missionaries in the beginning welcomed Hitler's 'seizure of power' as the alleged signal of a German 'rebirth' and as a decisive stroke against 'godless Marxism' in the Reich, doubts came up when news reached the churches in South Africa about Nazi handling of Church affairs at home, including the persecution of members of the clergy.

Cooperation of the Landesgruppe with the South African fascist *Greyshirt* movement did not take place on any significant scale. No substantial support for the *Greyshirts* by the German side can be traced although a

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[48] Hagemann, *Südafrika*, 162-3.

[49] Translation from German and first quoted in Jacobsen, *Außenpolitik*, 603.

cheque occasionally did change sides.[50] For Berlin the *Greyshirts* in general were a negligible quantity, they would instead prefer close contacts to high ranking and pro-German South-African officials.

In this chapter I have tried to sketch aspects of the diffusion of Nazism in some parts of the world outside Europe. As I have shown, any analysis of the diffusion must be seen within the framework of Nazi foreign policy. While aiming at streamlining all Germans abroad in the spirit of Nazism, the diffusion in practice had to cope with several difficulties. Firstly, due to the dualistic structure of Nazi foreign policy, competition and rivalry between various institutions dealing with the diffusion of Nazism was the order of the day. Secondly, the judicial distinction between 'Reichsdeutsche' and 'Volksdeutsche' abroad produced much confusion and quarrels among the German communities, as well as among the responsible institutions within the Reich. Thirdly, the spreading of Nazism outside Germany always had to reckon with the heterogeneous composition of the Germandom abroad. Nazism was not welcomed by each and every German, not to mention personal and generational differences among the German colonies overseas. Thus, given the limited period of time, the diffusion of Nazism outside Europe proved successful, but only locally and only partially in its ideological 'Gleichschaltung' of all Germans abroad. While espionage and 'fifth column' activity was on the whole of minor importance and with limited impact, the diffusion of Nazism as a political manoeuvre proved in certain cases detrimental to Germany's diplomatic relations with other countries, and then indirectly to less influence of Nazism outside Europe altogether.

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[50] Statement by the former Nazi consul to Durban, Otto von Strahl, who at the outbreak of War in September 1939 joined the Allied side against Germany and stayed in South Africa to work for the South African govern ment. See: Hagemann, *Südafrika*, 132.

4

EMILIO GENTILE

I FASCI ITALIANI ALL'ESTERO THE 'FOREIGN POLICY' OF THE FASCIST PARTY[1]

Origins and aims

One of the aims of the Fascist party in power was, from the very beginning, to spread the fascist influence and ideology among Italian communities abroad. With this purpose in mind the fascist policy operated in every European and non-European country where Italian communities could be located. The Fascist party concentrated its greatest effort in countries such as USA and Argentina having the largest number of Italian immigrants and their descendants. This policy was carried through by the organization of *Fasci italiani all'estero* (Italian Fasci abroad). It was first set up as an institution of the Fascist party and later, when the Fascist regime was consolidated, it was incorporated into one general organization of the Italians abroad, reporting to the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Fascism justified the organization of the Fasci abroad as an effort to protect the social, economic and juridical interests of the Italian emigrants, and to promote Italian culture, as well as stimulating foreign trade with Italy. However, the main intentions of fascist policy overseas was always to diffuse fascist ideology and fascist influence and enforce some control upon the Italian communities abroad. From 1923 to 1926, the Fascist party therefore tried to pursue its own ideological 'foreign policy,' as we may call it, and with own personnel to organize a strategy for its implementation in foreign countries.

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[1] An expanded version of this contribution has been published in: E. Gentile, "La Politica estéro del partito fascista. Iodeologio e organizzazione dei Fasci italiani all'estero (1920-1930)", *Storia contemporaneo*, december 1995, 897-956.

The experience of a political party after seizing power in its own country, which did set up a network of its branches abroad and keep under control and organize Italian immigrants in foreign countries, was an unprecedented event. It thus raised contrasting reactions both in Italy and in the foreign countries where fascist organizations were organized, and operated under the direction of the Fascist party and -government. Though this aspect of fascist policy was such a new and important element of fascist totalitarianism, Fasci italiani all'estero have not so far been thoroughly studied.[2]

However, in this chapter I do not fully intend to fill this gap. I shall limit myself to outline the main development and the policy of this organization by examining the steps it took in diffusing fascism outside Europe, in the first decade of the Fascist regime. I also want to point out another limitation of this chapter. The problem in the export of fascism abroad obviously involved both the foreign policy of the fascist government, accounting for the complex relationship between Italian diplomacy and the ideological, 'foreign policy' of the Fascist party. I shall discuss this relationship during the first years of the fascist regime in order to illustrate the challenges of authority and competence between the Fasci- and official Italian diplomacy.

In the efforts to spread its influence among the Italians abroad, the Fascist party did not operate according to a prearranged strategy. The working out of a policy, aiming to turn Italian communities into fascist strongholds, took place after many initial difficulties and obstacles. This was caused by the attitudes of both Italian immigrants, the different foreign governments and by vicissitudes internal to the Fascist party, as well as by different tendencies and changes in the foreign policy of the fascist State.

The organization and spread of fascism abroad was carried out in several different stages. From the beginning, after the March on Rome, it was marked by conflicts between the Fascist party and Mussolini's government. It was also characterized by the different criteria and methods used by the successive leaders of the Fasci.

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[2] Cfr. P. Parini, *Gli italiani nel mondo*, Milano, 1935; G. Bastianini, *Gli italiani all'estero*, Milano, 1939; E. Santarelli, "Il fasci italiani all'estero (Note ed appunti)", in *Studi urbinati de storia, filosofia e letteratura*, n. 1-2, 1971, 1307-1328; D. Fabiano, "I fasci italiani all'estero", in *Gli italiani fuori dall'Italia*, a cura di B. Bezza, Milano, 1983, pp. 221-236.

Their aims can be summarized as follows:

a) to keep the Italian communities and their already exiting social, cultural and charity associations under control, by claiming the monopoly abroad for the fascist organization as the sole representative of 'Italianness' (Italianità);

b) to react to the policy of denationalization and naturalization of the Italians, encouraging with huge propaganda the sense of Italian identity among the Italian citizens and emigrants' descendants abroad;

c) to oppose the propaganda and the activities of the Italian anti-fascists abroad and reduce their influence upon the Italian communities;

d) to advance the importance of economic and political measures which would create a public opinion favourable to fascism, among them encourage the celebration of Italian past and forward fascist ideology and the regime as expressions of a renewed Italian glory.

The first Fasci abroad rose spontaneously between the years of 1921 and 1922, thanks to the initiatives by young fascist emigrants who tried, among the Italians abroad, to exploit the new feelings of patriotism aroused by the Libyan war and the First World War. On May 1. 1921, while announcing the setting up of a Fascio in New York, Mussolini declared that the formation of Fasci abroad was an integral part of the fascist program.

In November 1921, on the eve of the congress for the foundation of the Fascist party, *Il Popolo d'Italia* proposed to initiate a broad development of the Fasci abroad.[3] The first statute of the National Fascist Party (PNF), however, did not contemplate on any particular external institution. Only after Dino Grandi and Italo Balbo's suggestion, at the meeting held in Milan on 14 August 1922, on the eve of the March on Rome, did the party decide to organize a special office to initiate the birth of *'Fasci italiani all'estero'*.[4] The fascist program to be spread among Italian communities abroad was tied to the problem of emigration. This was also an important issue the fascists used to attack the Liberal State. The fascists blamed the Liberal ruling class that it never cared for the Italian emigrants, while they propagated a more active policy of protection and even special representation for them within the Italian Parliament.[5] However, an ideological aim was rapidly introduced

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[3] M. Risolo, "Gli Italiani all'estero", in *Il Popolo d'Italia*, Novembre 6, 1921.

[4] E. Gentile, *Storia del partito fascista. 1919-1922. Movimento e milizia* (Rome-Bari,1989), 387 - ff.

[5] "La relazione dell'On. Grandi", in *Il Popolo d'Italia*, 27 ottobre 1922.

to the problem of emigration. Before the March on Rome, Giuseppe Bottai, clearly pointed out the need for "an expansion of fascism abroad".[6] Bottai suggested an approach of 'flexibility', depending on the different situations within the foreign countries. He also mentioned the need of close control of the Fasci abroad exercised by the central authority of the Fascist party. Only by such a control could fascism in power:

> incorporate them into the State structure and in addition use direct efforts towards expansion of the Italian race, defend the national identity of Italians abroad, and stimulate the activities of official Italian institutions in foreign countries.

Guiseppe Bastianini's ambitious policy

After the fascists seized power, and as a result of the wave of fascist success in Italy, the Fasci abroad began to increase. That made it necessary for the PNF to control and coordinate their organization and activities, and to set the rules for the formation of new branches. In order to promote and control the Fasci, the leaders of the PNF decided in December 1922 to appoint *delegates* ('delegati') in the most important foreign capitals.[7] Each Fascio was to have an office for technical matters, an office for practical assistance and one for propaganda. Membership was open to all Italians (men over twenty years old, women over 17) with a high standard of morality and who were not members of any other political party. The Fasci abroad had, through the local delegate, to follow the instructions given by the PNF under which they were subordinated. They were not allowed to take initiative on their own on important matters without first having consulted the PNF leaders, and they were expected to respect the law in the foreign country where they were living. On February 16. and on July 28. 1923 the Grand Council, the new ruling institution of the PNF, reasserted these general guidelines for the Fasci abroad. They stressed that Italian fascists abroad ought to avoid getting involved in local or domestic politics and instead dedicate themselves to unite the Italians abroad and to cultivate the new 'Italianness' of fascism.[8]

In the first stage of its development, Giovanni Bastianini was appointed director of *Fasci italiani all'estero*. He was born in 1899, a young leader of

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[6] G. Bottai, "Il Fascio di Salonicco", in *Il Popolo d'Italia*, August 10, 1922.

[7] "Costituzione della sezione fascista di Parigi", in *Il Popolo d'Italia*, December 5, 1922.

[8] *Il Gran Consiglio nei primi dieci anni dell'era fascista*, (Rome, 1933), 33-34; 94-96.

fascism in Umbria, vice-secretary of the PNF and one of the foremost representatives of the intransigent wing of the Fascist party. Bastianini's leadership was directly under Mussolini's supervision but he enjoyed a great deal of autonomy. His actions as leader of the *Fasci italiani all'estero*, were based on the idea that fascism was a real revolution and the beginning of a new, modern Italian civilization that would revive the universal Roman civilization.[9] By opposing the Communist International Bastianini did however not exclude the setting up of a Fascist International. Such an organization should not aim at conflict with foreign governments, but instead, by exalting the principle of authority and patriotism,[10] contradict the influence of Communist ideology. At the same time, Bastianini pointed out that fascism had nothing in common with the reactionary movements which tried to imitate fascist style of politics and labeled themselves as fascist. None of the European and extra-European right-wing movements, which called themselves fascist - Bastianini maintained - could "be considered similar to our movement from an ethical and political point of view". They were either too conservative such as British Union of fascists, or they were overt anti-semitic such as Hungarian Arrow Cross. Fascism - Bastianini added - had nothing in common with the 'racist obsession' of the Ku Klux Klan, but it was more similar to the patriotism of the American Legion.[11]

According to Bastianini, fascism was a spiritual and a political revolution aiming at creating a new regime and for civilized people a new way of life[12]. Being a revolution movement, fascism should not limit itself by the Italian boundaries, but should spread its ideology all over the world. It had to diffuse its principles to Italian immigrants in foreign countries, keep them together in a joint community of believers and work as missionaries of the fascist, political religion. Camillo Pellizzi, one founder of the Italian Fascio in London, said that the *Fasci italiani all'estero* were to become:

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[9] "Fascismo all'estero", in *Il Popolo d'Italia*, February 17, 1923; G. Bastianini, *La gloria di Roma*, (Rome, 1923).

[10] "L'on Bastianini e gli sviluppi dell'azione fascista oltre confine", in *I Fasci italiani all'estero*, May 2, 1925.

[11] Speech at the House of Representatives, November 15 1924, in *I Fasci italiani all'estero*, Novembre 20, 1924.

[12] *Rivoluzione*, (Rome, 1923).

> an important power of influence that was on one hand, a guarantor of continuity and stability of the Fascist State. On the other hand they were an organization for the military training of Italians abroad. A voluntary civic army ready, when necessary, to gravitate towards the mother country and to mobilize and take action to defend fascism.[13]

At first Bastianini's policy gained considerable success. In March 1923, for instance, the *Lega Italiana per gli interessi nazionali all'estero* (Italian League for the protection of national interests abroad), set up in 1920 by the nationalist Giovanni Giuriati and presided over by the former prime minister and liberal conservative Vittorio Emanuele Orlando, was dissolved by Mussolini to favour his own fascist organizations.[14] Though the League had supported the establishment of the first Fasci abroad, it was sacrificed to further Bastianini's hegemonic ambitions. In this way, the fascist organization by October 1923 became an institution more or less independent of the PNF[15], even though Bastianini still was a member of the Grand Council.[16] After May 1924 a bulletin *Fasci Italiani all'estero* (from January 1925 it was renamed *Il Legionario*) was issued giving instructions to the fascists abroad and reporting about the development of the Fasci in the different countries. The office of the organization also dealt with export and import and thus tried to promote trade and Italian business abroad.

Reactions, resistance and difficulties

The first Fasci abroad had only few members and did not last long. Many of them were first founded, then dissolved and soon to be reorganized again. Most of them were hampered by internal struggles due to conflicting interests and ambitions of the local leaders. From the social point of view, these Fasci were made up of young people, war veterans, professionals, journalists, adventurers and profiteers who tried to exploit the opportunity for private purposes. The new patriotic enthusiasm arouse in Italian communities by the victory in the Great War and coming from the war was the evolving myth of

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[13] "I fasci all'estero", in *Il Popolo d'Italia*, August 1, 1923.

[14] D. Fabiano, "La Lega Italian per la tutela degli interssi nazionale e le origini dei Fasci italiani all'estero (1920-1923)", *Storia contemporanea*, XVI (April 1985), 203-250.

[15] Letter to Bastianini, October 18, 1923, see *Bollettivo della Segreteria Generale dei Fasci all'estero e nelle colonie*, 2 (July 1926), 6.

[16] *Il Gran Consiglio nei primi dieci anni*, 109.

Mussolini as the strong man of a new Italy.[17] In fact, from the beginning the PNF rejected over a hundred requests to set up Fasci abroad, maintaining that the quality of members was far more important than their quantity.[18] In their reports both fascists and representative of the Italian diplomacy agreed on the precarious situation of Fasci abroad and their quarrelsome nature. At the Grand Council meeting on February 16. 1923, Bastianini reported that there were 150 Fasces abroad, organized into twenty-six delegations, scattered throughout the Italian colonies, and set up in Austria, Anatolia, Argentina, Albania, Bulgaria, Belgium, Canada, Egypt, France, England, Ireland, Panama, Romania, Spain and USA. In the summer this year, Bastianini reported the existence of approximately 280 Fasci abroad.[19]

These figures are however not reliable. Since this first stage the Fasci abroad, even in countries like Argentina and the United States, with large contingents of Italian immigrants, the fascist had worked hard to spread their ideas and to build up a network of Fasces, but with meagre results. According to the report of a police commissioner who was on a secret mission

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[17] A. Cassel, "fascism for export. Italy and the United States in the Twenties", in *American Historical Review*, april 1964, pp. 707-712; P.V. Cannistraro, "fascism and Italian Americans", in *Perspectives in Italian immigration and ethnicity*, New York, 1977, pp. 51-66; G. Salvemini, *Italian Fascist Activities in the United States*, a cura e con introduzione di P.V. Cannistraro, New York, 1977: G. Cresciani, *Fascismo, antifascismo e gli italiani in Australia*, Roma, 1979; J.W. Borejsza, *Il fascismo e l'Europa orientale*, Roma-Bari, 1981, pp. 102-108; P. Milza, "Le fascisme italien a Paris", in *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, luglio-settembre 1983, pp. 241-278; L. Bruti Liberati, *Il Canada, l'Italia e it fascismo 1919-1945*, Roma 1984; R. Schor, "It facismo italiano nelle Alpes Maritimes 1922-1939", in *Notiziario dell'Istituto storico della Resistenza in Cuneo e provincia*, dicembre 1984, pp. 21-56; R.F. Harney, *Dalla frontiera alle little Italies. Gli Italiani in Canada 1800-1945*, Rom , 1984; M. Cerutti, *Fra Roma e Berna*, Milano, 1986; E. Gentile, "L'emigrazione italiana in Argentina nella politica di espansione del nazionalismo e del fascismo", in *Storia con-temporanea*, giugno 1986, pp. 335-396; C. Wiegandt-Sakoun, "Le fascisme italien en France", in *Les Italiens en France de 1914 á 1940*, a cura di P. Milza, Roma, 1986, pp. 431-469; A. Morelli, *Fascismo e antifascismo nell'emigrazione italiana in Belgio (1922-1940)*, Roma, 1987; D. Francfort, "Etre mussolinien en Lorraine: les fasistes italiens face aux associations (1921-1939)", in *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, aprile-giugno 1991, pp. 313-336; R.C. Newton, "Ducini, prominenti, antifascisti: Italian fascism and the Italo-Argentine Collectivity, 1922-1945", in *The Americas*, luglio 1994, pp. 41-66, and the special issue: "Gli italiani all'estero e il fascismo: aspetti politici, culturali e sociali", *Stora Contemporanea*, december 1995.

[18] Interview in *Il Popolo d'Italia*, February 17, 1923.

[19] *Il Gran Consiglio nei primi dieci anni*, 94-97.

in the USA in the Spring of 1923, the setting up of Fasces was not welcomed by most Italians. They ignored Italian events or knew them only through the anti-fascist press.

When Mussolini seized power, the mood of the Italian and American public in USA changed. It turned into an approval and even enthusiasm for Mussolini. He was praised by conservatives as the person who saved Italy from Bolshevism, even though Americans were firmly convinced that fascism could not be exported to the USA. However the Fasci were strongly opposed by anti-fascist organizations and they were actually quite few. One report by a police commissioner of the Italian government from the USA stated that the Fasci:

> could not provide a useful and practical program. Thus they were bound to disappear, or just become the centres of sheer Italian propaganda. [...] Here the Italian middle class, that should give some support, was made up of small shopkeepers, modest industrialists and professionals with no political ideas, unwilling to risk their small and recent fortune. They were not even eager to call themselves Italian, and were afraid of all that might cause them troubles and the responsibilities which they are not able to face. They will never be openly fascist though they may be fascists at heart. The vast majority of the Italians of a higher social and financial standing are American citizens and do not find it convenient to declare themselves fascists while as such they would risk to be said to belong to an American fascist movement.[20]

However, the police commissioner did not approve of an overt policy in favour of the Fasci abroad. On the contrary he believed that "to encourage officially the setting up of Fasci in the USA and to finance them" would be "two great mistakes that might lead to unpleasant consequences." But the diffusion and the organization of the Fasces in the USA went on. In 1923 they did set up the Central Fascist Council, which was attached to the Fascio in New York, and at the end of 1923 it was approved and officially accepted by the PNF.[21]

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[20] Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Cultura Popolare (hereafter ACS, MCP), Gabinetto, report 71, "Fasci e fascismo agli [sic!] Stati Uniti", New York, June 6, 1923.

[21] See G. Salvemini, *Italian Fascist Activities in the United States*, cit., 11-50; G.G. Migone, *Problemi di storia nei rapporti tra Italia e Stati Uniti* (Torino, 1971), 25-43; P.V. Cannistraro, "fascism and Italian Americans", in S.M. Tomasi, ed., *Perspectives in Italian immigration and ethnicity*, (New York 1977), pp. 51-66. C. Damiani, *Mussolini e gli Stati Uniti 1922-1935*, (Bologna 1980), P.V. Cannistraro, "Per una storia de' fasci italiani negli stati uniti (1921-1929), *Storia contemporanea*, december 1995, pp. 1061-1144..

The situation was not very different in Argentina. A member of the leading group of the Fascio in Buenos Aires reported in September 1923 that the organization was struggling for its survival. It was opposed by the local Italian press, and among its founders were many ambiguous and suspicious elements.[22] When it was dissolved and reorganized by the 'delegate' Ottavio Dinale, the new section found it difficult to take off. The leading personalities in the colony, although of fascist persuasion, did not want to accept leading positions in the organization in order to avoid the troubles involved.

An uneasy dualism between the party and the state

Another reason for the difficult start of the Fasci abroad was the conflicts between Bastianini and Italian diplomacy. From the very beginning they opposed his claims to carry out the 'foreign policy' of the party within the Italian communities abroad. This policy was declared autonomous or even in conflict with consular authorities, since the Fasci abroad claimed to control them politically. These conflicts triggered off continuous clashes between the Secretariat of Fasci abroad and the Department of Foreign Affairs.[23] The dualism between the State and the Fascist party, which troubled Italian policy from the first years of the Fascist government, was thus continuously reflected in the relationships between the consular authorities and the representatives of the Fasci abroad. Bastianini was responsible for the diffusion of fascism in the world, but was also a representative of the most intransigents among the fascists, which after the march on Rome claimed the absolute seizure of power. They also wanted to occupy all the leading State institutions under the Department of Foreign Affairs. In 1925 Bastianini endorsed the totalitarian politics of Roberto Farinacci, the secretary of the PNF, who was seen as the national leader of the intransigents fascist. In the first international meeting of the *Fasci italiani all'estero*, which was held in Milan and Rome on October 30-31. 1925, Bastianini set forth the new goals for his organization:

a) They wanted that all Italian diplomats had to be committed fascists;
b) all Italian anti-fascists abroad should be denied Italian citizenship and have all their property in Italy confiscated;

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[22] E. Gentile, "L'emigrazione italiana in Argentina", cit., 389-392.

[23] A. Cassels, "Fascism for Export: Italy and the United State in the Twenties", *American Historical Review*, LXIX (April 1964), 707-12; Id., *Mussolini's Early Diplomacy*, (Princeton 1970), 377-389; G. Rumi, *Alle origini della politica estera fascista* (Bari 1968), 241-45.

c) the State was to grant his organization 'the sole representation of Italy abroad' and have the control over the offices and competence of the Department of Emigration .[24]

Since fascism identified itself with the nation, and Italiannism to them meant fascism, Farinacci and Bastianini claimed that only a true fascist could be a true Italian. Italians abroad who were opposed, or were not favourable to fascism, should be treated as traitors and enemies of the Motherland and as such they were to be persecuted. Consequently Bastianini maintained that Italian diplomacy and even the official representatives of the Italian State in foreign countries had to be under fascist control and had to commit themselves to the diffusion of fascist influence among the Italian immigrants.

However, Bastianini's ambition was hampered by the hostility of the career diplomats who resisted his aim to carry out the 'foreign policy' of the party, independent and often in conflict with consular authorities and the Department of Foreign Affairs. Thus a continuous stream of conflicts of competence, that could deteriorate the diplomatic relationships between Italy and the foreign countries, was set off. The spreading of the Fasci abroad, being supported by the political party which was anchored at the head of the government, obviously raised suspicions in public opinion and in the foreign governments. Mussolini and Bastianini's public declaration that the Fasci abroad was not intended to have a political nature and that they should respect local laws were not enough to clear up these suspicions. Therefore, the spread of the Fasci, due to the reactions and the mistrust from domestic governments abroad, was met with many difficulties. The conflicts of competence and authority between leaders of Fasci abroad and representatives of the Italian diplomacy, added to these difficulties. Salvemini wrote that there was a dual hierarchy: the officials of the government, and that of the officials of the Fascist party. The ambassadors, consuls and consular agents, were the official representatives of the Italian government, and they were bound by rules of diplomatic behaviour. The secretaries of the Fasces, although they were representatives of the Fascist regime, had no diplomatic duties, and were free to carry out activities forbidden to the former. The abnormal situation for the Fasci in America and similarly in all foreign countries, rose precisely from this problem. According to the law of the countries where the Fasci abroad were established, they were regarded as private associations, but according to Italian law they were organs of the Fascist regime. Their

[24] *Fasci italiani all'estero*, Novembre 7, 1925.

highest officials were all appointed by Rome, their constitutions were dictated by the head of the Italian government, and they had to pay "obedience to the Duce and to the Fascist law".[25]

The dualism between traditional State rules and the rules of the Fascist party was reproduced in the relationship between consulates and leaders of the Fasci abroad. Whenever the latter carried out directives of Bastianini it did ignore or went against the directives of the diplomatic authorities. At the meeting of February 16. 1923, the Grand Council had officially declared that the Fasci abroad were not political sections of the fascist party. Fascist leaders abroad always relied on this declaration, but in reality it was a mere cover to obliterate PNF's totalitarian ambitions. The Fasci abroad were in fact directly organized by the Fascist party through its 'delegates' and followed its instructions and directives. Officially they appeared, however, as private associations that did not want to interfere with the internal policy of foreign countries and that they respected their constitution and institutions. In a secret circular of July 17. 1923, Bastianini himself admitted:

> No country in the world would accept that a foreign political party settle and organize sections in public within its own boundaries. You will understand that it was a sound political move to declare that Fasci abroad were not sections of the Fascist party. In reality they are not since the General Secretary is a member of the Executive Board of the PNF and of the Great Council, but this cannot be publicly declared without causing suspicions in some countries.[26]

Between 1923 and 1926, diplomats who were faithful to the tradition of the liberal State either did not approve of fascism or were not favourable to the setting up of the Fasci abroad. Antonio Grossardi, the general consul in Australia and with socialist inclinations also tried to oppose the activity of fascist 'delegates.'[27] Other consuls often considered the Fasci abroad as an element of splitting the Italian communities and as a source of conflict with the domestic governments.

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[25] Salvemini, *Italian Fascist Activities*, cit., 61.

[26] The circular is quited in a report of the Italian consul in Boston to the Italian Foreign Office, June 28, 1923, in ACS, MCP, Gabinetto, report 71.

[27] Cresciani, *Antifascismo*, cit., 23-25.

The diplomat versus the party leader

Diplomats who sympathized with the Fasci, and who were open to favour the spreading of fascist ideas among Italian immigrants, also shared this attitude. That was the case of Gelasio Caetani di Sermoneta, a nationalist who had joined the Fascist party and had been appointed by Mussolini as ambassador in Washington soon after the March on Rome.[28] Caetani had lived in and studied in the USA. Therefore he knew the American society well. A true supporter of the Fascist government, and a trustworthy but not a passive executor of Mussolini's directives, Caetani did not tolerate the way Bastianini was carrying out his own 'foreign policy.' Although he was not opposed in principle to organizing the fascist abroad, he was deeply convinced that these new institutions would neither be useful to the Italian communities nor to the foreign policy of the Fascist government.

According to Caetani, the activities of the Fasci abroad were to be confined to ideology, sports and within the philanthropic field. Under no circumstances were they to become active political organizations because that would create a strong opposition from the people and the government of the USA.[29] The setting up of the Fasci abroad was to appear as the result of spontaneous local initiatives and not as a movement organized and led by the Italian government or by the Italian embassy. On the contrary the Fasci in the USA operated in contrast with Caetani's directives. He pointed out to Mussolini, quoting Bastianini's circular of July 31. 1923, that the Fasci abroad were "political organizations headed by Bastianini and channeled to him by the Fascist Grand Council over which Your Excellence presides."[30] Owing to this ambiguous situation the American government blamed the Italian government for acting contradictory to the official statements that the Fasci abroad were non-political organizations. In secret they were organized and directed with distinct political aims, which was a direct interference with the sovereignty and the internal affairs of the USA. The ambassador claimed absolute authority over the official representatives of the Italian government and also over representatives of Fasci abroad:

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[28] G. Migone, *Problemi di storia*, cit., pp. 25-41.

[29] ACS, MCP, Gabinetto, report 71, Caetani to Mussolini, January 28, 1923.

[30] ACS, MCP, Gabinetto, report 71, Caetani to Mussolini, November 23, 1926.

> One of the greatest dangers is the directives, permissions and rush orders that are given by fascist leaders in Italy or by important personalities who are unaware of how delicate the situation is over here and how American psychology is hostile to any foreign interference.[31]

Caetani did not want to suppress the fascist movement in the USA, but only to restrain it. The vicissitudes of the first Fasci in the USA convinced Caetani that neither the Italian community nor the image of the Fascist government profited by the presence of the Fasci in the USA. In fact, the ambassador reported that the fascists in the USA lived "in a terrible situation of inferiority", isolated by public opinion, opposed even by the Italian press and "whenever they try to attract attention, they are humiliated and cause damage to Italy."[32] In spite of the good intentions and the enthusiasm of some generous young activists, the Fasci did not contribute to improve the image of Italy in the USA and they did not contribute to greater unity within the Italian communities:

> Fascists tend to become an element of further division within our colonies, which are already only feebly united. They have caused a problem within the greatest Italian organization, the *Order of the Sons of Italy*. They have made their relationship with representative of the King more difficult by interpreting the necessary diplomatic reserve as an evidence of a lack of Italian feelings. They have broken that feeling of agreement and cooperation that the eldest and most influential members of our colonies had for fascism. They have stopped the steadily rising positive feelings that the Americans had for fascist politics operating inside Italy and which was a benefit to the world. They have enabled those who dislike the Italian race to undermine the fine prestige that our country has gained with the extraordinary bloodless fascist revolution, and with the patient work of propaganda that every Italian had been carrying on in America for months.

There was also a rising hostility in the American government and within American public opinion regarding the spreading of the Fasces since they were being considered as members of a disorderly, foreign political party.

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[31] ACS, MCP, Gabinetto, report 71, Caetani to Mussolini, January 28, 1923, appendix "B".

[32] Storico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri (hereafter ASMAE), Ministero della Cultura popolare, b. 312, Caetani to Mussolini, July 7, 1923.

According to ambassador Caetani, "fascists in the US can be useful neither to Italy nor to the Italian Fascist Party. It is therefore better to give them up."[33]

One judgment similar to Caetani's, regarding the diffusion of fascism in Latin America, was expressed by Giovanni Giuriati, the former leader of *League for the interests of Italian abroad.* In his report to Mussolini, after a long mission in Latin America in 1924, he maintained that Fascism abroad "cannot carry out a proper fascist policy or activity, because it would clash with the laws of the State in which it had been set up." And therefore they were:

> a new colonial association that very often contributes to divide our communities. In some countries, fascists use to wear black shirts and shout the fascist battle cry 'alalà' but cannot reach practical and important results.[34]

Bastianini answered to these accusations saying that they were threatening to his institution and he in turn accused the officers of the Department of Foreign Affairs and the official representatives abroad of being enemies of fascism. They were opposed to the setting up of the Fasces abroad because they did not believe that a Fascist government would last long. On June 28. 1923, he wrote a letter to the head of the Cabinet in the Department of Foreign Affairs that diplomats abroad:

> by their own will are anti-fascist, and all our representatives abroad do directly boycott fascism because most of them 'believe that Mussolini's power will soon end'. The Department of Foreign Affairs 'does not in any way favour the organization of fascism abroad. On the contrary, they are firmly opposed to it and thus represent an important hindrance to our official representatives.'[35]

The main target of Bastianini's accusations was the Italian ambassador to the USA. In particular, Bastianini accused Caetani not only of boycotting the diffusion of or the setting up of the Fasci abroad, but also of encouraging the formation of groups of veterans and Nationalists, declaring that he would not support fascist groups directly dependent on Rome. These accusations were

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[33] ACS, MCP, Gabinetto, report 71, Caetani to Mussolini, March 22, 1923.

[34] Archivio Giuriati, Giuriati to Mussolini, October 12, 1924.

[35] ACS, Segreteria particolare del Duce, Carteggio Riservato, b.37, f. "G. Bastianini".

based upon a report of an agent sent to the USA by the Secretary of Fasci abroad. He claimed that consuls and agents of the consulates were ordered by the Italian Embassy to:

> strongly oppose the development and the organization of fascism and prepare on the contrary to use propaganda against it . . . Fascists are continuously hindered and their work is basically unsuccessful . . . In New York the fascist organization is quite weak compared to the number of immigrants and far from any external manifestation that is worth mentioning.[36]

Bastianini declared to Mussolini that under these conditions "it is no longer possible for us to carry on our important mission since we are met by hostility from our official representatives who constantly intervenes." Two years later, when the Fascist regime was already well settled, Bastianini reiterated his accusations against the consuls and the ambassadors who kept on with going their resistance against the formation of fascist organization, or who did not recognize their supremacy over the associations of Italians abroad.[37] The continuous clashes between the Secretary of Fasci abroad and the representatives of the diplomacy thus originated from Bastianini's claims to take the lead over the Italian communities abroad and to direct his own 'foreign policy.' According to fascist totalitarianism, Bastianini identified fascism with Italianness, and he claimed for his organization the monopoly of representating Italians abroad. He also claimed the right to exert political control over the activity of career diplomats as well carry out the 'fascistisation' of Italian diplomacy. These were claims incompatible with the normal running of the State machinery.

The Duce and the Fasci abroad

Apparently Mussolini pretended to listen to the accusations of the official diplomacy against the policy of Fasci abroad. He replied to Caetani's accusation declaring that the Fascist party was ready to consider the possibility of dissolving the fascist organization in USA if it by any means should upset the relationship between the two States, a relationship the Duce very much wanted to keep friendly.[38] Mussolini however avoided to take a firm po-

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[36] ACS, MCP, Gabinetto, report 71, Bastianini to Mussolini, March 24, 1924.

[37] ACS, MCP, Gabinetto, report 71, Bastianini to Grandi, March 17, 1926.

[38] Cassels, "fascism for Export", cit.; C. Damiani, *Mussolini e gli Stati Uniti* (Bologna 1980), 12-29. D.S. Schmitz, *The United States and fascist Italy 1922-1940*, (Chapel Hill and London 1988), 60-84.

sition. Caetani, who was very clear in his favour of the dignity of Italy, did not hesitate to state that "if not the government and the Fascist Great Council insist in favouring the fascist activities abroad, our national interest would be seriously compromised."[39]

The ambiguity of Mussolini's policy is clearly demonstrated by the circular the Department of Foreign Affairs issued on May 7. 1923. The representatives of the diplomacy were here given instructions to cautiously favour the setting up of fascist divisions abroad:[40]

> Fascists must be wisely advised and if necessary defended by the King's representatives abroad who are responsible for the Italians in the individual countries and entrusted with the task of protecting them. On the other hand, fascists must be totally free to fulfill their main aim, that is to say - to carry out propaganda, organizational assistance, cultural development of the Italians etc. - and under no circumstances must they look as dependant on the King's diplomatic representatives.
>
> All the sound and active elements of the Italians in foreign countries should be members of the Fasci abroad and their guidance must be entrusted to competent, honest persons who are fully aware of their own responsibilities and convinced by patriotic feelings.
>
> Fascists abroad have to restrain from any sort of interference in the policy of the guest country, and it is the duty of the King's representatives to control that they conform to these instructions.
>
> Finally, the King's representatives must report to his department on the work of fascists in the countries under their jurisdiction and to their superiors.
>
> On the basis of this information, the King's representatives should make the necessary proposal for the better organization of their work and for the working of the fascist organizations.

Mussolini as leader of the government and Minister of the Department of Foreign Affairs could neither favour Bastianini 'foreign policy' nor could he reduce the authority and the prestige of the official representatives of the Italian government. However, as the Duce of the Fascist party, he had difficulties in openly refusing Bastianini's policy, that was after all approved by the Grand Council. Mussolini did also not want to give up his plan of spreading fascism abroad and asserting its hegemony among the Italian communities overseas. Mussolini as well as Bastianini wanted to further tota-

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[39] ACS, MCP, Gabinetto, Caetani to Mussolini, July 6, 1923, cit.

[40] ACS, MCP, Gabinetto, report 71, Italian Consul in Boston to the Minitery of Foreign Office, June 28, 1923.

litarian aims abroad, in the same way as the Fascist party was aiming at in Italy. They supported the idea that 'Italianness' and fascism were the same thing, thus defining all Italians who were anti-fascist as enemies of the nation. Mussolini however tried, for his own purposes, to balance both the fascists abroad and the representatives of the diplomacy.

The solution Mussolini adopted to overcome this dualism was a solution typical of fascist totalitarianism in its early phase. He subordinated officially the fascists abroad to the diplomatic authority, while he at the same time replaced career diplomats with fascist believers entrusting the latter with the task of spreading fascism among the Italian communities abroad. Dino Grandi, appointed under secretary for Foreign affairs, was commissioned to carry out this policy.[41] He soon took position against the claims of *Fasci all'estero* who wanted to be autonomous and independent from the consular authorities. He started to interfere with their functions and he controlled their policy. By reforming and widening the competence of diplomats as well as the strengthen the network of the consulates, Grandi set about turning Italian diplomacy in general into a fascist body. Through new rules of selection, 120 new consuls were appointed in 1927, most of them being members of the Fascist party. In this way he furthered the diffusion of fascism in a new way into the Italian communities abroad. He entrusted the steering of this policy to the official diplomats who then came to preside formally over the fascist organizations abroad. Grandi's policy on the *Fasci all'estero* and on their relationships with the diplomatic services was clearly expressed in a speech he gave to the House of Representatives on May 19. 1926.[42] He said that the Fasci were "private organizations having no public function at all." Being Italian citizens, the Fascists abroad had to respect both the domestic laws and the Italian diplomatic authorities. Therefore no contrast could possibly exist between the official delegates of the Fascist state and of the *Fasci all'estero*:

> The Consul is the very first fascist abroad. He does not represent the Fascist government. Does he not depend on a Department whose leader is the Duce of fascism? Consuls are civil servants of the Fascist state. They execute the orders of the fascist minister. When the central Government is fascist, the organs that

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[41] G. Carocci, *La politica estera dell'Italia fascista*, (Bari 1969), 25-31; P. Nello, *Dino Grandi. La Formazione di un leader fascista*, (Bologna 1987), 246-265.

[42] ASMAE, Ministero Della Cultura Popolare, b.79, fasc."S.E. Grandi, Servizi Notiziari.

> carry out its orders must act according to the goals and ideals of fascism. Should a delegate of the Government fail to execute these directives, the Government itself would take steps to implement its orders.

The guidelines Grandi gave to the policy of *Fasci all'estero*, within the general frame of the party being subordinate to the State in the new Fascist regime, definitely obliterated the former "foreign policy" of Bastianini. At the end of 1926 he resigned as secretary of *Fasci all'estero*. In his letter to Mussolini he was proud of himself as having paved the way to an organization that:

> will enable fascism to get hold of private and social life among Italians in foreign countries and of all activities concerning them in the same way as fascism has seized all similar activities in Italy.[43]

A new course

When Cornelio di Marzio was appointed new secretary, the *Fasci Italiani all'estero* this underwent a gradual change that eventually led to the end of the dualism between organization and the diplomacy. Di Marzio was a journalist and a former nationalist. Since 1923 he had maintained that the fascist organizations abroad were subordinate to consular authorities. In his first speech as secretary of *Fasci all'estero*, he declared that the fascist delegates abroad had to obey and to cooperate with the official representatives of the Italian government.[44] But Di Marzio occasionally also complained to Grandi about the tiny support given by diplomats to the development of the Fasci abroad. He worked to overcome, as he said to Mussolini, "the disappointing results of confusion, indecision, interference in other fields and of conflicts between organizations and individuals"[45] But at the same time he also tried to strengthen and broaden his organization to the entire field of the Italian emigrants. In his report to the Grand Council on November 7. 1927, Di Marzio said that the Fasci abroad comprised over 600 units and the members as well as the leaders of the units had been carefully selected, so that conflicts with consular authorities had been avoided and that there had been an increasing activity of propaganda and an organization to

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[43] ACS, Segreteria particolare del Duce, Carteggio Riservato, b.37, fasc. "G. Bastianini", Bastianini to Mussolini, December 2, 1926.

[44] *Il Legionario*, January 27, 1927.

[45] *Bidem* Carte Di Marzio, b.47, fasc.2.

include all the Italians abroad. However, Di Marzio complained about the lack of adequate funds and of leaders capable to promote the diffusion of fascism abroad.

Despite his zeal and discipline, Di Marzio lead the *Fasci all'estero* only for one year. He too had to tackle the continuous conflicts between fascist delegates and career diplomats which were blamed for not wanting to promote the political diffusion of fascism. Among the rumours of why he had resigned, the fact came up that he had appointed leaders of the *Fasci all'estero* trustees who claimed authority over the consuls. On January 7. 1928 Mussolini appointed Piero Parini as the new leader of *Fasci all'estero*. He was a fascist from the early phase who had just been appointed consul. He held the office until 1937 and was probably the most competent leader of *Fasci all'estero*. Under his command the organization was transformed and came under the jurisdiction of the Foreign Office according to a new statute drawn by Mussolini himself in 1928.[46]

The statute defined the *Fasci italiani all'estero* as:

> the organization of the Italians who are residents abroad and who have chosen to obey the Duce and the Fascist laws both in their private and public life and who want to gather around the symbol of *Littorio* the Italian communities in foreign countries.

Fascists abroad had to respect the rules set by Mussolini, the laws and Constitution of their host country. They had to defend 'Italianness' and to help their compatriots under the supervision of the Fascist state. The local organizations depended directly on the General secretariat in Rome who appointed the fascist local leaders and decided sanctions against fascists who caused conflicts with consular authorities. Delegates, as leader of the Fasci abroad, were abolished. Since April 1928 a "Foglio d'Ordini" (official directives) of the secretary of *Fasci all'estero* was issued to give instructions to the local sections. On the other hand, a circular of March 1. 1928 recognized definitely that the *Fasci all'estero* "ranked first among other associations of the Italian community" and they had the competence to lead all ceremonies and demonstrations. That ended eventually a:

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[46] *Il Legionario*, February 4, 1928.

> troubled period of settlements and led to affirmation of the complete and unquestionable authority of the Consul who his the sole delegate of the State and the Fascist Regime.[47]

The new statute met with the approval of foreign diplomats in Rome, as a:

> clear proof that fascism outside the Italian boundaries, would no longer tolerate any sort of demonstrations that the Italian government had been obliged to tolerate in the past.[48]

In his inaugural address as leader of the *Fasci all'estero*, Parini confirmed that the relationship between the fascists abroad - "fascists leaders included" - and diplomatic and consular authorities were to be confined to strict discipline and to total confidence:

> Ambassadors and Consuls of His Majesty are the only deputies of the Italian state. The diplomatic corps is quickly turned into a fascist body. In a short period of time there will be no contrast or misunderstandings.[49]

As a matter of fact, the ambiguity and duplicity that characterized the first stage of the establishment of *Fasci all'estero*, came to an end as soon as they were finally subordinated to the consular authority. The General secretary of *Fasci all'estero* was awarded the rank of a consul and he was also given the role as supervisor of the Italian schools abroad. By 1929, he also became leader of the Italian emigration office and in 1932 he should direct the management of Italian business abroad. The Fasci abroad and all the offices of Italian emigration and of cultural propaganda abroad were united and put under the control of the *Direzione Generale degli Italiani all'estero*.

These changes in the organization and function of *Fasci all'estero* did not modify their essential aim of diffusing fascism within the Italian communities abroad. On the contrary, this policy was stimulated and was fully supported by the diplomatic officials under the new leadership. Consuls indeed became the real promoters of the diffusion of fascist influence in the

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[47] ACS, ACS, Ministero degli interni, Divisione Polizia Politica, 1927-1944, b. 100, fasc. "Segreteria Fasci Italiani all'estero". Rapporto informatore anonimo 5 febbraio 1928.

[48] ACS, Ministero degli interni, Divisione Polizia Politica, b.103, Roma 8 novembre 1929.

[49] *Il Legionario*, 14 gennaio 1928.

Italian communities by securing the Fasci a leading role among the associations of Italian communities abroad, promoting propaganda in favour of fascism while at the same time controlling the anti-fascist, Italian immigrants.

5

RAANAN REIN

FRANCOIST SPAIN AND LATIN AMERICA, 1936-1953[1]

The relations between Spain and the Latin American countries throughout the twentieth century have consistently reflected the vicissitudes of political life on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean and the changing international situation. Yet this subject must be considered, as well, in terms of the Spanish-speaking countries' constant quest for national identity, a quest made more difficult by the challenges of development and modernization which have obliged both Spain and the Latin American republics to reconcile contemporary changes with their perceptions of the past.

This chapter will analyze the changing relations between Francoist Spain and the Spanish-American countries[2] during the Spanish Civil War, World War II, and the early stages of the Cold War. It will focus primarily on Nationalist Spain's goals in Latin America at the time, the strategies it adopted to achieve them, and to what degree it succeeded. Francoist Spain's pan-Hispanic policy and its impact on the American continent cannot be understood, however, without a brief examination of the way the Spaniards and the Latin Americans saw each other during the first third of the twentieth century.

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[1] I wish to thank Tzvi Medin, my colleague in the Department of History at Tel Aviv University, for his helpful comments and suggestions, and also Yad Hanadiv, Jerusalem, for the research grant that made the completion of this study possible.

[2] Brazil, a former Portuguese colony, took a different developmental path, which is outside the scope of this article. See Antonio Costa Pinto's chapter in this volume and the chapter by Helgio Trinidade.

The Quest for National Identity

In 1898, Spain lost the last remnants of its American empire (Cuba and Puerto Rico), following its resounding military defeat by the United States. This 'disaster' had a far-reaching psychological impact on Spanish intellectuals. The blow their country had sustained at the hands of "that vulgar, materialistic country" completely destroyed Spain's self-image as a major power and released a flood of pessimism and self-criticism. For many thinkers, this defeat was the proof of Spain's tragic decline, of its inability to adjust to the changing reality of a rational, industrialized, capitalistic world and to cope with the obstacles in its way to modernization.

In the course of their soul-searching self-scrutiny, these intellectuals suggested various reforms to regenerate and revive Spain. Some of the more prominent members of the "Generation of 98," such as Joaquín Costa, Miguel de Unamuno, and Ricardo Macías Picavea, claimed that the best way to give Spain a new lease on life was by revitalizing the Hispanic peoples on both sides of the Atlantic - that is, the whole Hispanic race (the word *raza* was used in a cultural, not a biological sense).[3] They waved the banner of pan-Hispanism in the hope of creating a united commonwealth of Hispanic nations, the assumption being that the common denominators of language, religion, culture, and complementary interests in the diplomatic and economic fields would serve to unite the Spanish-speaking peoples on both continents.

The most prominent figure calling for a strengthening of ties with Spanish America, as a way of pulling Spain out of its decline, was the historian and man of letters Rafael Altamira.[4] Pan-Hispanism - or Hispano-Americanism, as it was then called - explicitly rejected political activity in favor of intellectual activity, and pinned no hopes on state initiatives, but trusted instead in civil society and its various manifestations. Hispano-Americanism did not aspire to any political union with the Latin American republics, and therefore did not employ the concepts of confederation, dominion rule, or empire. Its slogan was fraternity and respect for the independence of the American

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[3] Fredrick B. Pike, *Hispanismo, 1898-1936: Spanish Conservatives and Liberals and Their Relations with Spanish America*, Notre Dame 1971.

[4] See Rafael Altamira's books *Mi viaje a América* (My Trip to America) Madrid, 1911, *España y el programa americanista* (Spain and the Americanist Program) Madrid, 1917, and *La huella de España en América* (Spain's Imprint in America) Madrid, 1924.

nations.[5] The aim was mainly to defend these nations' identity, the Hispanic way of being - in other words, to preserve those unique characteristics common to all the Hispanic nations as a defense against the threat of dependence on the great powers, primarily the United States.

The desire to achieve, in one way or another, Spanish political hegemony in Latin America only later became a feature of conservative Hispano-Americanism and Falangism - and, accordingly, of the early regime of General Francisco Franco. In any case, both conservatives and liberals believed that the common identity could be protected only through the creation of a collective memory shared by all the Hispanic nations. To that end an effort began, gradually intensifying, to rehabilitate Spanish history, to cleanse it of everything related to the 'slander' and the 'black legend' concerning Spanish actions on the American continent since the sixteenth century.

The intellectuals' promotion of pan-Hispanism had a wide impact both on the Iberian Peninsula and in the countries south of the Río Grande. Hispanophobia, which had characterized most of the Latin-American societies since they had gained their independence in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, subsided following the events of 1898. Spain's weakness and political departure from the continent, together with a growing fear of the threatening North American presence, led at least some Latin American intellectuals to reassess the common denominator of the former colonies and their erstwhile colonizer. The Nicaraguan poet Rubén Darío, for example, censured the United States as an expansionist aggressor, and was enthusiastically received in Spain in 1898. A similar impression was made by the words of the Uruguayan José Enrique Rodó, the Peruvian Francisco García Calderón, and the Dominican Pedro Henríquez Ureña. All of them sought to emphasize the spiritual values of the Hispanic nations in contrast to the United States, which they saw as the symbol of utilitarianism, materialism, positivism, and individualism.[6] This was an attempt to respond to the problems of

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[5] Antonio Niño Rodríguez, "Hispanoamericanismo, regeneración y defensa del prestigio nacional (Hispanoamericanism, Regeneration and Defense of National Prestige: 1898-1931)," in Pedro Pérez Herrero and Nuria Tabarena (eds.), *España-América Latina: un siglo de políticas culturales* (Spain - Latin America: A Century of Cultural Policies) Madrid, 1993.

[6] On the US's image in various intellectual circles in Latin America at the beginning of the century, see Frederick Langhorst, "Three Latin Americans Look at Us: The United States as Seen in the Essays of José Martí, José Enrique Rodó and José Vasconcelos," Ph.D. diss. Emory University, 1975.

national identity and to turn the economic, technological, and military backwardness of the Latin American countries into a sign of human and cultural superiority.

Since the Spanish-speaking Latin American countries had emerged from their bloody wars of liberation and independence, they had been grappling with the problem of achieving national integration within political frameworks that were largely arbitrary. Their task was threefold. First was the need to build national solidarity in societies characterized by ethnic heterogeneity. The second problem was coping with the growing presence of the US throughout the continent. Since eliminating the last vestiges of Spain's empire in the New World with its victory in 1898, the US had begun to extend its military, political, economic, and cultural influence southward. The Latin American countries became conscious of an increasing threat not only to their own national sovereignty and economic development, but also to their ability to establish a unique identity undistorted by either colonialism of the type they had already experienced at Spain's hands, or the North American style of neo-colonialism, which was not confined to the US's close neighbors in the Caribbean basin. The third difficulty was meeting the challenges of modernization and development in order to break the chains of economic dependence that had bound Latin America since the sixteenth century - a dependence that had changed its face a number of times, but had always subordinated the development of the subcontinent to the needs of one foreign metropolis or another.

Throughout the twentieth century, the countries of Latin America have striven to forge national identities that would help them to cope with these challenges. In most of them, attempts have been made to establish myths of a shared ethnic origin, uniting all the members of the community in a sort of extended family joined by blood and a common destiny. Each nation, however, waged a different internal struggle over what the actual nature and content of its identity and national consciousness were to be, or over the mythical heritage that was to underpin the attempts to create a unified national entity.[7]

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[7] On the attempts by various national movements to create myths of shared ethnic origin, see, for example, Anthony Smith, "Nacionalismo e indigenismo: la búsqueda de un pasado auténtico" (Nationalism and Indigenism: The search for an Authentic Past), *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe* (hereafter EIAL), Vol. 1, No. 2 (1990): 5-17; idem, "National Identity and Myth of Ethnic Descent," *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* 7 (1984): 95-130; Walker Connor, "Ethnonationalism," in M. Weiner and S. Huntington (eds.), *Understanding Political Development*, Boston, 1987, pp. 196-220.

In at least some of these countries, especially in South America, there were many advocates for a policy that would emphasize Catholicism and the Hispanic heritage. This type of cultural strategy also incorporated a protest against the US's growing influence on the continent, and encouraged rapprochement with Spain, which no longer constituted a threat. Spain represented a distant and now innocuous colonial past, while the US represented the oppressive neo-colonial connection. In some countries, notably Argentina, the return to Hispanic roots also occasionally reflected populist attempts to attack veteran oligarchies who hindered the process of modernization and democratization, and to break free of the intellectual elites' cultural orientation towards London and Paris. In other countries, such as Peru, it was, on the contrary, a tool used by the veteran white oligarchy to defend its position and privileges; by emphasizing the Hispanic heritage, traditional values, and the advantages of the existing social order, the oligarchy fought against the cultural option of *Indo-América*, which demanded the complete social and political integration of the indigenous peoples and individuals of mixed race in the name of a glorious pre-Columbian Indian past.

Whatever the case, in the first quarter of the twentieth century personal initiative usually played a central role in Spain's efforts to foster cultural and economic relations with Latin America, since the state did not adopt any comprehensive, practical plan for that purpose.[8] A first attempt to institutionalize pan-Hispanism and turn it into a national policy was made by the semifascist regime of Miguel Primo de Rivera (1923-1930). The dictatorship's pan-Hispanic policy lacked the liberal and reformist characteristics of the earlier plans devised by intellectuals. Instead, it was ideologically conservative, based on tradition and Catholicism, and was intended to further specific political interests. The wooing of Latin America became particularly evident from 1926 on, after Spain withdrew from the League of Nations - having failed to obtain a permanent seat in the organization's council. It was, accordingly, part of an effort to increase Spain's national prestige abroad, although the Hispanist propaganda was accompanied by grandiloquent rhetoric intended for domestic consumption as well. The more ostentatious measures taken under this Hispanidad policy included the big Ibero-American exhibition held in Seville in 1929, and the trans-Atlantic flight of the *Plus Ultra*, which was presented as evidence of 'Iberic vitality' and was supposed

[8] Edwin R. Harvey, *Relaciones culturales internacionales en Iberoamérica y el mundo* (International Cultural Relations in Latin America and the World) Madrid, 1991.

to be a sort of modern version of Spain's 'discovery' of America.[9] The dictatorship's interest in Latin America was also reflected in the appointment of Ramiro de Maeztu - one of the few prominent intellectuals who supported the dictatorship, as well as one of the major drafters of the Hispanidad ideology in the 1930s - as ambassador to Buenos Aires. There he came into contact with right-wing Catholic and authoritarian groups that reinforced his faith in the old Hispanic ideal of the sixteenth century.[10]

Primo de Rivera's Hispanidad propaganda had a certain impact in Latin America, among other reasons because the dictatorship impressed certain sectors there as an alternative model for development and modernization that nevertheless preserved the existing social order. The practical effects of this policy, however, were limited. At the end of the twenties, on the eve of the world economic crash, the commercial and economic relations between Spain and the Latin American countries remained meager, Spanish diplomatic representation throughout the continent was deficient, and to the ruling oligarchies and many Latin American intellectuals, Paris and London were more important points of reference than Madrid.

The Hispanidad policy of Spain's second dictatorship in the twentieth century was to be much more significant. Generalissimo Franco's regime, which in its early years, at least, displayed clear fascist tendencies, made pan-Hispanism a central component of both its self-identity and its foreign policy. For the first time, a comprehensive program of activities in Latin America was set up to win the regime recognition and legitimacy at home and abroad, and to serve as a substitute for its limited or problematic relations with the Western countries. This program, Spain hoped, would increase both its international prestige and its influence on the American continent.

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[9] On Primo de Rivera and Hispanidad, see Shlomo Ben-Ami, *Fascism from Above* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 202-205; Juan Carlos Pereira, "Primo de Rivera y la diplomacia española en Hispanoamérica: el instrumento de un objetivo (Primo de Rivera and Spanish Diplomacy in Hispanic America: Means to an End)," *Quinto Centenario* 10 (1986): 131-156; and Angel Martínez de Velasco, "Política exterior del gobierno Primo de Rivera con Iberoamérica" (The Primo de Rivera Government's Foreign Policy with Latin America), *Revista de Indias* 149-150 (1977): 788-798.

[10] On Maeztu in Argentina, see Beatriz J. Figallo, "Ramiro de Maeztu y la Argentina" (Ramiro de Maeztu and Argentina), *Res Gesta* 24 (1988): 73-92.

The Spanish Civil War, Latin America, and the Hispanidad Policy (1936-1939)

On July 17, 1936, a military uprising broke out in Spanish Morocco against the Popular Front government of the Second Republic. But what at first appeared to be merely another military revolt quickly developed into a long and bloody civil war.[11] While the war was still in progress, when it had become evident that victory would not be quickly won, the Nationalists began to organize the governing bodies of the 'new Spain' in the areas already under their control. From the beginning, the Franco government appropriated the more energetic, authoritarian, and Catholic-oriented version of traditional Hispanism presented in Ramiro de Maeztu's book *Defensa de la Hispanidad. (Defense of Hispanidad)* first published in 1934.

The adoption of the ideas and concepts of Hispanidad is an additional example of the great influence the Acción Española group had on Francoism. Acción Española ('Spanish Action') was a radical right-wing group with a monarchist, heavily religious ideology inspired in part by the ideas of the French monarchist Charles Maurras. Its center was the periodical of the same name that began to appear at the end of 1931, and of which Maeztu soon became editor. Many of the group's members had been connected with Primo de Rivera's dictatorship, which they criticized only for having lacked the vision and structure of a modern authoritarian regime capable of meeting the requirements of the new social and political reality.[12]

Maeztu's book on Hispanidad was a revisionist effort based on a Catholic-traditionalist interpretation of the Spanish past. In his version, the ideal of the Spanish empire became the foundation for an ideology promoting a return to the traditions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and rejecting the later European modernist rationalism. In messianic, missionary terms Maeztu explained that America's separation from Spain was due to the infiltration of foreign ideas - French and Anglo-Saxon - into Spain and the New World in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and to the process of secularization and the abandonment of the Catholic religion. This had led to the parallel

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[11] There are abundant secondary sources on the Civil War, focusing on different aspects. Among the best general works on the subject are Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*, 2nd ed. London, 1977; Gabriel Jackson, *The Spanish Republic and the Civil War, 1931-1939* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1965); and Stanley G. Payne, *The Franco Regime, 1936-1975* Madison, Wisconsin, 1987, pp. 85-228.

[12] See Raúl Morodo, *Acción Española: orígenes ideológicos del franquismo* (*Acción Española*: Ideological Origins of Francoism) Madrid, 1980; and Luis María Ansón, *Acción Española*, Zaragoza, 1960.

abandonment of the Hispanic ideal and to the disintegration of the Spanish empire. Since the Spanish-American nations had won independence, Maeztu claimed, they had been swinging confusedly back and forth between the pragmatic ideals of North American capitalism, which blinded the ruling elites, and the socialist revolutionary ideal, which attracted the masses. In his view, a return to the Hispanic ideal was the solution to this crisis.[13]

Maeztu and *Acción Española* initially suggested the political option of a traditional Spanish monarchy as an alternative to the Second Republic, to the moderate conservative Catholicism of the CEDA (*Confederactión Española de Derechas Autónomas* - "Spanish Confederation of Autonomous Rightist Groups"), and to fascism, which at the time had begun to gain a following in certain circles of the Spanish right. Although most of the members of *Acción Española* were gradually won over to the fascist solution, their fascism was not the generic variety. As Stanley Payne has pointed out, *Acción Española* invoked traditional rightist elites, feared the mobilization of labor and the ideas of national syndicalism, and was clerical and neo-traditional.[14]

In the course of the Civil War, Hispanidad served as an ideological-propagandist tool in the hands of the Nationalists, a historical myth uniting the Nationalist zone, and a means of mobilizing international support for the Burgos Nationalist government. The Nationalists extolled Spain's brilliant imperial past and, speaking in the name of a united, Catholic, Spanish homeland, advocated a Hispanic commonwealth, employing the concepts of race (in the cultural sense), service, and sacrifice. They asserted the need to fight against a series of enemies, the *antipatria*: liberals, socialists, communists, Freemasons, and Jews. They even professed to represent a spiritual doctrine that would serve as an alternative to both capitalist and communist materialism.[15]

In Latin American societies, especially in their Spanish communities, the military uprising of July, 1936, and the subsequent Civil War had an enormous impact. Just as the war split Spanish society, so did it polarize reactions on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. While in Western Europe

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[13] On Maeztu's concept, see Angeles Egido León, "La hispanidad en el pensamiento reaccionario español de los años trienta" (Hispanidad in Spanish Reactionary Thought in the Thirties), *Hispania* 184 (1993): 651-673; and Vicente Marrero, *Maeztu*, Madrid, 1955.

[14] Payne, *The Franco Regime*, p. 49.

[15] Eduardo González Calleja and Fredes Limón Nevado, *La hispanidad como instrumento de combate* (Hispanidad as an Instrument of Combat) Madrid, 1988

and the US the Spanish Civil War was perceived mainly as a struggle between fascism and democracy - and, from September, 1939, as a prologue to or 'dress rehearsal' for World War II - with certain aspects of strategic significance to Western governments, the Latin Americans saw it as more complex; they viewed the war through the prism of their own domestic problems, which in many respects were similar to those faced by Spain in the thirties.[16] The obstacles in the way to modernization, the need to reconcile a progressive constitution and a reality that fell far behind it in economic and social development, problems of agrarian reform, military involvement in political life, church-state relations, and various other problems - all these were on the public agenda of the Spanish-speaking nations.

Generally speaking, in the Latin American countries there was a substantial difference between the views of the government and the ruling elite, on one hand, and public opinion, on the other. While the former were usually sympathetic to one extent or another to the Nationalist revolt against the legitimate government of Spain, most of the public tended to side with the beleaguered Republican government. It should be recalled that in July, 1936, when the Civil War broke out in Spain, military men ruled most of the Latin American republics; and the majority of the regimes on the continent could be characterized as dictatorships, in each case representing the interests of a narrow oligarchy. Both military rulers and traditional elites feared the tide of political democratization and social radicalization which threatened their positions and privileges. It was not surprising, then, that from 1931 on most of them watched events in Spain with considerable misgivings, and were sympathetic to the motives of the insurgents against the 'Bolshevic and Masonic' Republic. Notable exceptions among the Latin American presidents were the Mexican Lázaro Cárdenas, the Colombian Alfonso López Pumarejo, and the Chilean Pedro Aguirre Cerda, who was elected in 1938.

Officially, however, most of the Latin American countries remained neutral towards the conflict on the Iberian Peninsula. This attitude derived from their desire to coordinate their own policy with that of the US,[17] as well

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[16] Enrique Gil, "Repercussions of the Spanish Crisis in Latin America," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (1937): 547-553; and Mark Falcoff and Fredrick B. Pike (eds.), *The Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939, American Hemispheric Perspectives*, Lincoln, Neb., 1982.

[17] For the US position, see F.B. Pike, "The Background to the Civil War in Spain and the US Response to the War," in Falcoff and Pike (eds.), *The Spanish Civil War*, pp. 1-48; Allen Guttman, *The Wound in the Heart: America and the Spanish Civil War*, New York, 1962; Richard P. Traina, *American Diplomacy and the Spanish Civil War*, Bloomington, Ind., 1969; and F. Jay Taylor, *The United States and the Spanish Civil War*, New York, 1956.

as to avoid antagonizing the public, whose sympathies lay with the Republic, and further inflaming passions that were already aroused. El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua recognized the insurgents early on, in November, 1936, among other reasons because they assumed that Madrid would soon fall, bringing an end to the war; but in view of the US position, these three Central American republics did not go so far as to appoint diplomatic representatives to the Burgos government. The other Latin American countries did not recognize the Franco government until 1939, after the Pan-American Conference in Lima decided to allow every state freedom of action in the matter - except for Mexico, which never did recognize the Franco government.

The Spanish immigrant communities in Latin America were internally divided along socio-economic lines (the elites generally sympathizing with the Francoists), and according to political affiliation and regional origin (most of the Catalonians and Basques were Loyalists, knowing that only a democratic regime in Spain could guarantee regional autonomy for Catalonia and the Basque country). As a general rule, in countries with large Spanish communities the majority was pro-Republican. This was true in Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Chile, and Venezuela. In Uruguay and Mexico the rival camps were more evenly balanced, while in countries where the Spanish community was not more than a few thousand strong, only a minority sided with the Republic.[18]

As soon as the war broke out, pro-Republican and pro-Nationalist organizations sprang up in each of the Spanish communities, and tried to mobilize moral and material support for the side they favored. Sometimes these bodies formed spontaneously, sometimes they were organized with the encouragement of the diplomatic representatives of Republican Spain or the Burgos government. In each camp, different organizations coexisted, occasionally competing or fighting with each another. Communists, socialists, anarchists, Trotskyists, liberals, and others jostled for position in the pro-Republican camp - a faithful reflection of what was happening in Spain, along with the divisions caused by local differences - while on the opposite side Alfonsin monarchists, Carlists, Falangists, and others all had their own organizations.

Beginning in mid-1937, Francoist diplomacy tried to coordinate the activities of the various groups in the Latin American Spanish communities

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[18] Rosa María Pardo Sanz, "Hispanoamérica en la política nacionalista, 1936-1939 (Hispanic America in Nationalist Policy)," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, Serie V, Vol. 5 (1992), p. 219.

that supported the uprising. Just as General Franco imposed unity from above on the civilian bodies of the Nationalist camp, his representatives tried to do the same beyond Spanish borders by means of the 'Falange Exterior'. The Falange Exterior began in mid-1935 with the transfer of financial aid from Fascist Italy to José Antonio Primo de Rivera. It set up its first branch in Milan in January, 1936. In the following months several more Falange branches sprang up more or less spontaneously in various countries in Europe and Latin America. In the early stages of the Civil War, however, the leaders of Nationalist Spain made a conscious decision to encourage the establishment of Falange branches throughout the American continent and to coordinate their activities. In this endeavor they strove to emulate the model of the Nazi *Auslandsorganization* and the Italian *Fasci all 'Estero*.

The Falangists sought to win the Spanish communities of the New World over to the cause of the embryonic Francoist state (by disseminating propaganda, setting up youth and women's organizations, aiding the needy, and so on), to counter the activity of the Republican exiles, and to foster relations with the political movements of the local extreme right. However, the Falangists' efforts to achieve hegemony within the Spanish immigrant communities ran into difficulties. Various organizations in the Spanish communities refused to relinquish their independence, and conflicts that arose between the Falange members and the diplomatic representatives of the Burgos government gave rise to a divided state-party authority abroad. The Falange's problems were compounded by insufficient funds and the fact that in a few countries the organization was obliged to cease operating under its own name, because from 1938 onwards a number of Latin American governments banned the activities of foreign political groups. In that year, the number of members in local Falange branches was estimated at some 4000 in Chile, Argentina, and Cuba together, about 1000 in Mexico, and less in other countries on the continent.[19]

The reactions that the Spanish Civil War aroused in each of the Latin American countries cannot be described in detail here, but Mexico and

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[19] Ibid., p. 224, n. 26. On Falangist activity in Latin America, see Federico de Urrutia, *La Falange Exterior*, Santander, 1938; Lorenzo Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla, *Imperio de papel. Acción cultural y política exterior durante el primer franquismo* (Paper Empire. Cultural Activity and Foreign Policy during the First Francoism) Madrid, 1992, pp. 130-142; and Eduardo González Calleja, "El servicio exterior de la falange y la política exterior del primer franquismo. Consideraciones previas para su investigación (The Falange's Foreign Service and the First Francoism's Foreign Policy. Preliminary Considerations for Research)," *Hispania* 186 (1994), pp. 279-307.

Argentina would seem to merit special mention. Mexico is relevant because it had undergone a revolution in order to confront those same social and economic issues that figured on the agenda of the Spanish Republic. Under the leadership of President Cárdenas, Mexico was also the only state that unhesitatingly and unconditionally sided with the Republican government from the first moment of the Civil War and began to provide it with diplomatic, military, and economic aid. When the Nationalist victory was complete in 1939, Mexico was the country that took in the largest number of Republican exiles. Argentina is important because it held a leading position in South America in those years, and because its Spanish community was the largest outside of Spain itself and played an important role in its host country.[20]

The relations between Mexico and Spain had been very tense since the breaking of the colonial tie. Mexican independence had begun in a climate of particularly fierce anti-Spanish manifestations, culminating in 1829 with a decree expelling the Spaniards from the country. Spain, for its part, spent some time mulling over plans for the reconquest of Mexico, and even took part in the Franco-English invasion that installed the Archduke Maximilian of Austria as emperor of Mexico in the sixties. In the revolution that began in 1910, the Spaniards residing in Mexico, pejoratively nicknamed *gachupines*, were attacked as representatives of the oppressive colonial past and the oligarchic social order that had arisen from it. For this very reason, the Second Republic was welcomed by the ruling National Revolutionary Party (*Partido Nacional Revolucionario: PNR*), as representing the 'other Spain' - the progressive, enlightened one. Accordingly, relations between the two countries began to improve. Spain helped Mexico gain admission to the League of Nations, and the two signed an agreement forbidding the screening of films containing scenes or historical interpretations that wounded the national sensibilities of either of them.[21]

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[20] On the reactions in other Latin American countries, see the chapters on Cuba, Colombia, Peru, and Chile in Falcoff and Pike (eds.), *The Spanish Civil War*; Consuelo Naranjo, *Cuba, otro escenario de lucha. La guerra civil y el exilio republicano español* (Cuba, a Different Scene of Struggle. The Civil War and the Spanish Republican Exile) Madrid, 1988; Gerold Gino Baumann, *Extranjeros en la Guerra Civil española: los peruanos* (Foreigners in the Spanish Civil War: The Peruvians) Lima, 1979; and Bernardo Vega, *Nazismo, Fascismo y Falangismo en la República Dominicana* (Nazism, fascism, and Falangism in the Dominican Republic) Santo Domingo, 1985. There are also various memoirs written by Latin Americans who fought on the Republican side.

[21] Nuria Tabarena García, "Institucionalización y fracaso del proyecto republicano (Institucionalization and Failure of the Republican Plan)," in Pérez Herrero and Tabarena (eds.),

When the Civil War began, President Cárdenas asserted his obligation to render support to the Spanish Republic. He criticized the European powers' distorted and cynical use of the principle of non-intervention as an excuse for not helping the legitimate government of Spain. Cárdenas emphasized that refusing to cooperate with the lawful authorities of a friendly country amounted to indirect aid to the insurgents. Mexico's representatives in various forums, particularly the League of Nations, expressed Mexico's conviction that Spain had been attacked by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, and was entitled to assistance from the other members of the League, under the organization's Covenant.[22]

Mexico did not content itself with mere rhetoric, however. It sold rifles, anti-aircraftguns. mortars, ammunition, and other supplies, to Spain, and since its arms industry was small and had a limited production capacity, its representatives in France worked to obtain weapons in Europe for the beleaguered Republic. Mexico also sent food, medicines, clothing, and fuel to Spain.[23]

Cárdenas's support for the Loyalist camp stemmed from a combination of factors: ideological sympathy, opposition to fascism, the desire to defend the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of a sovereign state (particularly at a time when Mexico's nationalistic economic policy was causing conflict with foreign interests), the wish to show evidence of an independent foreign policy that was not subject to the dictates of the major powers, and, finally, an effort to improve Mexico's international status, since at the time the country had few friends.

España-América Latina, p. 68; and Thomas Schoonover, "Latin America", in James W. Cortada (ed.), *Spain in the Nineteenth Century World - Essays on Spanish Diplomacy, 1789-1898*, Westport, Conn., 1994, pp. 91-112.

[22] Tzvi Medin, *Ideología y práxis política de Lázaro Cárdenas*, 15th ed. (Ideology and Political Praxis of Lázaro Cárdenas), 15th ed.: Mexico City, 1990, pp. 195-201; and Omar Martínez Legorreta, *Actuación de México en la Liga de las Naciones: El caso de España* (Mexico's Actions in the League of Nations: The Case of Spain) Mexico City, 1962. Mexico also criticized Italy's invasion of Ethiopia, the Third Reich's annexation of Austria, Japan's attack on China, and the Soviet invasion of Finland.

[23] For a contemporary description, see Marcelino Domingo, *El mundo ante España: México ejemplo* (The World in the Face of Spain: The Example of Mexico) Paris, 1938. See also Luis Echeverría Alvarez, *Posición de México ante el franquismo* (Mexico's Position on Francoism) Mexico City, 1975; and Lois Elwyn Smith, *Mexico and the Spanish Republicans*, Berkeley, 1955.

Active public opinion in Mexico was for the most part sympathetic to the Spanish Republic, although Powell claims that "only a minority of Mexicans backed the Republic from 1936 to 1939, most people remaining apathetic about the civil war or even siding with the Nationalists."[24] Obviously, conservative and Catholic sectors, recoiling from the Bolshevik, anti-clerical image of the Republic, favored the uprising. Many in the Mexican church looked favorably on Franco, but the church as a body prudently refrained from public demonstrations of support in order not to place further strain on its already tense relations with the PNR and the Cárdenas government.

From the outset, the PNR administration and its various branches disseminated pro-Loyalist propaganda throughout the country. The party organs and the *Radio Nacional* station were full of the speeches of the Republican ambassador, Félix Gordón Ordás, and support for the Republic. Pro-Francoist propaganda, in contrast, was limited on the private radio stations and in the movie theaters, although not in the press.[25] The Mexican congress, which was largely a sounding-board for the presidency and the dominant party apparatus, naturally wholeheartedly seconded Cárdenas's policy of support for the Republican cause. An important part in enlisting sympathy and aid for Republican Spain was played by the workers' confederation (*Confederactión de Trabajadores de México: CTM*) - led by Vicente Lombardo Toledano - and by the Communist party (*Partido Comunista Mexicano: PCM*), which also mobilized most of the volunteers, a total of more than 300, who left for Spain to fight for the Republic.[26]

During the Civil War, several hundred Spanish children were sent to safety in Mexico, and at the beginning of 1938, a plan was devised to bring over Spanish intellectuals and scientists, who would be able to work and create safely in Mexico until the bloodbath overseas ended. The proponents of this idea were Daniel Cosío Villegas, who at the time was ambassador to Lisbon, and Alfonso Reyes, who was ambassador to Buenos Aires; but it was enthusiastically received by many politicians and intellectuals. This was

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[24] T.G. Powell, "Mexico," in Falcoff and Pike (eds.), *The Spanish Civil War*, p. 60. This chapter is a summary of Powell's monograph *Mexico and the Spanish Civil War*, Albuquerque, 1981.

[25] Ibid., p. 78. See also the memoirs of the Spanish ambassador, Félix Gordón Ordás, *Mi política fuera de España* (My Policy Outside Spain) Mexico City, 1967.

[26] Robert Paul Millon, *Mexican Marxist - Vicente Lombardo Toledano*, Chapel Hill, 1966, p. 129; Roberto Vega González, *Cadetes mexicanos en la guerra de España* (Mexican Cadets in the War of Spain) Mexico City, 1954; and Powell, ibid., pp. 71-72.

the beginning of the Casa de España, to which were invited in the summer of that same year prominent Spanish intellectuals such as Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Dámaso Alonso, José Gaos, Enrique Díaz-Canedo, and many others.[27] The *Casa de España*, which changed its name to *Colegio de México* in 1940, made an important contribution to intellectual and academic life in Mexico, and was the first manifestation of the generous welcome Mexico would offer the Spanish exiles after the defeat of the Republic.

In the spring of 1939, President Cárdenas instructed the Mexican ambassador in France to organize the emigration of an unlimited number of Spanish exiles to Mexico. However, altercations between the various émigré organizations and, still more, the outbreak of World War II and the German invasion of France did not permit the organized transfer of many exiles to Mexico. Estimates of the total number of Spaniards who arrived in Mexico in the years 1939-1945 vary between 20.000 and 40.000 (many entered the country unofficially, the passenger lists of the ships carrying the refugees were inaccurate, and other factors added to the statistical confusion as well).[28]

Argentina presented a different picture. The coalition that ruled in Buenos Aires in July, 1936, was a civilian government, but its rise to power had been made possible by a military coup in September, 1930, which had ended the rule of the Radical party. This coalition government represented the interests of the Argentine oligarchy, the same social forces included among the groups backing the military uprising in Spain. Formally, the Argentine government maintained a neutral stance in the conflict, following the example of Britain, France, and the US. It also wished to avoid stirring up a public storm, although its position was secure enough; in those years, elections were based on fraud and deceit.[29] In actual practice, however, it took various measures which harmed the interests of the Spanish Republic.

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[27] For a complete list, see José Miranda, "La Casa de España," *Historia Mexicana*, vol. 18, No. 1 (1968): 1-10.

[28] Patricia W. Fagen, *Exiles and Citizens: Spanish Republicans in Mexico*, Austin, 1973, pp. 38-39; Louis Stein, *Beyond Death and Exile: The Spanish Republicans in France, 1939-1955*, Cambridge, Mass., 1979, pp. 87-90; and Mauricio Fresco, *La emigración republicana española: Una victoria de México* (Spanish Republican Emigration: A Victory for Mexico) Mexico City, 1950.

[29] On Argentina in the 1930s, see, among others, David Rock, "Argentina, 1930-1946," in Leslie Betel (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, Vol. VIII, Cambridge, 1991, pp. 3-71; Mark Falcoff and Ronald H. Dolkart (eds.), *Prologue to Perón: Argentina in Depression and War, 1930-1943*, Berkeley, 1975; and Alberto Ciria, *Partidos y poder en la*

The foreign minister, Carlos Saavedra Lamas, was involved in efforts to mediate in the Spanish conflict, in such a way as to advance the international status of the rebels, and the Argentine ambassador in Spain did the same. In his capacity as president of the General Assembly of the League of Nations in Geneva, Saavedra Lamas defeated attempts to debate the violation by Italy, Germany, and Portugal of the non-intervention agreement.[30] The Republican government of Spain also saw Argentina's policy of offering political asylum as an expression of sympathy for the insurgents. Many supporters of the Nationalists who feared for their lives in the Republican zone sought refuge in the Argentine embassy, and about 1500 were actually given shelter there, additional buildings having been rented to accommodate them. Many of these refugees were later evacuated by the Argentine navy, and at least some of them eventually joined the Nationalist camp.[31]

At home, the Argentine authorities restricted the activities of the pro-Republican organizations. These organizations had trouble obtaining permission to hold public meetings and ran into difficulties when they tried to disseminate publicity material or to raise funds. The supporters of Francoist Spain, in contrast, were given a free hand - at least until Roberto M. Ortiz was elected president in 1938.[32]

Most of the political forces in the opposition were sympathetic to the Republic. The Radical party (Unión Cívica Radical: UCR), representing the middle class, was the largest and most important party in Argentina up to the

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Argentina moderna (1930-1946) (Parties and Power in Modern Argentina (1930-46), Buenos Aires, 1964.

[30] M. Falcoff, "Argentina," in Falcoff and Pike (eds.), *The Spanish Civil War*, pp. 313-314; J.C. Pereira and Angel Cervantes, *Relaciones diplomáticas entre España y América* (Diplomatic Relations between Spain and America) Madrid, 1992, pp. 229-233; Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*, pp. 439-440, 681; and Claude Bowers, *My Mission to Spain*, New York, 1954, pp. 291, 295.

[31] On political asylum in the Argentine embassy and the Republican government's annoyance, see Mónica Quijada, *Aires de república, aires de cruzada: la guerra civil española en Argentina* (Winds of a Republic, Winds of a Crusade: The Spanish Civil War in Argentina) Barcelona, 1991, pp. 39-47; Jackson, *The Spanish Republic*, pp. 260, 287, 436; and Julio Alvarez del Vayo, *Freedom's Battle*, London, 1940, pp. 228-229. See also Javier Rubio, *Asilos y canjes en la Guerra Civil española* (Refuges and Exchanges in the Spanish Civil War) Barcelona, 1979; and Beatriz J. Figallo, "Participación de la armada argentina durante la guerra civil española (The Argentine Navy's Participation during the Spanish Civil War)," *Revista de Historia Naval* 10 (1985): 51-72.

[32] Falcoff, "Argentina," pp. 319-320.

advent of Peronism, although it was not allowed to participate in elections during the years 1930-1946. Waving the banner of democracy and opposition to all despotic regimes, the party leaders saw Franco as a kind of Spanish version of General José F. Uriburu, who had overthrown the Radical president Hipólito Yrigoyen in 1930 and put an end to democracy in Argentina.[33] The support of the moderate Radical party was important to the Spanish Republicans, who were trying to escape the image of dangerous revolutionaries that their rivals had imputed to them.

Both the Communist party (*Partido Comunista Argentino: PCA*) - which had been outlawed in 1930 - and the Socialist party (*Partido Socialista*) played a central role in winning support and mobilizing money and volunteers for the Republic, and, after the war, they helped absorb the Republican exiles. The Argentine labor-union confederation (*Confederación General del Trabajo: CGT*), was enlisted in this effort as well.[34] Between 200 and 500 Argentine volunteers went off to fight in Spain, even though the Spanish embassy made no attempt to mobilize volunteers and the Argentine authorities put difficulties in their way.[35] The Communist party's leader for many years, Victorio Codovilla, was an envoy of the Communist International in Spain in the thirties, and operated in the Republican camp under the alias "Medina." According to at least one version, Medina was the real leader of the Spanish Communist party during the first year of the Civil War.[36]

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[33] On the position the various political parties took regarding the Spanish Civil War, see Falcoff, ibid.; Quijada, *Aires de república*; Ernesto Goldar, *Los argentinos y la guerra civil española* (The Argentines and the Spanish Civil War) Buenos Aires, 1986; Víctor Trifone and Gustavo Svarzman, *La repercusión de la guerra civil española en la Argentina (1936-1939)* (The Repercussions of the Spanish Civil War on Argentina (1936-1939): Buenos Aires, 1993; and Enrique Perira, "La guerra civil española en la Argentina", (The Spanish Civil War in Argentina), *Todo es Historia* 110 (1976): 6-35.

[34] On Socialist and Communist activity on behalf of the Republic, see ibid. On the CGT, see Samuel L. Baily, *Labor, Nationalism and Politics in Argentina*, New Brunswick, 1967, pp. 57-59; and Joel Horowitz, *Argentine Unions, the State & the Rise of Perón, 1930-1945*, Berkeley, 1990, p. 98.

[35] Andreu Castells, *Las brigadas internacionales de la guerra de España* (The International Brigades of the War of Spain) Barcelona, 1974, pp. 377-383; *Los que fueron a España* (Those Who Went to Spain) Buenos Aires, 1966; and Gregorio Bermann, *Conciencia de nuestro tiempo* (Conscience of Our Time) Buenos Aires, 1971.

[36] On Codovilla's career and his activities in Spain, see Victor Alba, *The Communist Party in Spain*, New Brunswick, 1983, passim; Burnett Bolloten, *The Spanish Revolution*, Chapel Hill, N.C., 1979, pp. 131-134, 304, 332, 342; R.J. Alexander, *Communism in Latin America*,

THE DIFFUSION OF FRANCOISM

The pro-Francoists in Argentina included most of the senior clergy of the Catholic church, various nationalist organizations and their organs - *Crisol*, *La Fronda*, and *Clarinada* - and individuals such as César Pico, Mario Amadeo, Matías and Marcelo Sánchez Sorondo, Juan Carlos Goyeneche, Manuel Fresco - the governor of Buenos Aires province at the time - and others.[37] From the twenties, a Hispanophile trend became evident among the nationalists of the Argentine right. People like Manuel Gálvez, Ricardo Rojas, and Joaquín V. González saw the lack of a 'patriotic Argentine spirit' - due to the vast waves of immigration to the country - and the danger of Bolshevism winning over the Argentine masses as problems that could be solved by returning to the values of the Hispanic and Catholic heritage.

The thirties were a time of intense turmoil in Argentina. The world economic crisis of 1929-1930 and its social and political repercussions cast doubt on the viability of the democratic model and liberal values represented by the English-speaking countries and France. At the same time, the first cracks began to appear in the special economic relationship Argentina had maintained with Britain for so many years. Criticism of Argentina's prolonged dependence on Britain, which had distorted the country's development, increased, and a current of historical revisionism gained impetus. The political system, which relied on fraud and deception to maintain a semblance of democracy, evoked contempt and disgust in various circles. Under these circumstances, it was no wonder that various right-wing groups began to turn their attention to the corporative model, in its manifold guises - one of them being the military uprising in Spain, which demonstrated the vitality of the Spanish right wing, and General Franco's nascent regime.

The bitterest struggle, however, took place within the Spanish community of Argentina. On the eve of the Civil War, the number of Spaniards in

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New Brunswick, 1969; and Rollie Poppino, *International Communism in Latin America*, New York, 1964. On Codovilla's impressions of the Spanish Civil War and the lessons he learned from it, see his book, published in 1942 after the death of the Spanish Communist leader Díaz, *José Díaz, ejemplo de dirigente obrero y popular de la época stalinista* (José Díaz: An Example of a Grassroots Labor Leader of the Stalinist Era).

[37] On the nationalists of the extreme right, see David Rock, *Authoritarian Argentina: The Nationalist Movement, Its History and Its Impact*, Berkeley, 1993; Sandra McGee Deutsch and Ronald H. Dolkart (eds.), *The Argentine Right: Its History and Intellectual Origins, 1910 to the Present*, Wilmington, Delaware, 1993; Cristián Buchrucker, *Nacionalismo y peronismo* (Nationalism and Peronism) Buenos Aires, 1987; Enrique Zuleta Alvarez, *El nacionalismo argentino* (Argentine Nationalism) Buenos Aires, 1975; and Marisa Navaro Gerassi, *Los nacionalistas* (The Nationalists) Buenos Aires, 1968.

Argentina was estimated at between 1.5 million and 2 million, out of a total population of about 12 million. This figure included the Argentine-born offspring of Spanish immigrants, who were Argentine citizens, although Madrid considered them Spaniards in every respect.[38] A clear majority of the members of the Spanish community, especially among the middle and working classes, were pro-Republican. Many of them organized to collect money, food, clothing, and medicines for the embattled Republic.[39] It should be noted that in the Spanish community in Argentina, the proportion of Basques, Catalonians, and Galicians was greater than it was in Spain itself, and these groups were usually among those who showed the greatest sense of duty towards the Republic.

The Francoist representatives could not combat such wide sectors of Latin American public opinion, both because of the magnitude of the task and because of the limited financial resources at their disposal. At the peak of the Civil War, the Francoist authorities could not allocate any large sums for this purpose, and the Nationalist representatives' activities were funded primarily with donations raised within the local Spanish community. The insurgents' most important goal during the first months of battle was to obtain *de facto* or *de jure* diplomatic recognition so that they could organize propagandist activities to win sympathy and support for their struggle. It would also help them defeat the Republicans' efforts to maintain relations with the local authorities, to buy commodities and supplies, to provide consular services, to fly the traditional flag, and to display the other accouterments of lawful government.[40] Accordingly, the Burgos Nationalist government instructed its representatives in Latin America to concentrate their efforts on small groups in the upper echelons of the government, the army, the church, and the Spanish community, and to abandon the contest for the broad spectrum of public opinion, at least until the Civil War was won.

At the same time, work had already begun in the Nationalist zone on a project that would turn Spain into a cultural center for all the Spanish-speaking peoples. Besides planning the military strategy that was to obliterate the Republic, the Burgos authorities were working on a program to

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[38] Falcoff, "Argentina," p. 291; and Goldar, *Los argentinos* (The Argentines), p. 115.

[39] See the works cited in n. 33, as well as the memoirs of the last ambassador of the Spanish Republic, Angel Ossorio, *Mis memorias* (My Memoirs) Buenos Aires, 1946, pp. 242-243.

[40] Pardo, "Hispanoamérica en la polítca nacionalista (Hispanic America in Nationalist Policy)."

increase cultural contacts by various means: convening an international conference of intellectuals from all over the American subcontinent, encouraging Latin American students to study in Spanish academic institutions, and creating frameworks for Latin American studies and research in Spanish universities, to name a few.

Obviously, most of these plans could not be carried out while the Civil War was in progress, but one step the authorities did take during this early stage was to send intellectuals and clerics on lecture and public-relations tours through Latin America in order to confer legitimacy on the Francoist regime and identify it with the 'authentic Spain.'[41] These envoys of Nationalist Spain explained that the Civil War was nothing but a 'crusade against communists and Freemasons' and a "struggle to defend Western Christian civilization against Asian barbarism" - necessary to keep the national framework from falling apart and to protect the social order and the national identity from values alien to the Spanish spirit and from sabotage by the agents of foreign cultures. This propaganda had its greatest impact on the Latin American right-wing elites and organizations - who were anxious about the leftist threat on one hand and the increasing influence of the US on the other - and on the Spanish communities overseas.

While Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy were helping General Franco in his military effort to destroy the Spanish Republic, fascist and nazi organizations were working in Latin America to assist the Francoist diplomats with their propaganda campaign. It is important to note, however, that even during the Civil War - as well as later, during World War II - the Nationalists were careful to avoid cooperating too closely with the fascists and nazis on the American continent. The representatives of Nationalist Spain realized from the outset that it would be wiser and more beneficial to Spain's interests "to continue developing an individual Spanish action, taking into account the great sympathy Spain inspires by inheritance."[42]

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[41] On the cultural policy of the Franco regime, see Lorenzo Delgado's books, *Imperio de papel* and *Diplomacia franquista y política cultural hacia Iberoamérica, 1939-1953* (Francoist Diplomacy and Cultural Policy Towards Latin America) Madrid, 1988.

[42] Cited in Pardo, "Hispanoamérica en la política nacionalista (Hispanic America in Nationalist Policy)," p. 227.

World War II and Spain's Imperialist Ambitions

Only five months after the Civil War officially ended and the Caudillo established his government in Madrid, World War II broke out. The Franco regime's position during that war reinforced its image as an ally of the Fascist leaders.[43] True, Franco hastened to make an official declaration of neutrality as soon as the war began, but his sympathy for the Axis countries and their ambitions to create a new order in Europe was an open secret. He actually helped them in various ways: A volunteer force numbering some 18.000 men, the 'Blue Division', was sent to fight on the eastern front alongside the armies of the Reich; thousands of Spanish workers were sent to Germany to help in the war effort; Spain sold Germany strategic raw materials, ammunition, submarine engines and gun parts, uniforms, and parachutes; air bases in Spain served German reconnaissance planes; and German ships used Spanish ports for provisioning and maintenance. Moreover, the Spanish communication media voiced enthusiastic support for the Axis until 1945.[44]

All through the war years, however, Franco took a cautious line that was governed more by a series of objective constraints than by his views on the struggle taking place in Europe. The Spanish leader knew that the recent Civil War had left his country economically, socially, militarily, and psychologically exhausted. He wanted to enter the war, but only in its final stages, in the hope of enjoying the fruits of the Fascist victory. As Ramón Serrano Suñer, Franco's brother-in-law and foreign minister from 1940 to 1942, admitted in a newspaper interview at the end of 1945, the timing of the war was inconvenient for Spain, so he tried to postpone Spain's entry into the war:

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[43] On Spain's position in World War II, see, among others, Paul Preston, *The Politics of Revenge* (London, 1990), Ch. 3; K.J. Ruhl, *Franco, Falange y 'Tercer Reich,'* (Franco, Falange, and 'Third Reich') Madrid, 1986; Denis Smyth, *Diplomacy and Strategy of Survival: British Policy and Franco's Spain, 1940-1941*, Cambridge, 1986; J. Tussell and G. García Queipo de Llano, *Franco y Mussolini*, Barcelona, 1985; D.W. Pike, "Franco and the Axis Stigma," *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (1982): 369-407.

[44] Gerald R. Kleinfeld and Lewis A. Tambs, *Hitler's Spanish Legion: The Blue Division in Russia*, Carbondale, Ill., 1979; R. García Pérez, "El envío de trabajadores españoles a Alemania durante la segunda guerra mundial" (The Dispatch of Spanish Workers to Germany during the Second World War), *Hispania* 170 (1988): 1031-1066.

> Yes, I was pro-German and Spain was pro-German ... Franco and I, and Nationalist Spain behind us, not only banked on Berlin's victory, but wished for it with all our hearts. My plan was to enter the war at the moment of Germany's victory.[45]

After France fell in June, 1940, Spain took one more step toward the battlefield when it moved from neutrality to the status of nonbelligerent and occupied the international zone of Tangier - justifying this act as a temporary wartime administrative measure. The Madrid newspapers exulted over this maneuver, describing it as the prologue to a renewal of Spanish imperial expansion; but Spain went no further. The US's entry into the war following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December, 1941, the Axis defeats in North Africa and Stalingrad, and Mussolini's ouster, all forced Madrid to reassess its position. In October, 1943, Spain reasserted its neutrality and began a steady process of rapprochement with the Allies.

In the first stages of the war, the Spanish leaders had entertained the delusion that the anticipated Axis victory would lead to the re-establishment of a Hispanic empire, and that Spain would once again rule over Gibraltar - lost at the beginning of the eighteenth century - as well as sections of the French empire in North and West Africa. Expansionist ambitions of this kind were reflected in many publications issued in Spain during that period,[46] and territorial demands were put forward by representatives of the Franco regime in negotiations with Germany over the conditions for Spain's entering the war on the side of the Axis. But when Franco realized that the war would last longer than he had expected and that Germany could not satisfy his territorial and economic demands, he decided to avoid direct involvement in the conflict.

During the first years of World War II, Hispanidad had a more aggressive, almost imperialistic, mien, inspired by the Falange propagandists, and there was talk of the need to aim for political and economic hegemony in

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[45] Cited in Max Gallo, *Spain Under Franco: A History* (London, 1973), p. 159.

[46] See, among others, José María de Areilza and Fernando María Castiella, *Reivindicaciones de España* (Claims by Spain) Madrid, 1941; Antonio Tovar, *El imperio de España* (The Empire of Spain) Madrid, 1941; Antonio Bermejo de la Rica, *La España imperial* (Imperial Spain) Madrid, 1942; José María Cordero Torres, *Aspectos de la misión universal de España* (Aspects of Spain's Universal Mission) Madrid, 1942; and idem, *La misión africana de España* (Spain's African Mission) Madrid, 1942.

America.[47] In November, 1940, the *Consejo de Hispanidad* (Hispanidad Council) was established in Madrid, the most conspicuous manifestation of the trend of moral irredentism vis-à-vis the former colonies. This trend became more evident with the Axis's military victories in the World War, as Spain sought to impress the Axis powers with its potential usefulness as a connecting link between them and the Latin American republics. The Consejo presented itself as the successor to the *Consejo de las Indias* (Council of the Indies), which had guided Spain's policy in America during the colonial period. The new Consejo was headed by the foreign minister, Serrano Suñer, and prominent among its members were some of his Falangist followers. Although the Consejo affirmed that it did not intend to turn the clock back 200 years and that it was not indulging in any thoughts of re-conquering Latin America, the fact that its publications talked of re-establishing Spanish hegemony from Mexico southward and reducing the influence of the US aroused concern on the American continent.[48]

Washington was concerned about the Spanish propaganda in Latin America, and about the possibility that it would advance Axis interests on the continent. Many observers considerably overestimated the importance of Francoist Spain's activity in general and of the Falange Exterior in particular, as well as the degree of coordination between Spain and Germany in this respect. Various works quoted copiously from the Falange's publications in the thirties regarding its imperial ambitions. And such quotations did sound threatening - if they were taken out of their contemporary cultural and political context and no thought was given to Spain's inability to carry out any real expansionist program on the American continent.

The third of the 26 basic points of the Falange platform states:

> We have a will for empire. We affirm that the full history of Spain implies an empire. We demand a preeminent place in Europe for Spain. We will not put up

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[47] The best study on the policy of Hispanidad during World War II is still W.B. Bristol, "Hispanidad in South America, 1936-1945," Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1947. Regarding the hostility this policy provoked in many sectors, see, for example, F. Carmona Nenclares, "Hispanismo e Hispanidad" (Hispanism and Hispanidad), *Cuadernos Americanos* [Mexico], III (1942): 43-55; and T. Justiz del Valle, "Hispanidad Nazi-fascista" (Nazi-Fascist Hispanidad), *Revista de la Habana* 3 (1944): 574-580.

[48] On the Consejo de Hispanidad, see Delgado, *Imperio de papel* (Paper Empire), pp. 268-285.

> with international isolation or with foreign interference. With regard to the Hispano-American countries, we will aim at unification of culture, of economic interests, and of power.[49]

Quotations such as this one, and many others, filled the books of journalists who published warnings against the Francoist threat on the American continent.[50] Such warnings, bordering on the hysterical, appeared in a book by Allan Chase, for example, who claimed that the Falange had "over a million active adherents between Patagonia and Panama," and insisted that in a number of countries the Falange was "growing more dangerous hourly."[51] Ray Josephs affirmed, with no basis, that at least half of the Falange's budget was allocated to activities in Latin America,[52] while John Gunther claimed that the Falange branches had become a fifth column in some of the Latin American countries, especially those of the Caribbean basin - for example, Cuba and Puerto Rico - and that in some places the Germans were using the Falange as a cover for their own operations.[53] Naturally, Republican exiles, wanting to enlist support throughout the continent for the anti-Francoist struggle, also issued dire warnings concerning the magnitude of the threat to Latin America constituted by Spain's imperialistic ambitions.[54]

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[49] *Los 26 puntos de Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las J.O.N.S.* (The 26 Points of Traditionalist Spanish Falange and of the J.O.N.S.), n.p., n.d.

[50] These writers were particularly fond of quoting a sentence Franco had written in the guestbook of the *Archivo de Indias* in Seville during his visit there in March, 1940: "Before the relics of our Empire, with the promise of another." See, for example, Bailey W. Diffie, "The Ideology of Hispanidad," *Hispanic American Historical Review* (Aug., 1943), p. 475; and Thomas J. Hamilton, "Spanish Dreams of Empire," *Foreign Affairs XXII* 3 (1944), p. 459.

[51] Allen Chase, *Falange: The Axis Secret Army in the Americas*, New York, 1942, p. 178.

[52] Ray Josephs, *Argentine Diary: The Inside Story of the Coming of Fascism*, New York, 1944, p. 297.

[53] John Gunther, *Inside Latin America*, London, 1942, p. 27. See also Diffie, "The Ideology of Hispanidad"; and Thomas J. Hamilton, *Appeasement's Child: The Franco Regime in Spain*, New York, 1943, Ch. 13. More balanced views were given in Hamilton's article "Spanish Dreams of Empire" and W.B. Bristol's article "Hispanidad in South America," *Foreign Affairs* XXI, 2 (1943): 312-321. While the Civil War was still going on the US ambassador had already issued warnings of the danger that a Nationalist victory might entail for the US's interests in Latin America. See Bowers, *My Mission to Spain*, p. 412.

[54] See, for example, Angel Ossorio, *La guerra de España y los católicos* (The War of Spain and the Catholics) Buenos Aires, 1942, pp. 75 ff.

Of course, Hitler himself, in a conversation with General Juan Vigón in 1940, emphasized the useful role that Spanish propaganda in Latin America could play for Germany, thanks to Spain's close ties with the countries of that continent[55]; but in general, to Berlin's disappointment, the Spaniards' propaganda campaign in Latin America was conditioned by their own needs and considerations - although in those years, any anti-democratic, anti-liberal, and anti-socialist propaganda indirectly assisted the Axis powers and undermined the antifascist cooperation of the Allies. In any case, the US's entry into the war led most of the Latin American countries to range themselves behind the Allies and to clamp down on the Axis powers' clandestine propagandist activities, and those of the Falange as well.

Assuming that one of the central elements distinguishing fascism from the other right-wing forces in Europe in the interwar period was its ambition to channel the masses' revolutionary impetus into an imperialist adventure, then the Falange was unquestionably a fascist movement *par excellence* from the outset,[56] but until 1939, according to Ricardo Chueca, "the idea of Empire was no more than a kind of poetic key to the interpretation of the Falangist ideology."[57] After all, up to the onset of the Civil War the Falange was a small group with limited influence, and its meager chances of ever coming to power eliminated any possibility that its imperialistic rhetoric could actually be translated into a political program and implemented. During the Civil War, the rhetoric was intended mainly to unify the Nationalist camp, and only in the years 1940-1942, when the Axis seemed to have a good chance of winning the world war, did the Hispanidad propaganda take on an aggressive, territorialist tone.

During World War II, the Francoist propaganda in Latin America achieved very little, generally making an impression only on the conservative, propertied classes, who saw in Hispanidad a doctrine that might protect their interests from the threat of communism, socialism, liberalism, and democracy. Spain's failure to play a significant role in Latin America became

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[55] Buchrucker, *Nacionalismo y peronismo*, p. 190.

[56] Herbert Rutledge Southworth, "La Falange: un análisis de la herencia fascista española" (The Falange: An Analysis of the Spanish Fascist Heritage), in Paul Preston (ed.), *España en crisis* (Spain in Crisis) Madrid, 1978, pp. 29-60.

[57] Ricardo Chueca, *El fascismo en los comienzos del régimen de Franco. Un estudio sobre FET-JONS* (Fascism at the Beginning of Franco's Regime. A Study on FET-JONS) Madrid, 1983, p. 44. See also Gonzalez Calleja and Limón Nevado, *La Hispanidad como instrumento de combate* (Hispanidad as an Instrument of Combat), pp. 57-71.

especially glaring, however, when the US entered the war and most of the countries of the continent decided - at a conference of their foreign ministers held in Rio de Janeiro in January, 1942 - to sever relations with the Axis countries. From that point on, the anti-Franco, anti-Falange campaign in Latin America picked up momentum. The issue of collective national identity in Latin America took on new parameters, given the necessity of cooperating with the US and dealing with fascism and nazism. Democracy and humanistic values became the center of public debate. Emphasis on the Hispanic heritage was no longer a valid option, now that Spain, despite its formal neutrality, was identified with fascism and the Axis powers. This mood was reinforced by the residue of mistrust and hostility that generally characterizes the relations between former colonies and their colonizer. The banner of Hispanidad was now borne primarily by opponents of the US-led inter-American cooperation - notably the government of Argentina, which maintained its policy of neutrality despite Washington's pressure - and groups of Catholic nationalist Axis-sympathizers in a number of countries, in particular Argentina, Peru, and Colombia, and, to a lesser degree, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Chile.[58]

Gradually, the Falange branches in Latin America ceased their operation; some were outlawed, some broke up of their own accord, and some began to function, in a more limited format, under a new name: Fundación Española (Spanish Foundation) in Montevideo, Casa de España (House of Spain) in Buenos Aires, the Círculo de Acción Española (Spanish Action Circle) in Santiago de Chile, and others. The Consejo de Hispanidad reduced its activities as well. A report prepared by one of the directors of the Spanish foreign ministry in May, 1943, testified to the decline in Spain's

[58] Marisa González de Oleaga, "Panamericanismo e hispanidad en la política exterior argentina de la Segunda Guerra Mundial: la confrontación política en la creación de identidades colectivas" (Pan-Americanism and Hispanidad in the Argentine Foreign Policy of the Second World War: Political Confrontation in the Creation of Collective Identities), *EIAL*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (1994): 59-82. On Argentine neutrality see, among others, Guido Di Tella and D. Cameron Watt (eds.), *Argentina Between the Great Powers, 1939-46*, London, 1989; Carlos Escudé, *Gran Bretaña, Estados Unidos y la declinación argentina, 1942-1949* (Great Britain, the United States, and the Argentine Decline, 1942-1949) Buenos Aires, 1983; and Mario Rapoport, *Gran Bretaña, Estados Unidos y las clases dirigentes argentinas, 1940-1945* (Great Britain, The United States, and the Argentine Governing Classes, 1940-1945) Buenos Aires, 1980.

status on the American continent since the Civil War and the widespread hostility there to the Franco regime. It estimated that some 80 per cent of the Spanish immigrants in Latin America were anti-Francoist.[59]

By the end of 1942, when the Axis powers no longer seemed likely to achieve the quick, crushing victory they had anticipated, the beginning of a gradual change in Spain's policy towards Latin America had become perceptible. The guidelines the government gave its representatives in Latin America concerning the events of 'Hispanidad Day' (October 12) instructed them to avoid any references to the Latin American republics' internal or international policies, to World War II, or to Spain's ambition to assume a tutelary role vis-à-vis the Hispanic-American countries. Instead, they were to emphasize the historic tradition, the cultural affinity, and the spiritual community that linked the Hispanic nations. The cultural focus began to crowd out the previous political and ideological one. This propaganda was directed mainly at the Catholic sectors, "who are our natural allies," and the Spanish immigrants, "who are our great element of infiltration and influence, our still erring brothers."[60]

From this point on, the main focus of operations changed. Now fostering Hispanidad involved organizing Latin American tours by theater groups and intellectuals identified with the regime, arranging for visiting exhibitions of art and printed matter, awarding scholarships to Latin American students for study in Spain, encouraging academic activity intended to provide historical and ideological legitimation for the Francoist state and its relations with Latin America, and doing everything possible to identify the Franco regime with the 'authentic,' Christian Spain.[61]

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[59] Lorenzo Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla, "Percepciones y estrategias culturales españolas hacia América Latina durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial (Spanish Cultural Perceptions and Strategies towards Latin America during the Second World War)," *EIAL*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1991), p. 17.

[60] Ibid., p. 18.

[61] Gonzalo Pasamar Alzuria, "El Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas y el surgimiento de los historiadores 'americanistas' en la España franquista (The High Council of Scientific Research and the Emergence of 'Americanist' Historians in Francoist Spain)," in Montserrat Huguet Santos et al. (eds.), *La formación de la imagen de América Latina en España, 1898-1989* (The Formation of Latin America's Image in Spain, 1898-1989) Madrid, 1992, pp. 205-223; and, in the same book, Pedro Pérez Herrero, "La consolidación de la imagen de 'Hispanoamérica' en la historiografía americanista española (1935-1963) (The Consolidation of the Image of 'Hispano-America' in Spanish Americanist Historiography: 1935-1963)," pp. 241-275. See also Gregorio Cámara Villar, *Nacional-Catolicismo y escuela. La socialización política del franquismo (1936-1951)*: (National-Catholicism and

The ability Franco demonstrated throughout World War II to maneuver between German pressure on one side and Allied pressure on the other was assisted in no small measure by the shipments of grain his country received from Argentina (though they would not have been possible without the shipping permits supplied by Britain, which controlled the seas). Spain desperately required large-scale food imports, principally grain, as well as the means to pay for them. Argentina was able to supply both. The fact that the outbreak of World War II and the consequent restrictions on shipping in European seas had deprived Spain of its traditional European sources of grain gave Argentina a special status among the countries exporting to Spain which it had not hitherto enjoyed.[62] From the Francoist regime's standpoint, the Argentine connection had a great advantage. During the war, any aid from a country associated with one or other of the belligerent camps carried a clear political connotation - a disadvantage that assistance from neutral Argentina, in contrast, did not have.

Argentina's interest in trade with Spain derived from the fact that the war had deprived it of major European customers and markets for its agricultural exports, as well as the European sources of finished goods, industrial equipment, and other commodities, on which it had depended until then.[63] Additionally, Argentina, which still did not have a real merchant navy, had always relied on foreign ships to transport its exports. Consequently, it now had a problem with sea transport, since the British domination of the waterways precluded trade with the Axis countries, and fewer European ships were available for transporting goods. At the time, Argentina was one of the major world producers and exporters of grain and meat. Blessed with good harvests, it sought buyers for them; and Spain, for its part, was willing to buy grain from Argentina on credit and ship it to the Iberian Peninsula

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School. The Political Sozialization of Francoism 1936-1951) (Jaen, 1984); and Rafael Valls Monte, *La interpretación de la historia de España y sus orígenes ideológicos en el bachillerato franquista (1938-1953)* (The Interpretation of the History of Spain and Its Ideological Origins in the Francoist Baccalaureate 1938-1953) (Valencia, 1984).

[62] Vicente Torrente and Gabriel Mañueco, *Las relaciones económicas de España con Hispanoamérica* (Spain's Economic Relations with Hispanic America) Madrid, 1953, p. 25; and Hernán Cortes Rodríguez, *La estructura de la balanza comercial entre España e Hispanoamérica* (The Structure of the Trade Balance between Spain and Hispanic America) Madrid, 1952, pp. 41-42.

[63] See Leeper to Foreign Office, "Annual Economic Report for Argentina," Aug. 3, 1946, in Public Record Office, London, Foreign Office Papers, 371/51794.

itself. Thus, the two countries had complementary interests, and their economic relations helped them withstand the pressure to abandon their policy of neutrality.[64] The pattern of their economic relationship - with its far-reaching political significance - that was laid down during the years of World War II, would continue to characterize their relations during the second half of the forties.

Facing a Hostile World:
Latin America as a Surrogate (1945-1953)

At the end of the war, many predicted the prompt collapse of the Franco regime. The feeling was that once the war effort had ended, the Allies would no longer have to show restraint in their attitude towards the despotic regime in Madrid, and would take steps to eliminate this anachronistic vestige of the Fascist world that had gone up in flames. The years 1945-1949 were critical for the Franco regime, and the Caudillo was forced to walk a tightrope between internal and external constraints in order to survive. While international pressure on his regime was building up, the economic situation at home deteriorated, and a bad drought put the rural areas in danger of mass starvation, with the consequent inherent threat of social and political ferment.

The Franco regime tried, for its part, to improve its image, working to create the impression of a more liberal government enjoying wide national support. But neither the Spanish bill of rights, the *Fuero de los Españoles*, that supposedly guaranteed Spanish nationals all the democratic liberties, nor the changes in the composition of the government which reduced Falange's representation and increased the presence of Catholic groups, notably *Acción Católica*, could alter the face of the Spanish dictatorship or stop the erosion of Spain's international status.

In the months to come, it was actually a few Latin American countries that would lead the fight against the Franco regime in the international arena. For example, already at the founding conference of the United Nations in San

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[64] Raanan Rein, *The Franco-Perón Alliance: Relations Between Spain & Argentina, 1946-1955*, Pittsburgh, 1993, pp. 72-78; and Mónica Quijada, "El comercio hispano-argentino y el protocolo Franco-Perón, 1939-1949. Origin, continuidad y límites de una relación hipertrofiada (Hispano-Argentine Trade and the Franco-Perón Protocol, 1939-1949. Origen, Continuity, and Limits of an Overdeveloped Relationship)," *Ciclos en la historia, la economía y la sociedad*, Vol. I, No. I (1991): 5-40. See also the memoirs of the Argentine ambassador, Adrián C. Escobar, *Diálogo íntimo con España. Memorias de un embajador durante la tempestad Europea* (Intimate Dialogue with Spain. Memoirs of an Ambassador during the European Storm) Buenos Aires, 1950.

Francisco in April-June, 1945, the 'Spanish question' came up for public debate. The representative of Mexico, a country that had always been a spearhead of Latin American hostility towards the Francoist dictatorship, proposed denying UN membership not only to the Axis powers, but also to those regimes established with the aid of the Axis military forces. The Mexican delegate, Luis Quintanilla, was directly referring to Spain and the pro-Francoist involvement of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany in the Civil War, as well as the sympathy Franco showed to the Axis during World War II. The draft resolution, which did not specifically mention Spain, was unanimously approved by the conference plenum. Not a single demurring voice was heard, nor anything in favor of the Franco regime.

In February, 1946, the UN General Assembly voted at its inaugural meeting in London to adopt Panama's draft resolution to ratify the decisions on Spain that had been taken in San Francisco and at the Potsdam summit of the leaders of the three great powers. The new resolution added that the General Assembly advised its members to take into account the letter and spirit of the aforementioned resolutions in their future relations with Spain. Forty-six states voted in favor of the resolution and only two against it, El Salvador and Nicaragua, with three abstentions. The Argentine representative was absent.[65]

In this difficult climate of international hostility, Franco's regime tried to cope with its problems in several ways. It continued its iron-fist policy at home, benefiting from the Spanish church's legitimation and continuing to exploit memories of the Civil War to promote fear of another fratricidal war. At the same time, it attempted to convey a number of messages to the West and Latin America. First, the regime made much of its anti-communist character and tried to instill in Western and Latin American public opinion the belief that the only alternative in Spain to the existing government was chaos and communist takeover. Second, it insisted that throughout World War II Spain had remained truly neutral, and if it had taken steps that could be interpreted as supportive of the Axis, it was only because there had been no choice, given the German threat to Spain.[66] Third, emphasis was placed on the unique nature of the regime, which 'had nothing to do with Fascism.'

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[65] On the 'Spanish question' in the United Nations during the years 1945-1950, see Alberto J. Lleonart y Amselem, *España y ONU* (Spain and the UNO), 3 vols., Madrid, 1978-1984; and Robert P. Huff, "The Spanish Question Before the U.N.," Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1966.

[66] On the way the regime's propagandists presented Spain's position during World War II, see, among others, Agustín del Río Cisneros, *España rumbo a la posguerra* (Spain Heading

In their domestic propaganda, the authorities presented international opposition as one more chapter in the 'black legend,' the chain of attacks and libels from which Spain had suffered since the sixteenth century; and as such, it was no cause for alarm. Shrugging off all responsibility, the regime stressed that the international opprobrium was not a campaign against the present government, but rather against Spanish essence and tradition and Christian civilization in general. For the most part, criticism of Spain was attributed to the Freemasons, or to 'Red exiles,' who although defeated in the Civil War were now trying to fight Spain from abroad.[67]

When Franco realized what a heavy price the Americans and the British were demanding in return for reconciliation with the West - to eliminate the Falange, for example - he decided to bide his time. The Spanish leader interpreted international developments correctly. He understood that in a polarized world, divided by rivalry between the West and the Soviet Union, the day could not be far off when the United States would recognize the validity of the anti-communist path taken by the Franco government and endorse it. Until then, the Francoists must wait patiently.[68]

Meanwhile, the Franco regime tried to break through the blockade imposed on it and to improve its international position by strengthening its ties with two blocs of nations with which Spain could claim to have had a special historical relationship: the Arab world and Latin America.[69] Hispanidad pro-

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for the Post-War) Madrid, 1947; and José María Doussinague, *España tenía razón, 1939-1945* (Spain Was Right, 1939-1945) Madrid, 1949.

[67] See Franco's speeches, collected in *Franco ha dicho (1936-1942)* (Franco Has Said) Madrid, 1947, passim; and J.W.D. Trythall, *Franco - A Biography* (London, 1970), pp. 292-293.

[68] This position is expressed in a fascinating document prepared by Luis Carrero Blanco, Franco's right-hand man, in August, 1945. See his "Notas sobre la situación política (Notes on the Political Situation)," in Archivo del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Madrid, Leg. R. 1911/12, Aug. 29, 1945.

[69] On Spain's relations with the Arab world in those years, see Raanan Rein, *In the Shadow of the Holocaust and the Inquisition: Israel's Relations with Francoist Spain* [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv, 1996), Ch. 3; M.D. Algora Weber, "La Liga Arabe ante la 'cuestión española' en las Naciones Unidas: 1946-1950 (The Arab League Faces the 'Spanish Question' in the United Nations: 1946-1950)," in *Congreso Internacional sobre el régimen de Franco, 1936-1975* (Madrid, 1993), Vol. II, pp. 387-400; and S. Fleming, "North Africa and the Middle East," in J.W. Cortada (ed.), *Spain in the Twentieth Century World*, Westport, Conn., 1980, pp. 121-154. For a contemporary study that links Spain's relations with the Arab world and Latin America, see Rodolfo Benumeya, *Hispanidad y arabidad* (Hispanidad and Arabidad) Madrid, 1952.

paganda was again directed to Latin America, which, as in the pa:
ties that could substitute for Spain's problematic relations with the European countries and/or the US. Now, however, under the influence of Alberto Martín Artajo, the Spanish foreign minister and an adherent of *Acción Católica* ('Catholic Action' - a Catholic social and charitable organization), Hispanidad's cultural and Catholic aspects were emphasized more heavily.[70] The Madrid policymakers were now thinking more along the lines of a commonwealth based on cultural, religious, and economic cooperation. The ideal was no longer a Spain that was great in terms of the extent of the territory under its control, but a Spain that set the world an example worthy of emulation, its uniqueness lying in its spiritual and cultural values. Spain would be the big sister in the Hispanic family - but not a sister with special privileges or hegemonic ambitions. The supposedly apolitical channel of cultural relations became the main means of conferring legitimacy on the dictatorship in the Latin American arena without kindling the same hostile reactions aroused by the Francoist regime's direct political propaganda.

On October 12, 1946, Franco declared that there were two kinds of empire:

> The empire that takes and ... the empire that gives ... If at one point in history Spain stood first by virtue of her power, and demonstrated in her crusade the strength of her faith, her courage, and her virtues, with the coming of better times she puts before these her spiritual, social, and cultural works.[71]

The foreign minister, Martín Artajo, stressed in his speeches that the community of Hispanic nations did not contravene inter-American solidarity, but contributed to the preservation of Western culture and world peace. Thus, Hispanidad had been stripped of the imperialistic, Yankee-phobic overtones that characterized it at the beginning of the forties. Against the background of the intensifying Cold War, the representatives of the Franco regime would try to explain to North American diplomats that increasing

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[70] For the new tone of Hispanidad, see the collected speeches of Alberto Martín Artajo, *Hacia la comunidad hispánica de naciones: Discursos de Martín Artajo desde 1945 a 1955* (Towards a Hispanic Commonwealth: Speeches by Martín Artajo from 1945 to 1955) Madrid, 1956. On the Franco regime's political use of the ideas of Hispanidad, see "A Short Study of Hispanidad," National Archives, Documents of the Department of State, Record Group 59, Washington, D.C., 852.00/4-1349, April 13, 1949.

[71] Cited in Trythall, *Franco*, p. 241.

Spain's influence in Latin America would aid the Washington administration's struggle against the threat of communist infiltration on the continent.

The beginning of 1946 saw a reorganization in the Spanish foreign ministry, and the countries of Hispanic America won a central position in the new scheme of things. That same year the *Instituto de Cultura Hispánica* was established to replace the more aggressive *Consejo de Hispanidad*. In Madrid, Hispanidad was a constant topic of conversation, and innumerable books and articles were published on the subject.[72]

In December of the same year, the UN General Assembly recommended taking concrete measures against the Francoist regime, but only on the diplomatic level: the recall of chiefs of mission from Madrid, though not a severance of diplomatic relations, and the exclusion of Spain from the subsidiary organizations of the UN as well as from the U.N. itself. This proposal was passed by a majority of 34 to six, with 13 members abstaining and one absent. Of the Latin American countries, 11 voted in favor, six against, and three abstained. Conspicuous among those who opposed the resolution was Argentina, whose delegate, José Arce, delivered an impassioned speech denouncing all intervention in Spain's internal affairs.[73]

This was one manifestation of the significant special ties between President Juan Domingo Perón's Argentina and Franco's Spain in the years 1946-1949. In fact, the political and economic assistance that Spain received from Argentina played a central role in saving Franco's regime from collapse in the critical transition period spanning the end of World War II and the escalation of the Cold War. In the fifties, the international situation finally led the US to seek reconciliation with the Generalissimo's anti-communist regime. Until then, however, Argentina provided important aid to the Franco government as it attempted to break through the embargo that circumscribed it, greatly strengthening its self-confidence in a period when many were writing its obituary, and demonstrating to both the local population and the international

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[72] On the reorganization in the foreign ministry, see Florentino Portero, *Franco aislado: La cuestión española 1945-1950* (Franco in Isolation: The Spanish Question 1945-1950), Madrid, 1989, pp. 191-192. On the goals of the new institute, see *Instituto de Cultura Hispánica (Normas y reglamentos)* (Institute of Hispanic Culture (Norms and Regulations) Madrid, 1948. Noteworthy among the many books on Hispanidad published in those years are Manuel García Morente, *Idea de la Hispanidad* (Idea of Hispanidad) Madrid, 1947, and Rafael Gil Serrano, *Nueva visión de la Hispanidad* (New Vision of Hispanidad) Madrid, 1947.

[73] On José Arce's speeches on behalf of Spain, see his books, *Mi vida* (My Life), Vol. II, Buenos Aires, 1958 and *La España de 1939* (Spain 1939) Madrid, 1952.

community that Spain did not walk alone. Moreover, the economic ties with Argentina enabled Franco to stand more firmly by his refusal to make any substantial change in the nature of his regime, the price he was asked to pay if he was to receive Western aid and be accepted back into the family of nations. Argentine assistance, which set no political or economic conditions, gave the Spanish dictatorship the breathing space it needed to await the world changes that would permit its integration into the Western camp.[74]

Argentina worked to rehabilitate the Spanish dictatorship in the international community in general and in Latin America in particular. Argentine diplomats came to Spain's defense in the United Nations and its subsidiary organizations, and in the pan-American conferences of Rio de Janeiro (1947) and Bogota (1948), as well as at the international conventions held in Buenos Aires. They opposed every suggestion of sanctions against Nationalist Spain and called for its inclusion as an equal participant. Argentine representatives lobbied on Spain's behalf in a number of Latin American countries (such as Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Bolivia), urging them to improve their relations with Spain, send an ambassador to Madrid, and vote in the UN to lift the diplomatic boycott the organization had imposed on the Franco regime. In a period when the representatives of Francoism were not welcome in most of the countries of the world and when Madrid did not receive many foreign visitors, spokesmen of the Spanish dictatorship crossed the Atlantic Ocean to Buenos Aires, where they were warmly received. Similarly, a stream of Argentines found their way to the Iberian Peninsula, their arrival trumpeted by the Spanish press. The most notable and colorful visit was, of course, that of Eva Perón in June, 1947.

Madrid also bought massive shipments of Argentine grain and meat on long-term credit since, hungry as it was, Spain lacked the hard currency to pay for the food staples it needed. The lack of food sparked unrest in various regions, and the regime feared an explosion of social unrest. This acute problem was solved by Argentina's grain-laden ships.

It was not ideological affinity between the two regimes that motivated Perón to support Francoist Spain. True, both countries were ruled by authoritarian, nationalistic, anti-communist, and anti-liberal military men. But the

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[74] On Spanish-Argentine relations, see Raanan Rein, *The Franco-Perón Alliance*; Beatriz J. Figallo, *El protocolo Perón-Franco: Relaciones hispano-argentinas, 1942-1952* (The Perón-Franco Protocol: Hispano-Argentine Relations, 1942-1952) Buenos Aires, 1992; and Mónica Quijada, "Relaciones hispano-argentinas 1936-1948. Coyunturas de crisis (Hispano-Argentine Relations, 1936-1948. Crisis Situations)," Ph.D. diss., Universidad Complutense, Madrid, 1989.

differences between the two regimes were greater than the similarities. They came to power in a different way and under different circumstances, and each was supported by a different social base. Perón's government had many reasons of foreign and domestic policy to cooperate with Spain. This co-operation, however, aroused wide disapproval in Argentina: within the Peronist camp, especially among those with a background of leftist activism, and certainly in the ranks of the opposition and in the Spanish community. Those in Argentina who favored cooperation with the Franco regime included various members of the Peronist elite, clergymen, military officials, and members of the Nationalist groups that had adopted Francoism as a model worth of emulation after the defeat of the Axis.

The Franco-Perón alliance did not last long. A rapid deterioration in Argentina's economic situation from 1949 onwards, a shift in the balance of power within the Peronist leadership, and the beginning of Spain's integration into the Western camp, all contributed to put an end to the special relationship that had developed between the two countries during the second half of the 1940s. The Communist invasion of South Korea in June, 1950, brought the Cold War to a new peak and accelerated the change in the attitude of the West, especially Washington, towards the Franco regime. The distasteful image created by the regime's obvious sympathy for Nazi Germany gave way to the captivating vision of an anti-communist fortress in an important strategic location in Europe. With Washington's encouragement, the UN General Assembly voted to lift the ban on Spain that had been imposed four years previously, with a majority of 38 in favor (16 of those votes from Latin American countries) against 10 opposed (including Guatemala, Mexico, and Uruguay), and 12 abstentions (Cuba being one of them).

The Latin American countries, which together accounted for almost half of the UN membership during the second half of the forties, and which had played a central role in enacting the boycott on Spain, now made its elimination possible. The change in the Latin American bloc's attitude can be attributed to a number of factors: the US position, the desire to defend the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of a sovereign state, preoccupation with domestic problems - particularly questions of economic development and its social price - and the weakening of liberal forces in countries such as Venezuela, Colombia, and Peru. At the same time, most of the Republican exiles had lost hope of returning to their homeland in the near future and had settled down in Latin American society, no longer providing a focus for agitation against the Francoist dictatorship.

By 1950, it was clear that Madrid had found itself a substitute for its alliance with Perón, in the form of improved relations with Washington. This improvement was manifested conspicuously in the September, 1953, Pact of Madrid, which officially confirmed Spain's status as an ally of the US. Essentially, the Pact consisted in a series of treaties for the supply of arms and economic aid to Spain, which undertook in return to allow the US to establish air and sea bases on its territory. And in the long run, of course, US aid was more important than Argentine aid for the modernization of the Spanish economy.[75] The Franco regime saw the Pact as an important victory, one that proved it had been right all along. From that point, Madrid assigned increasingly less importance to its relations with Latin America. As long as Spain had suffered from international isolation, its ties with its former colonies had been politically, diplomatically, and psychologically important. But this relationship had been in large part a kind of stopgap, at a time when relations with the West were difficult. Now that Spain had reached an understanding with the most important power of the West and its relations with Western Europe, though still problematic, were improving as well, the Spaniards no longer had much interest in Latin America.

Thus, we have seen that pan-Hispanism went through various metamorphoses, conditioned by political permutations in Spain and the challenges faced by both Spain and Latin America. The idea of cooperation between the Spanish-speaking peoples was first espoused by liberal intellectuals after Spain lost the remains of its empire through its defeat by the US in 1898. It was adopted in a more conservative, Catholic version by the authoritarian governments of Primo de Rivera and Francisco Franco in order to achieve specific political aims. The Latin American response to the Hispanidad policy identified with these dictatorships was limited on the whole, and was usually employed by governments or certain social groups as a means of preserving an existing oligarchic social order or as a protest against growing US influence.

Although the rhetoric of Hispanidad was to be a feature of the Franco regime up to its last day, there was actually very little substance behind it. Madrid now channeled its ambitions into its relationship with the US and its

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[75] On US-Spanish relations, see Angel Viñas, *Los pactos secretos de Franco con Estados Unidos* (Franco's Secret Pacts with the United States) Barcelona, 1981; J. Dura, "US Policy toward Dictatorship and Democracy in Spain, 1936-1953," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1979; and W.R. Gilmore, "The American Foreign Policy Making Process and the Development of a Post World War II Spanish Policy, 1945-1953: A Case Study," Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1967.

reintegration into Western Europe. Moreover, as the Spanish economy began to take off in the sixties, Spain grew away from the countries of Latin America, which were still struggling with the problems of development and modernization. Spain no longer sought ideological solidarity on the American subcontinent, but tried to gain political benefit through separate arrangements for economic, technical, and scientific cooperation with each of the countries on the continent - arrangements based on the specific interests of the country rather than its political regime. Many circles in Latin America were disappointed by Spain's 'enslavement agreement' with the US; from now on, it would be difficult to invoke Hispanidad in protest against the US's growing influence on the continent. In the coming years, however, other Latin American sectors would try, though with very limited success, to use Spain as a link between Latin America and the Western nations.

6

HELOISA PAULO

"PORTUGAL IS HERE TOO!" SALAZARISM AND THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNITY IN BRAZIL

1. Salazarism and the Portuguese colonies abroad: integration of the emigrant within the Estado Novo ideology

During the thirties, the fascist Italian government tried to diffuse fascist ideology within the Italian communities abroad. In order to do this, the government appealed to their consular authorities and to pro-fascist, emigrant organizations, like *Lega fascista del Nord America*. To the Fascist government, all Italians abroad were potential soldiers of Italy and hopefully also to be in favour of fascism[1].

In Portugal the regime's investment in reinforcing the links with its communities abroad was not very different, and turning the emigrant into an 'absent citizen' of the country was a way of offering her/him the possibility of participating passively in the Estado Novo project. The emigrant was thus seen as a kind of 'representative' of the government overseas. The incentive to this role, given by the consulates, contributed to the reinforcement of the emigrant's national identity within his host society. Thus, the action of the regime established a connection in ideology between Salazarism and the emigrants. Salazarism saw the emigrant as the defender of the 'Nation'; for the emigrant, being a defender was a way of keeping her/his individuality overseas as an integral part of the Portuguese community.

Estado Novo wanted, in this context, to stimulate the ties between these emigrant groups and their homeland. As a consequence, the government pro-

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[1] See, Crescianni, Gianfranco: *Fascismo, antifascismo e gli italiani in Australia. 1922-1945*, Roma,1979; De Felice, R. (a cura di): *Cenni storici sull'immigrazione italiana nelle Americhe e in Australia*, Milano,1979; Diggins, J: *L'America, Mussolini e il fascismo*, Roma-Bari,1982, e Varsori, Antonio (a cura di): L'antifascismo italiano negli Stati Uniti durante la seconda guerra mondiale. Roma, 1984.

moted the definition of the 'national identity'. In 1935, new legislation restructured the *Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros* (Department of Foreign Affairs), assigning to the State new tasks concerning the appropriate protection of the emigrants overseas. As laid down in the same decree, the most important task was the incentive to give the "natural spirit of nationalism" to the emigrant colonies, and to give them a "feeling of brotherhood"[2]. Assistance to the activities of the Portuguese colonies and the incentive to their organization were also assigned to the *Repartição dos Negócios Políticos* (Secretary for Political Affairs) of the same Department. This Secretary should thus take all "the necessary steps to keep the patriotism of the Portuguese living abroad at a high level"[3]. With the purpose of gaining a stronger control of the communities, a committee of studies concerning the Portuguese colonies abroad, focusing on America and especially on Brazil,[4] was also planned.

The incentive to centralize the Portuguese associations and bring them into closed groups was essential for the action of the regime. By means of these associations, the government could get in touch with the communities and establish ties of permanent interchange with the emigrants. Thus, the Estado Novo could promote their connection with and steering of different associations, institutions or scientific organizations. Consequently they could stimulate political cooperation and the spread of propaganda; thus actually promote the 'unity of action' of the Portuguese colonies overseas[5].

The propaganda of the Estado Novo was therefore necessary to attract the emigrants to its purpose. It was spread in different forms, from the action of the consulates to overseas radio broadcasting. Furthermore, there was also the patronage of activities in Brazil concerning the emigrant community, for example cultural events, like the exhibition of Portuguese documentaries and

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2 Point 5 of the report annexed to the Decree n. 26.162, December 28, 1935, which takes care of the reorganization of the Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros (Department of Foreign Affairs), in : *Diário do Governo*, 1 st series, n. 302, December 28, 1935, p. 1934.

3 Item n.4 of the 28th article of the Decree n. 26161, December 28th, 1935, in: *Diário do Governo*, 1st series, n.302, December 28 th, 1935, p. 1941.

4 70th article of the Decree n. 26162, December 28th, 1935, in: *Diário do Governo*, 1st series, n. 302, December 28th, 1935, p. 1947.

5 Item n.4 of the 28th article of the Decree n.26162, December 28th, 1935, in: *Diário do Governo*, 1st series, n.302, December 28th, 1935, p. 1941.

films[6]. *A Revolução de Maio*, a propaganda film sponsored by the government, was shown to the colony with the following appeal: "Portuguese! To watch the film *A Revolução de Maio* means to be proud of yourselves!"[7].

The *Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional*, the official department for propaganda responsible for the press and censorship, included in their reports the Portuguese press reports from the newspapers published by the colonies overseas. By means of the bulletin *Informações* the news published by the emigrants' newspapers was thus reproduced in the newspapers in Portugal - as long as this news favoured the government. In this way, the Portuguese colony overseas was not to be forgotten by the Portuguese living in Portugal[8]. The same attention was given whenever disapproval appeared of the emigrant opposition's newspapers and Portuguese authorities were made aware of the spreading of counter-regime propaganda within those communities.

Besides propaganda, the action of the consulates' representatives was also extremely important. The Portuguese government established ties between the community and the government and it also tried to control the activities of the Portuguese communities overseas. Consular reports on the different activities of the colonies; diplomatic requests to local governments to restrain manifestations against the Portuguese government and insignia given to important persons of the Salazarist colony and pro-regime demonstrations, were the parts of a plan whose main purpose was to assure the popularity of Estado Novo. The consulates controlled the emigrants and spread propaganda among them. Their network of policing and information had its centre in the Portuguese Embassy.

In order to do this, the consular representatives had to use formal diplomatic ways like periodic visits to the main clusters of emigrants with the

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[6] In Portugal the State had the same concern with those who intended to emigrate and it distributed informative pamphlets for the use of the future emigrant. This helped to keep a positive image of the government when the emigrant departed.

[7] *Voz de Portugal*, March 6 th, 1938, p.3.

[8] See, in *Boletim da Imprensa do Secretariado Nacional de Propaganda*, October, 1932, the Boletim da Colónia Portuguesa do Brasil, in which a special prominence is given to the newspaper *Correio Português*, published in Rio de Janeiro, because of the mention it made of the abandonment of the colony by the Portuguese government. A.N.T.T., Ministério do Interior, 467.

purpose of keeping a good image of the Portuguese government.[9] Another way was the distribution of propaganda material among the different emigrant associations. However, the consular authorities did not limit their action to the 'persuasion', nor to the formal means. They sometimes also tried to control the colonies' associations using direct diplomatic pressure[10].

The oldest and most numerous of all Portuguese colonies overseas was Brazil. The importance of it can best be expressed by Salazar's personal concern about the Portuguese emigrants in Brazil. Although he had never been to Brazil, Salazar himself kept in touch with members of this community. Also, in his private records, he had a vast documentation about the activities of the Portuguese living in Brazil.

On the other hand we could say that the reverse was also true. As Franco Nogueira said: "for the Portuguese of Brazil, the Estado Novo is Oliveira Salazar"[11]. The Portuguese colony in Brazil, especially through the *Federação das Associações Portuguesas do Brasil*, a league of the Portuguese associations, together with the consulates, joined efforts to promote the spreading of Salazarism among the different Brazilian, Portuguese communities.

2. The colony's institutions and Salazarism

The Portuguese emigrants established themselves all over Brazil, but the great majority concentrated in the urban centers. This was specially true for Rio de Janeiro, which was the capital of the country until 1960 and had the highest proportion of Portuguese immigrants.[12] In the urban centers, the

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9 During the thirties and the forties, the Portuguese ambassador in Brazil travelled all over the country. See, Luís Norton de Matos' telegram, September 17th, 1947, M.N.E., 2nd floor, Cabinet 50, file 62.

10 In an official letter of the Portuguese Consulate in São Paulo, Brazil, dated 10th April 1939, the Consul Júlio Augusto Borges dos Santos, stated in a birthday commemoration of the Centro Republicano Português that "white censorship" was exercised upon the speeches, to "ensure the advantages so far acquired in terms of colony's unity". Ofício do Consulado Geral de Portugal em S. Paulo, n.º 231, datado de São Paulo, 10 de Abril de 1939. M.N.E., 3.º piso, Armário 11, Maço 441.

11 Nogueira, Franco. *Salazar. Os tempos Áureos (1928-1936). v. II.* (Coimbra-1977), p. 329.

12 During the 40's, Rio de Janeiro, was inhabitated by 154.662 Portugese, while São Paulo, the second largest, had 78.949. See: Levy, Maria Stella Ferreira, "O papel da migração

Portuguese were acting in had different occupations. They were shopkeepers, employees in shops and industries, maids, industrialists etc. In spite of the cultural closeness to the Brazilians, while speaking the same language, the Portuguese belonged to one of the tightest emigrant groups in Brazil. In these emigrant colonies, endogamy, as well as the preference for Portuguese workers by Portuguese employers, were very common[13].

In this context, the spirit of community could be used as a 'weapon' to support the Portuguese interests in a foreign land. Beneficial or social societies, as the *Real e Benemérita Sociedade Portuguesa de Beneficência*, can illustrate well their history. There were also others with a regional nature, like the *Casa do Minho*, founded in 1924 - typical of the associations of the Portuguese during the twenties and thirties - or those of a general political, a republican and a monarchical nature. These associations appeared due to the political militancy among some emigrants.

However, in the thirties and the forties, a wave of nationalism in Brazil restricted emigration and the activities of the emigrants. In 1937, during the dictatorial government of Vargas, his legislation supported directly Brazilian nationalism. In the name of the native worker foreign labour was put in question. The emigrant was seen as a potentially harmful element to the country. The right of ownership by foreigners was hampered. They could not, for example, edit and own periodicals. The number of foreigners working in factories or shops was limited to one third of the total number of native workers. Under the 1937 - constitution foreigners were forbidden to organize political societies, to control periodicals, and to keep special schools for the community[14].

Thus and in spite of the similarity between Salazar's government and Getúlio Vargas', Salazarism was hindered by the conditions described above. However, the support of the regime was shown through political demonstrations in the colony, where the Portuguese publicly demonstrated their ad-

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internacional na evolução da população brasileira (1872-1972)", In : *Revista de Saúde Pública*, São Paulo, v. 8, supl., 1974.

[13] Among the foreigners living in Brazil, only the Japanese are considered as a more closed community than the Portuguese. See: Klein, Herbert L. "A integração social e económica dos imigrantes portugueses no Brasil nos finais do século XIX e no século XX", *Análise Social*, (nº 121, 1993).

[14] See Decree-law n.383, April 1938; article 122 of the Brazilian Constitution of 1937; the Decree law n. 389, April 25th, 1938; and the Decree n. 1545, Agost 25th, 1939.

herence to the motherland's ideology. However, during the height of the Salazarist government, the political ideology of the associations in favour of Salazar's government, could not be fully expressed in public.

2.1. **The Real Gabinete Português de Leitura and the Liceu Literário Português**

The library *Gabinete Português de Leitura do Rio de Janeiro*[15], one of the most traditional institutions of the Portuguese colonies in Brazil, was founded by liberal political emigrants exiled after the victory of D. Miguel's introduction of absolutism in Portugal. On September 2th, 1906, the *Gabinete* was rewarded with the title of 'Royal' by King D. Carlos' decree. The institution, "whose purpose is the culture of the spirit"[16], then became a symbol of the colony settled in Rio de Janeiro.

Situated since 1887 in a building of Portuguese architectural style called 'manuelino' in downtown Rio de Janeiro, it was the place where the colony's manifestations would take place. Its architecture evoke the glorious, golden past of Portugal. It thus contributed to the exaltation of patriotism. A bust of Camões in the main room, the coats of arms of the Portuguese provinces on the ceiling of the conference room, and the *Altar da Pátria*, 'The Homeland's Altar'[17], resting in a special place, were elements that perfectly expressed the ideology of Salazarism which also took advantage of different elements belonging to Republican Nationalism.

Besides being the headquarters of the *Federação das Associações Portuguesas*, the *Real Gabinete* sponsored and carried out different events in favour of Salazar's government. In the room of the Board of directors there was, until today, a portrait of Salazar. It was painted by Abel Manta and was offered by the painter himself in June 1937 when he visited Rio de Janeiro.

In 1932, the *Real Gabinete* was awarded the insignia *Grã Cruz da Ordem de Cristo* by the Portuguese Estado Novo. Also, as a public library, it

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[15] There are other Gabinetes de Leitura founded by the Portuguese colony: in Salvador - the state of Bahia, and in Recife - the state of Pernambuco.

[16] José Marcellino da Rocha Cabral's in the foundation of the Gabinete Real de Leitura, May 14th, 1837, cited by Martins, A.A. de Barros. *Esboço Histórico. Real Gabinete Português de Leitura do Rio de Janeiro, 1837 a 1912*. (Rio de Janeiro - 1913). p. 10.

[17] The "Altar da Pátria" is a silver sculpture given to the Real Gabinete by the Portuguese colony of Rio de Janeiro in 1923. It keeps, to this day, a small quantity of earth from the Portuguese mainland.

was charged with the distribution of the government's publications in the colony. With the Decree n. 25134, March 15th, 1935, it became the legal depository of all the Portuguese editions. It held a vast number of different Estado Novo propaganda works, especially the publications of the official propaganda department and *Agência General das Colónias* (General Department for the colonies). In addition, all biographies of António Oliveira Salazar.

Another institution that deserves to be highlighted because of its active role in the propaganda and support of the Salazarist government, is the lyceum *Liceu Literário Português* of Rio de Janeiro, founded in 1868. Its purpose was the management of general courses, especially in technical disciplines. In these courses, different prizes were awarded to the best students. Among them was the Marshal Carmona and Dr. Oliveira Salazar prize which was usually sponsored by one of the distinguished persons of the institution[18]. Although it was limited to act as a teaching institution because of the Brazilian legal impositions, it promoted different courses on Portuguese culture. The *Real Gabinete* was also a place for general ceremonies in favour of Salazar's government.

2.2. The Federação das Associações Portuguesas do Brasil: establishing a representation for the colony

Oh! Banner with the Five Castles
A symbol of divine grace
The flag of Portugal
A guide for the Immortal race"
(The Hymn of the Portuguese Colony)

In 1929, the periodical *Pátria Portuguesa*, owned by Crisóstomo Cruz, suggested organizing a Congress of the Portuguese of Brazil, which was going to take place in May of the following year[19]. This was the sole meeting of the different Portuguese associations which has ever taken place in Brazil and the *Federação das Associações Portuguesas do Brasil* was founded at this meeting. This name was an anticipation of what would be formulated in the Decree that restructured the Department of Foreign Affairs five years later. On August 14th, 1931, the inaugural session of the *Federação* took

[18] Oliveira, Cândido: *Três Épocas, um pouco de História do Liceu Literário Português*. (Rio de Janeiro - 1956), p. 161 ff.

[19] *Anais do Primeiro Congresso dos Portugueses do Brasil*, (May 3-16, 1931).

place. Its board of directors was constituted by important persons within the colony. Among them were director Carlos Malheiro Dias, a writer and congressman from the party of the Royalists, exiled after the Republic was instituted, and Albino Souza Cruz, its president[20]. The consular representatives, the ambassador and the general consul, were the honorary president and vice-president. The purpose was to create a "representative body of the colony", which, besides giving form to the idea of a united, non-partisan colony, might also have become the mouthpiece of the Portuguese - both vis-à-vis the Brazilian government, and towards the Portuguese authorities. Its emblem was similar to the *littorio* of fascism, a bundle of rods. This emblem was considered the symbol of the colony in union.

The *Federação* did not include associations with an explicit political purpose. In fact, the political associations could only belong to the *Federação* if they had the consent of the directorate. The directorate, however, required them to "become cultural, recreational or beneficent bodies in order to avoid disagreement among the Portuguese in Brazil"[21]. The apolitical nature of the Federação gradually changed under influence of the Salazarist government. After a short period, it became, together with the diplomatical body, the main representative element of Salazarism among the Portuguese emigrants in Brazil. Its directors were dismissed and replaced by persons that favoured the Estado Novo. This happened to Ilidio Nunes, a republican who opposed the Portuguese government and renounced the secretary function at the *Federação* because of the accusations and persecution made by Simão de Laboreiro, an emigrant in favour of Portuguese Integralism[22]. Simão de Laboreiro then became an important person in the *Federação,* and one of the most active supporters of the Portuguese Estado Novo.

During the year of its establishment, the *Federação* promoted the first 'Colony Day', on June 10th, 1932. From 1936 on this day became what was called 'the Race Day'. To the first celebration of that date, an anthem was composed by Óscar da Silva and Hermenegildo António. The latter was a

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[20] Albino Souza Cruz was an industrialist engaged in one of the largest tobacco industries of Latin America, the Souza Cruz. In 1944, he was awarded with the *Grã Cruz da Ordem de Cristo.*

[21] *Boletim da Federação das Associações Portuguesas do Brasil,* (n.° 6, 1934), p. 25.

[22] Before going to Brazil, Simão de Laboreiro was an administrative director in Angola and was also director of the newspaper *O Tempo.*

member of the Republican movement in the colony. The lyrics told about the faraway homeland, its heroic traditions, and the pride of being Portuguese. During the ceremony the recently appointed Portuguese ambassador, Martinho Nobre de Mello, announced that the Portuguese Government had awarded the *Federação* the *Grã Cruz da Ordem de Cristo*[23].

During the thirties, the *Federação das Associações Portuguesas* thus became an important means of propaganda for Salazarist ideology in Brazil. It organized rallies in favour of the regime, and presented itself as the official representative body of the Portuguese colony, especially in events sponsored by the Estado Novo. The Federação was also responsible for a kind of propaganda very peculiar to Salazar's government. It published, on its own, lectures addressed to official ceremonies and some works of people connected with the government like the Brazilian edition of Araújo Correia's works: *Realidades e Aspirações de Portugal Contemporâneo* (Realities and Aspirations of Contemporary Portugal). The purpose was "to cooperate with the propaganda from Portugal" and "render a service to our homeland"[24].

2.3. The União Portuguesa, Dr. Oliveira Salazar and The Legião 28 de Maio

On January 8th, 1933, a new society with a 'nationalistic nature', called *União Portuguesa Dr. Oliveira Salazar*, was founded in Rio de Janeiro. It was to support the motto of its patron: *Tudo pela Nação. Nada contra a Nação* (Everything for the Nation. Nothing against the Nation)[25]. It was an organization with social and philanthropic purposes and its main objective being to cooperate with

> the other Portuguese associations. Especially those which constitute the *Federação das Associações Portuguesas do Brasil* in order to tighten, for the good of the homeland, the ties that have to unite all Portuguese in Brazil[26].

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[23] *Boletim da Federação das Associações Portuguesas do Brasil*, (n°.3, 1932), p. 18.

[24] Correia, Araújo. *Realidades e aspirações de Portugal Contemporâneo*. Rio de Janeiro 1938), p.3. This book contains many lectures in favor of Salazar's regime.

[25] *Estatutos da União Portuguesa Dr. Oliveira Salazar* (Rio de Janeiro, 1935), p. 1.

[26] Letter 'a' of the article 6th of Chapter II of *Estatutos da União Portuguesa Dr. Oliveira Salazar*, (Rio de Janeiro, 1935), p. 4.

Although it did not openly demonstrate its political nature, the ideology was clearly seen not only through its motto, but also from its emblem. This was the Christ' Cross, with the five shields in the Portuguese coat of arms and with the government's motto on the top of the Cross. In the ceremonies the members used a similar emblem with the name of the association. However, this society was censored by the Brazilian legislation, and its manifestations in Brazil were limited to celebrations of dates important to the government and to the participation in events promoted by the *Federação*. Furthermore, it also promoted social events, like excursions and parties. Its members were businessmen, doctors, lawyers and people from the middle class. The *União Portuguesa Dr. Oliveira Salazar*, which lasted until 1992, thus reflected the importance of the Prime Minister as the symbol of the Portuguese Estado Novo for the Portuguese Colony in Brazil.

Other similar associations appeared in different places of Brazil, some of them, like the *Legião Portuguesa 28 de Maio*[27], were clearly based on the ideology of the regime. Their 'loyalty' to Salazarism was expressed through activities on commemorative dates, especially the celebrations of the Anniversary of the day when Salazar rose to power.

The two associations prepared together the important events, but they chose only one person to represent them and give the Prime Minister the messages sent from Brazil, as it f.ex. happened in April, 1948[28].

2.4. **The periodicals: Pátria Portuguesa, Diário Português, Voz de Portugal and Portugal Novo**

The periodicals were tools to keep the union strong within the Brazilian, emigrant communities. During the first half of the thirties they supported the ideology of the government as well as that of the opposition. After the second half of the thirties, and during the forties, only the periodicals in favour of the government survived.

The oldest periodical was the *Jornal Português*, founded in June 1918 by the emigrant journalist Corrêa Varela. It had correspondents in Lisbon and in the federal state of São Paulo, and contained a section commenting on events in Portugal and within the other emigrant communities. The journal published

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[27] *The Legião Portuguesa 28 de Maio* was founded in Rio de Janeiro in 1936.

[28] See the news in *Voz de Portugal*, June 6th, 1948, p.1 and 3.

news on the activities of the Portuguese colonies in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, but it disappeared in December 1933. It did not take a pro-regime approach, or was in any way connected to Salazarism.

Of all periodicals distributed by the Portuguese colony in Brazil, the one closest to the Salazarist ideology was *Pátria Portuguesa*. It was founded in 1925 by the journalists Crisóstomo Cruz, Corrêa Varela and Joaquim Campos, with money given by a Portuguese trader, Lourenço Teixeira, who lived in Rio de Janeiro. From 1930 up to 1934, it published on its front page the motto *Pela Pátria, Pela Tradição, Pela Raça* (For Homeland, For Tradition, For Race). Its editorials also frequently favoured Salazar's regime. In November, 1932, the persons in charge of it launched another periodical, the *Diário Português*, which, after a short time, replaced *Pátria Portuguesa*, keeping, however, the same motto. *Diário Português* disappeared again in 1938[29].

This period saw an intense journalistic activity. Besides *Diário Português*, another politically inclined periodical appeared: the *Portugal Republicano* which was connected to the republican opposition against the Estado Novo. Thus *Diário Português* and *Pátria Portuguesa* became the most important supporters of Salazar's government, against the republican papers.

In August, 1933, the *Diário* initiated a poll: "O que desejaria dizer ao Sr. Presidente Carmona, se com ele pudesse falar?" (What would you like to say to President Carmona, if you could talk to him?). The answers returned to the newspaper were published and the purpose was to demonstrate support for the regime within the colony. This poll reinforced also the feelings between the emigrants and the government, as it can be seen in the statement of António Francisco Aranha, an emigrant from Serpins living in Rio de Janeiro:

> It is not often that we, the Portuguese in Brazil, have the privilege of addressing the Head of our glorious Nation, which is my intention behind these few lines. God bless Your Excellency in your honoured function.[30]

Although *Diário Português* and *Pátria Portuguesa* disappeared, the government continued to find supporters in the emigrant community of Brazil. In April, 1936, the periodical *Voz de Portugal* was founded by the same

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[29] In 1933, *Pátria Portuguesa* was published on Sundays while *Diário Português* was published on Tuesdays and Saturdays.

[30] *Diário Português*, September 16 th, 1933, p. 2.

Crisóstomo Cruz who in a few years became the best-known mouthpiece of the Portuguese in Brazil. *Voz de Portugal* proposed to be "a totalitarian expression of the distant Homeland"[31] and revealed through its motto, published on the top of the front page, the nature of its ideology: *Pela Pátria de Ontem, de Hoje e de Amanhã* (For the Yesterday, the Present and the Future Homeland). Because of its propaganda for Salazarism through its editorials or through the incentive to different manifestations in favour of Salazar's government, Crisóstomo Cruz, its director, was awarded the insignia by the Portuguese State.

The newspaper *Portugal Novo* should also be mentioned, although it only lasted for a short period. It was founded in May, 1934, by Flamínio de Azevedo, a representative in Brazil of the *Diário da Manhã* and of the *A Voz*: Both being Portuguese newspapers. It appeared only irregularly and was a response to the attacks against the government made by the periodical *Portugal Republicano*. It praised Salazar's government and the deeds of the Estado Novo and proclaimed itself "the newspaper that reveals a Revived Homeland"[32]. It disappeared in the second part of 1934, when also the opposition from the republican group ceased to be felt publicly.

There were also other 'salazarist' periodicals and magazines, like the magazine *Lusitânia*, which appeared in Rio de Janeiro in 1929. Its director was António Guimarães, and the motto was *Pela Grandeza da Pátria, Pela Fraternidade da Raça* (For the Greatness of our Homeland, For the Fraternity of our Race)[33]. They were of less importance and circulation.

3. The Great Symbols of Salazarism

3.1. Salazar as the Leader

On the evening of April 9th 1933, the *Liga dos Combatentes da Grande Guerra* organized the celebration of the Battle in Armentières, in the *Real Gabinete Português do Rio de Janeiro*, which was preceded by another solemn act. Amélia Borges Rodrigues, elected the year before as 'queen' of the Portuguese colony of Brazil, gave the *Federação das Associações*

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[31] *Voz de Portugal*, 11th, April, 1936, p. 2.

[32] *Portugal Novo*, July 14th, 1934, p.1.

[33] This magazine belonged to Crisóstomo Cruz, did *Pátria Portuguesa* and *Voz de Portugal*.

Portuguesas do Brasil a portrait of Salazar. It was sent by him privately to this association appearantly with "no political purpose"[34]. In October of the same year Salazar wrote a message to the Portuguese colony of Brazil, aiming at creating a direct link between the emigrants and Salazarism.

> It is not without deep emotion that I try to extend my voice to the Portuguese beyond the Atlantic, as if they were standing before my eyes. They certainly are in my heart for their patriotic dedication and their love of the motherland are uniting us all.[35]

During the thirties and the forties, Salazar tried to rebuild the myth of 'Sebastianism' and calm down the feelings during the politically instable period of the Second World War. The concept of 'New times', of a New idea of State and of new political leaders should relieve the burdens from past, and reconcile feelings among persecuted emigrants who had suffered under former Portuguese regimes. Salazar was presented as the ideal leader, especially in contrast to Afonso Costa, his important opponent. As a 'non-professional politician', he was seen as an apolitical 'technician'. He wanted to be seen as a person above party politics and his goal was to be the incarnation of the Nation. For the colony, this Nation was concretized through the ideal of a quiet village. In the biographies of Salazar, and also in the background of his portrait by Eduardo Malta, we can discern this rural atmosphere.

The newspapers of the colony kept a certain political distance regarding the first events after May 28th 1928. However, the gradually increasing space in the newspapers contained news of the military government and reports on some of their most relevant events, such as the defeat of the opposition to the military coup of General Souza Dias. In 1930, the newspaper editorials did not give special attention to the *Ministro das Finanças* (Secretary of the Treasury) of that time, but only to General Carmona, praised as

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[34] *Boletim da Federação das Associações Portuguesas do Brasil*, (n°.4, 1933), p. 38.

[35] Salazar, António Oliveira. "Saudação aos portugueses do Brasil". Palavras radiodifundidas da cidadela de Cascais em 22 de Outubro de 1933. *Discursos e Notas Políticas. 1928/1934. vol. I.* (Coimbra- 1935). p. 253.

the President of a "dictatorship without a dictator". Salazar's position as the Secretary of the Treasury was only seen as a non-political, direct necessity[36].

The important change took place in the first months of 1933. A periodical of the colony of São Paulo, *Jornal Português*, launched an important debate. The newspaper appealed to the mystics of the Brazilian reality and published this title on the front page: "Salazar and the panels by Nuno Gonçalves, could the Theory of Reincarnation be proved?"[37]. On the following day, the newspaper *Pátria Portuguesa*, through an editorial written by António Guimarães, recognized 'messianism' as one of the most striking and most persistent features of the Portuguese nature. Then it greeted Salazar as "another man to be added to the long list of our 'messias'": A man who was different from the predecessors, "different and better than them" and finally; "a present from God". The text finished with a request: "save Portugal and you will have our utmost gratitude"[38]. From than on Salazar's image gradually changed. 'Messianism' was emphasized, as well as the specific features of Salazar as a 'dictator': A Coimbran man favouring Catholicism. In the following months, and especially in the following year, the editorials about the Portuguese leader proliferated.

The enthusiasm reached its peak with the popularization of Salazar in a rather unusual way. The name Salazar labelled many products: "Salazar cigars, the best in the market"[39]. Alcoholic drinks, like "'Salazar' beer is the newest victory of the brewery Vitória"[40]. Refrigerators, as "the frigde Salazar, the last word in quality. Thrifty as its patron"[41], and food products, as the olive oil "Salazar", "genuinely Portuguese and of the best quality"[42].

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[36] Articles from *Pátria Portuguesa*, "Ditadura sem ditador", transcribed from *Herald Tribune*, February 1st, 1930, and "A crise ministerial e o novo governo", January 18 th, 1930.

[37] *Jornal Português*, January 14th, 1933, p. 1.

[38] *Pátria Portuguesa*, January 15th, 1933, p. 2.

[39] *Pátria Portuguesa*, February 18th, 1934, p. 5.

[40] *Pátria Portuguesa*, October 14th, 1934, p. 7.

[41] *Pátria Portuguesa*, October 21st, 1934, p. 15.

[42] *Diário Português*, November 21st, 1934, p. 5.

The first biographies of Salazar appeared in Brazil during this period. In 1934, in spite of the strong emigrant, republican, opposition to Salazar's government, the *Federação das Associações* commissioned Armando d'Aguiar to write a biography of the Prime Minister[43]. The book, called *Oliveira Salazar, o homem e o ditador*, was dedicated to the Portuguese emigrants in Brazil. Now they could "better understand and admire the man who represents our new Portugal"[44]. The author said that he had a critical view of the government and was therefore able to make an 'unbiased' analysis of the Portuguese political leader. This biography gave the readers of the colony an image of Salazar that would emerge in Portugal only a few years later. As a leader he was a unique politician and he was not, as it was said by his enemies, a "hangman of crowds". He came from a village in Beiras and his life could be identified with the lives of many emigrants, that is, the lonely born self-made men. The book was like a 'novel', mixing fiction and an official version of reality. "The severe nature of the dictator"[45] and the dictatorial aspect of the government were 'attenuated' in the book by the existence of a vast collection of anecdotes about Salazar[46]. These jokes are presented as 'tolerable' in Portugal. In this form the criticism of the regime was included in the biographic discourse, emphasizing some specific features of the personality of Salazar. His imperfections were transformed into qualities.

Salazar was a smiling person, as can be seen from some photos published in the book[47]. As he had a bitter disappointment with the person he

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43 Armando d'Aguiar was a journalist related to *Diário de Notícias*, from Lisbon, and he was in favour of the restoration of Monarchy in Portugal.

44 Aguiar, Armando. *Oliveira Salazar, o homem e o ditador*. (Rio de Janeiro 1934), front page one.

45 Aguiar, Armando. *Oliveira Salazar, o homem e o ditador*. Front page.

46 One of those jokes is about a civil servant who told Salazar that he usually walked to work in order to save the bus fare. One day, as he was late, he decided to run after the bus to save money. Salazar, however, seems to have suggested: "Why don't you jump on to a taxi's bumper in that way you could even save more money". Cited by Aguiar, Armando: *Oliveira Salazar, o homem e o ditador*. p. 193.

47 Aguiar, Armando. *Oliveira Salazar, o homem e o ditador*. p. 80.

loved, he never married. Being a religious man, he upheld the religious values of the countryside. Therefore, he had the support of the clergy. He dreamed of a country with "peace, bread and wine"[48]. His government was "the assurance of the country's salvation"[49]. To the reader, that is, to the Portuguese colony of Brazil, the 'only' request was their absolute support of Salazar's government. Facing the threat of a new war, the appeal of Armando d'Aguiar was made in the name of the united 'homeland'. This concept of 'Homeland' reinforced the non-partisan ideal, which was so dear to the *Federação*.

Another book: *Salazar, o homem do momento*, by António Guimarães, appeared in 1936. The author was a journalist from Minho living in Rio de Janeiro and responsible for the periodical *A Noite*, and for the magazine *Lusitânia*. He was also the editor in chief of the newspaper *Pátria Portuguesa*. The book was published by Livraria H. Antunes which published all Salazar's works and other books about Brazilian Integralism. The author told that his book was an unbiased view of Salazar. In spite of this, the book had illustrations from the *Álbum Portugal 1936*, published by *Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional*. Its structure was very similar to that of the preceding book. It talked about the evils of democracy; the emergence of the Fascist States as the avant-garde of 'saving reaction', and the specificity of the image of Salazar within this context[50].

In the same year, *Quem é Salazar?*, written during the Spanish civil war by the emigrant Abel Ferraz de Souza, was published. Its subtitle was *Ecos da Revolução Nacional, aquela que se tornou conhecida pela 'Revolução de 28 de Maio'* (Echoes of the National Revolution, that has become known as the 28th May Revolution). In this book the author supports the participation of the *Legião Portuguesa* in this civil war because it was a "defense of civilization against barbarism"[51]. His purpose was "to present to my readers a more precise and detailed account of the life of the man who nowadays has the attention of all civilized peoples"[52]. The 'profile' of the Prime Minister

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48 Aguiar, Armando. *Oliveira Salazar, o homem e o ditador*. p. 160.

49 Aguiar, Armando. *Oliveira Salazar, o homem e o ditador*. p. 138.

50 Guimarães, *António. Salazar, o homem do momento*. (Rio de Janeiro - 1936), p. 88.

51 Souza, Abel Ferraz de. *Quem é Salazar?*. (São Paulo-1936). p. 132.

52 Souza, Abel Ferraz de. *Quem é Salazar?*. p. 41.

was made by means of many quotations by foreign people. Salazar was also described as a "mystic person devoted to God and to money"[53], a leader "who does not have even the smallest imperfections"[54]. Finally, as "too great a man for such a small country"[55].

In 1937, in the *Real Gabinete*, António Corrêa de Oliveira read a poem, *Pátria Nossa, Pátria Vossa* (Our Homeland, Your Homeland). It was afterwards published by the *Federação das Associações Portuguesas do Brasil.* With its mystical and messianic content it began with a "sick Homeland" which received a signal from God, the apparition of Our Lady of Fátima. Then Salazar and the Cardinal Cerejeira appeared on the national scene, with a similar kind of divine predestination. Salazar and Cardinal Cerejeira was seen as continuing the work of Fátima.

In 1938 a not officially confirmed news statement was published in the Sunday Supplement of the *Voz de Portugal.* It announced a "Christmas gift for the Portuguese colony": the visit of Salazar to the "lands of Santa Cruz", Brazil, after the Centenary Celebrations[56]. That would be a real sensation.

In 1939, another book: *Salazar e o salazarismo. Uma impressão d'aquém Atlântico* (Salazar and Salazarism. An impression formed beyond the Atlantic) appeared. Its author was a journalist, responsible for the newspaper *Voz de Portugal*, after the nationalization imposed by Vargas. This book contained editorials published in *Diário Português* during 1936. Now the Brazilian government was suffering North American pressures to support the Allies. The book therefore tried to weaken the possible pro-Nazi elements within the colony. The author told clearly that he was against Fascism. However, he had not accepted the general idea of democracy. His ideal was a powerful and centralizing State capable of overcoming the crises of that period, a state that forced order over parties. For him, Salazarism was

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53 Gerard Bauer cited by Souza, Abel Ferraz de. *Quem é Salazar?*. p. 49.

54 António Pietscher cited by Souza, Abel Ferraz de. *Quem é Salazar?*. p. 85.

55 Cited by Souza, Abel Ferraz de. *Quem é Salazar?*. p. 41.

56 *Voz de Portugal*, December 4th, 1938, Sunday's suplement, p. 1.

the ideal of what he called "politics without politicians"[57]. Salazar's regime was thus different from Stalin's and Hitler's in which both politicians were marked by Imperialist ambitions.

The image of the Prime Minister given by Osvaldo Paixão was, however, very similar to the images given in the other books. Different from Mussolini and Hitler, both presented as schizophrenics, Salazar was described as a person who was not "contaminated by politics", that is, what the author calls "morbus políticus"[58]. He was a new Pombal[59], a "well-timed Patriot"[60], who used his knowledge as a professor of Coimbra University to "save" Portugal. In order to do this, he "governs his country as if he were an honest and well trained housewife"[61].

Another book was published in São Paulo the same year: *De Viriato a Salazar*, by António Pousada, a journalist, writer and member of the colony. He offered the reader a panorama over Portuguese History, emphasizing the idea that the Portuguese 'people' should never govern themselves, but be governed. In this context, Salazar solely assembled in his image all other figures that in the official History of the Estado Novo were portrayed as national heroes.

In the forties, Salazar's speeches to the Nation and on occation of official celebrations of his arrival in power were 'headlines' on the front pages. Thus, the *Voz de Portugal* on April 27th, 1941 wrote just: *Salazar, Salazar, Salazar!* When Brazil entered the War on the Allied side, the objective was to remove from the Prime Minister any pro-fascist features. After the War was over, this continued to be the main emphasis from the 'official' spokesman of the colony, who high-lighted the following statements in Salazar's speech: "Portugal is not governed by a dictatorship. It has a constitution, a President elected by the people, a Congress, and legal order"[62].

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[57] Paixão, Osvaldo. *Salazar e o salazarismo. Uma impressão d'aquém Atlântico*, (Rio de Janeiro-1939), p. 91.

[58] Paixão, Osvaldo. *Salazar eo salazarismo. Uma impressão d'aquém Atlântico*, p.44.

[59] Paixão, Osvaldo. *Salazar e o salazarismo. Uma impressão d'aquém Atlântico*, p. 78.

[60] Paixão, Osvaldo. *Salazar e o salazarismo. Uma impressão d'aquém Atlântico*, p. 32.

[61] Paixão, Osvaldo. *Salazar e o salazarismo. Uma impressão d'aquém Atlântico*, p.64.

[62] *Voz de Portugal*, March 9th, 1941, p.1.

During the war, only one biography of the Prime Minister appeared: *O Humanismo Financeiro de Salazar*, by Manoel Lumbabo, 1942. We cannot say, however, that it belonged to the 'propaganda of the myth of Salazar' as often launched by the colony. The author was a Brazilian and the publication had an official nature, as it was sponsored under the Cooperation Act between the Portuguese *Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional* and the Departamento de Imprensa e Propaganda (Press Secretary) of the Brazilian Estado Novo[63].

Another book: *António de Oliveira Salazar o Condestável da República*, appeared in 1949, written by Enzo Silveira, a Brazilian scholar. This book, dedicated to the Portuguese of São Paulo and the others living in Brazil, was similar to the preceding books already mentioned. The only innovation was that it made a reference about Portugal during the War, referring to the American occupation of the Azores and the actions of the Portuguese Red-Cross. The expression "Condestável da República" (Constable of the Republic) referred to Constable Saint Nuno Álvares Pereira, who thus was honored by the author. Salazar was polemically described as "an educator"[64], or as "a gentleman: extremely intelligent, polite, modest and a calm professor"[65].

3.2. **Regionalism as a political weapon**

In the ideology of the Portuguese Estado Novo and the conception of 'nationality' was directly connected to the notion of 'native land', as comparable to the slogans from the other facists states[66]. This correspondence, based on a particular view of regionalism and of 'popular culture', offered the para-

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[63] See: Paulo, Heloisa. *Estado Novo e Propaganda*, (Coimbra, 1994).

[64] Richard Lewinsohn cited by Silveira, Enzo. *António de Oliveira Salazar o Condestável da República*, (São Paulo-1949), p. 14.

[65] Carlton Hayes cited by Silveira, Enzo. *António de Oliveira Salazar o Condestável da República*, p. 14.

[66] See, among others: Cavazza, Stefano. "Arte popolare e intellettuali durante il nazismo", *Itália Contemporanea*, (Dicembre 1993); Cavazza, Stefano. "Tradizione regionale e riesumazioni demologiche durante il fascismo", *Studi Storici*, (Aprile-Settembre 1993), or, Tozzi-Fontana, M. "Il ruolo delle mostre etnografiche nel'organizzazione del consenso 1936/1940", *Itália Contemporanea*,(n°137, 1979).

meters to build a particular stereotype of nationality. The restoration of the regionalistic tradition was strongly developed within the Republic and Salazarism exalted the peasant as the ideal of the Portuguese character. Therefore, the building of the national identity was based on the regional stereotypes, different from the other fascist ideologies.

This understanding of a 'national being', together with the specific origin of the emigrant majority, gave a concrete identity reference to the Portuguese colony abroad. The highlighting of the rural values and the appeal to the roots of the emigrant enhanced the image of the government in the communities overseas. These two arguments were therefore almost always present in Salazar's speeches when he addressed the emigrant colonies.

The theme of regionalism was a constant one in the broadcasting stations and in the newspapers owned by the colony. In periodicals sections were named "Saudades da Nossa Terra" (Nostalgia of our Land), "Nossas Aldeias" (Our Villages)[67] and "Da nossa Terra" (From our Land)[68]. Besides news about the villages of the areas that had the largest number of emigrants, Beiras and Trás-os-Montes, Portuguese way of life and regional traditions were in focus. Those traditions were also themes of lectures and songs in radio programs, as in *Voz, traço de União*, (Voice, a form of union), which was broadcasted for over 25 years in Rio de Janeiro, and had "typical Portuguese songs and melodies that longingly take us to our little corner in the homeland"[69].

The Portuguese government and the consular authorities enjoyed to stimulate reading about popular culture, and promoted cultural events of the same spirit. Propaganda works of the regional clubs were sent to the libraries, such as *Portugal, Breviário da Pátria para os Portugueses Ausentes*, and published by the *Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional*, (the Motherland for Absent Portuguese of Portugal, a compilation), in 1948. In these clubs, there were many celebrations related to the regime's calendar, as the 10th June[70] and others.

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67 *Pátria Portuguesa*, between 1930 and 1934.

68 A section of *Voz de Portugal*, 1936.

69 *Voz de Portugal*, April 12th, 1936, p.5.

70 *Voz de Portugal*, June 10th, 1936, news about the solemnities in Casa do Minho.

Documentary films were sent to the colonies. Titles like "Aldeias Portuguesas" (Portuguese Villages) and some others were explicitly utilized as propaganda. Perhaps the most obvious example was "*Manifestação Nacional a Salazar*" (National Demonstrations for Salazar). Films that were not issued by the regime, were also made and which gave an image of the masses in Portugal indirectly supporting the government. This was the case of *Maria Papoila, Aldeia da Roupa Branca* (The Village of Clean Linen) and *Pátio das Cantigas* (The Yard of Songs). Announcements of the repeated exhibitions of those films were often seen in the colonies' periodicals, especially in Rio de Janeiro, where they enjoyed extreme success.

Thus, the Estado Novo gave the emigrants an image of Portugal that the emigrants could cultivate overseas: the ideal of a lonely village, a place of memories and an identity reference, completely different from the urban cities that the emigrants (now) lived in. Salazar's own statement was that the purpose of the government was to keep this idyllic view of the village as a political reality:

> Without excluding the activity that offers comforts and goods, the ideal is to escape from this time's materialism; let's make our fields more fertile without silencing its happy songs; let's weave cotton with the newest spinning machines, but without weaving in it the hate between classes nor expelling from the factory our patriarchal spirit.[71]

3.3. **Portugal; its History and Race**

Another element in the ideology of Salazarism that favoured the support of the colony towards the regime was the fact that Salazarism conceived the emigrant as a kind of continuator of the overseas expansion from the glorious past. This image of the emigrant, a character in the 'revised edition' of Portuguese history, was an honour to the Portuguese emigrant. His role was drawn after an image different from the one he had at the end of the 19th century according to the Portuguese social imagination - either the nouveau-riche type or the pauper trying to make easy money.

History was always present in the celebrations held in the Portuguese colony of Brazil. During those events, a nationalistic view of the Portuguese historical process predominated, mostly inherited from Republican historiography. This view of History was permeated by a fatalistic feeling of the

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[71] Salazar, António de Oliveira. "A Embaixada da Colónia Portuguesa no Brasil e a nossa polítca externa", *Discursos. 1935/1937. vol. II.* (Coimbra -1945), p. 276.

'predestination' of the Portuguese people for the unity of the 'Nation', and for the promotion of Christian ideals. This predestination gave stimulus to the expansionistic and colonizing explanation of the Portuguese peoples' emmigration.

The emigrants, especially the intellectuals in the colonies, showed particular interest in two moments of Portugal's history: the 'Birth' of the nationality and the overseas expansion. Historical names like Afonso Henriques, the Infante of Sagres, the Navigators, and especially Pedro Álvares Cabral, were celebrated. Camões, a symbol of the 'Portuguese Race', deserved special attention. However, the theme 'Race' appeared in different occasions, not necessarily solemn ones. On January 5th, 1941, for example, the play *Auto da Raça*, a piece on King D. Manuel, was broadcasted in the program *Hora de Portugal*, of the radio station *Vera Cruz* in Rio de Janeiro. One of its narrators was the consul general of Portugal, Dr. Jordão Maurício Henriques[72].

Other dates were also celebrated like April 9th: the victory of Portugal in the Battle of Armentières, in the First World War. Plays, sponsored by the associations of the colony, were presented each year in the theaters of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo during the thirties and the forties with titles like: *O 9 de Abril* (April 9th) and *O Mutilado* (The war-disabled)[73].

History was also present, during the thirties, in the buildings inaugurated by the associations of the colony. This was the case of *Liceu Literário Português*, inaugurated on September 10th, 1938. At the entrance of this building there were two file panels, by Jorge Colaço, showing scenes of the historical events mentioned above: the 'Birth' of Portugal and its overseas expansion with their emblematic figures like D. Afonso Henriques and the Infante of Sagres.

However, no other work produced in the colony in the Salazarist period had the same scope as *História da Colonização Portuguesa no Brasil*, coordinated by Carlos Malheiro Dias. During the twenties[74], there were a great

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[72] *Voz de Portugal*, January 5th, 1941, p.4.

[73] We have found references to two different authors, Armindo Eiras and Américo Morais, with plays between 1934 and 1940, as possible authors of *"0 9 de Abriel"*.

[74] The work *História da Colonização Portuguesa no Brasil* (3 volumes), published between 1921 and 1924, was patronized by the Portuguese colony of Brazil and gives a peculiar vieu of the colonization, highlighting the role of the emigrant.

number of pamphlets, lectures and events about these two moments of Portuguese history. Thus there were many solemnities and celebrations in which these two themes were the background giving the introduction of a new element: the works of the Estado Novo in its recuperation of a glorious past. Especially during the celebration of the 800th anniversary of the 'Birth' of the Nation and the 300th anniversary of the Restoration of Independence.

4. "Portugal is here too!". The participation of the colony in the great moments of Salazarism

On October 22, 1933, Oliveira Salazar's greeting to the Portuguese colony in Brazil was broadcasted through a special program of *Emissora Nacional*. It was the beginning of a 'dialogue' that was going to last until his death. Since that day, the colony's answer to Salazarism was marked by innumerable manifestations in favour of the government and had to be taken as a direct support of the 'Salazarist' regime. Between 1930 and 1950, in its golden period, we can highlight the years 1936, when civil war started in Spain, and 1940, the year of the centenary celebrations as particularly important examples.

In 1936, news about the intention of Portugal to take a non-neutral position in the Spanish Civil War arrived in Rio de Janeiro. The board of Directors of the *Federação das Associações Portuguesas* met and sent a message supporting the "just and firm" decision of Salazar's government to ambassador Martinho Nobre de Mello[75]. As one of the most important propaganda means of Salazarist ideology, the *Voz de Portugal* started a mobilization campaign in favour of a formalized support to the foreign policy carried out by his regime[76].

On November 12th 1936, a public loyalty-demonstration of the colony was planned. It had the support of Martinho Nobre de Mello and took place in the garden of the embassy on November 29th. After the news the *Voz de Portugal* published a telegram from Salazar were he expressed his gratefulness to the colony for its support and where he sent his 'enthusiastic salut'[77].

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[75] Official correspondence of *Federação das Associações Portuguesas*, Rio de Janeiro, September 3rd, 1936.

[76] *Voz de Portugal*, November 14th/17th/18th, 1936.

[77] *Voz de Portugal*, November 18th, 1936, p.1.

An editorial from the same periodical exhorted all the Portuguese to 'kneel down' in front of the 'Homeland', showing their obedient support of the Lisbon government[78].

On the actual day, according to newspapers of Rio de Janeiro, a large number of Portuguese emigrants gathered on the Beach of Botafogo, near the embassy. They joined in a parade that marched to the buildings of the Portuguese diplomatic representation. Accompanied by two musical bands from the colony, the emigrants listened to inflamed speakers who proposed to join in the fight against communism. Vitorino Moreira, a teacher and the President of the Portuguese Chamber of Commerce in Rio de Janeiro, introduced the idea of creating the *Legião Portuguesa* in Brazil, a copy of the similar Portuguese institution.

The Legion of the Portuguese in Brazil was of an obviously different organization but was not less significant than the original Portuguese. It was a branch of the latter, but with the necessary modifications as imposed by specific circumstances[79].

This organization, in spite of the credentials brought from Portugal by Vitorino Moreira, did not, because of restrictive Brazilian legislation, amount to much of reality. However, a special delegation of emigrants was organized with the intention of delivering a statement of support to Salazar[80]. The idea of a Portuguese Legion in Brazil was in the end not materialized just as the direct non-intervention of Portugal in Spain did not result in an important operation.

Beside this attempt, another deserves to be highlighted, represented in the radicalization enforced on the *Centro Lusitano D. Nuno Álvares Pereira*. This organization ended being a beneficent association to become a 'political grouping'. The association established itself on January 23rd 1921 as an open association of all nationalities. It had its objective, besides the management of the school of the Centro and of a relief-fund to students and associates: "the accomplishment of recreational sessions, propaganda of Portugal and of

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78 *Voz de Portugal*, November 18th, 1936, p.2.

79 *Voz de Portugal*, March 20th, 1938, p.2.

80 See: Moreira, Vitorino. *Relatório da Embaixada da Colónia Portuguesa*. (Rio de Janeiro-Dezembro de 1937).

Portuguese traditions"[81]. Their staff included names of different political persuasions, such as the republican Ilídio Nunes, and the conservative José Gomes Lopes. In 1934, it was transformed into *Cruzada D. Nuno Álvares Pereira*, which aimed at being a group similar to the "balilas who made the new Italy, to the young people who were at present re-erecting Germany, and the Portuguese Youth in whose regiments the New Portuguese tried to lay its foudations"[82]. The father of this project seemed to have been Júlio de Araújo, then secretary of the Centro, counting on the support of the Centro's director, José Gomes Lopes and the Earl Dias Garcia. A hierarchy similar to the one of Mocidade Portuguesa was established with Alfredo Rebelo Nunes occupying the post of grand master and José Lopes that of deputy master. With the Decree n. 383, from April 1938, the association lost support and in November of that same year, and by decision of its own board of directors, it eventually disappeared, together with the Centro from which had its roots[83].

In 1940, however, one of the most galvanizing events took place: the Second Centenary Celebrations. These celebrations mobilized the entire colony, including the opposition to the regime[84]. On April 12th, 1938, the *Federação das Associações Portguesas* sent an official message to the Prime Minister assuring him to actively participate in the event after he had wanted that the celebrations should take place.

In Portugal, Carneiro Pacheco, Secretary of Education of Salazar's government, suggested to Albino de Souza Cruz, president of the Federação, then visiting Lisbon, as a proof of their loyalty, the donation of the *Palácio dos Almadas*, a palace in Lisbon, to the Portuguese government by the colony of Brazil. The palace would then be added to the national heritage as the headquarters of the *Mocidade Portuguesa* and as the Museum of Independence. The Portuguese government, by means the Decree-law n. 29638, May 30th, 1939, made an allowance of the necessary capital for the purchase

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[81] Paragraph 3, Article 5 of the *Estatutos do Centro Lusitano D. Nuno Álvares Pereira*, Rio de Janeiro, 1933, p. 6.

[82] Introduction manifest of the Cruzada D. Nuno Álvares Pereira, quoted in *Boletim da Casa de Portugal*, n.°8, Rio De Janeiro, April, 1959, p.9/10.

[83] For further information on this subject, see, specially *Boletim da Casa de Portugal*, n.°8, Rio de Janeiro, april, p.9/10.

[84] Sarmento Pimentel, an exile in São Paulo, was one of the members of the celebration comittee. See: *Sarmento Pimentel ou uma geração traída*. (Lisboa-1976), p. 194.

and restoration of the building so that the ceremony of the transference of the place could take place during the celebrations. The term to pay off the loan was also set by the committee of the *Federação*. The amount of money (five million escudos) was raised by means of subscriptions among Portuguese emigrants all over Brazil. In June, 1940, when the celebrations started, the committee of the *Federação* left for Lisbon bringing with them the final payment of the 'loan'.

Portugal and the colony of Brazil held simultaneous celebrations of the Centenaries. The same day as Cardinal Cerejeira officially opened the celebrations in Portugal, the colony in Brazil had an open-air Mass in Rio de Janeiro. That evening in the *Teatro República* in Rio de Janeiro, there were special entertainments dedicated to the Centenaires of Portugal, with the performance of *Amor de Perdição*, by Camilo Castelo Branco[85] . On June 4th, at the Portuguese Embassy, "the ceremony of the hoisting of the flag and a salutation to the Portuguese Land"[86] took place. All the Portuguese emigrants had been invited through the colony's papers. The same day, many lectures on different themes of Portuguese History opened the celebrations at the *Liceu Literário Português*. On June 10th, the *Real Gabinete Português de Leitura* celebrated the 'Race Day', with the presence of the Brazilian foreign Minister, Oswaldo Aranha. The celebrations continued until the 1st of December, being officially closed at the *Real Gabinete*.

For the colony, however, the climax of the Centenary Celebration took place in Portugal, on November 24th, 1940, when the *Palácio dos Almadas*, as it is now called, was donated to the Portuguese government. There, Albino Souza Cruz, on behalf of the colony, publicly declared the loyalty of the *Federação* to Salazar's regime. The importance of the emigrant's role in Salazar's regime can thus be described in Souza Cruz report on the event to the *Federação*. In this report, he mentions the words of Salazar concerning the donation:

> When I bade farewell to the eminent Chief, whom the civilized world of Europe and the Americas admire and respect, and assured him of the deep gratitude of

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85 *Voz de Portugal*, May 30th, 1940.

86 *Voz de Portugal*, June 2st, 1940.

> the Portuguese from Brazil for having been given an active voice in the celebrations, he answered: "Are they thankful? Tell them that this government has received their donation with great honour and emotion.[87]

In 1941, when Portugal sent a special delegation to thank Brazil for its participation in the Centenary Celebrations, it also thanked the Portuguese colonies in Brazil. In the *Real Gabinete*, António Ferro, director of the *Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional*, present in Brazil to sign a Cultural Agreement, expressed the reasons of the emigrant community to support the ideology of Salazarism:

> Portuguese of this side of the Atlantic ocean, seeds of the wonderful Brazilian land, I see reflections of our beautiful landscape and rivers in your eyes. Holding you close to my heart, I cannot but cry not in wonder and pride, like General Carmona, my master, when he touched these our lands beyond the sea: Portugal is here too![88]

5. **Brief Summary and Conclusion**

The spread of Salazarism proved to be a direct means to provide identity to the Portuguese immigrants living in the various quarters of Brazil. The importance of the messages from the Leader seems to have had its strongest impact in the most dense populated Portuguese communities like in Rio de Janiero. Here the symbols and adherence to the Estado Novo could also be cultivated and kept under control by the diplomatic authorities. There were also no typically party-directed efforts towards diffusion of Salazarism, compared to the efforts of the German party diplomacy.

It is very difficult to provide any concise numbers or proportions of how many Portuguese immigrants in Brazil supported the new regime, and the loyalty to the regime obviously changed from its early days, during the time of the Second World War and afterwards. However, by being inhabitants of a 'lost' colony, which was many times larger than the Homeland, the importance of having an extraordinary identity linked to it could give them an strong feeling of status and belonging.

On the other hand there was also developing different national identities in Brazil at the same time, and partly also inspired by the Estado Novo.

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[87] *Os Portugueses do Brasil nos Centenários de Portugal* (a report). p. 43.

[88] Ferro, António. FERRO, António. "Panorama dos Centenários", *Estados Unidos da Saudade*, (Lisboa -1950), p. 82.

President Vargas in Brazil could imitate traits from the Portugese regime and import policies invented by Salazar, but not engage in a policy of closer co-operation with Portugal. He would instead prefer to calm down 'local Salazarism' by Portuguese immigrants in Brazil in order to prevent any hinders of expansion of his own political powers. In the same way he would limit and even prohibit domestic nationalist forces - which also had imported ideas from the Estado Novo or other facists regimes - as shown in Helgio Trindades chapter on the Integralist Movement in this book.

Thus the problem of spread of Salazarism was countered by divergent forces, a problem which was clearly understood in Lisbon, and made the official authorities of the Estado Novo very careful in their approach towards encouraging the Portuguese immigrants in Brazil to work for their program. Within the Portuguese communities in Brazil there were also several opposing cliques of radical or royalist leanings, which both would react towards too much eagerness from the Estao Novo to take on missionary expeditions towards Latin America.

The topic of the spread of Salazarism to Brazil therefore illustrates very well some of the general difficulties encountered by fascists regimes to utilize the emigrated people for their cause. An immigrant in one country could have come for very different reasons and fled or left her/his homeland with motives not so easily to be used for political purposes. He or she was also living in political and cultural contexts which could be extremely counterproductive towards national identities being created on the other side of the Atlantic. To find the proper balance for winning ultimate support was therefore, for the Salazar regime, very delicate.

FASCISM IN ASIA AND AUSTRALIA

7

GREGORY J. KASZA

FASCISM FROM ABOVE?

JAPAN'S *KAKUSHIN* RIGHT IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

In the late nineteenth century, the founders of modern Japan instituted a constitutional monarchy based on European models. By the mid-1920s, due to expansion of the suffrage and the growing power of the elected lower house of parliament over the cabinet, this constitutional monarchy had evolved into a qualified parliamentary democracy. An appointed upper house and Privy Council still wielded substantial authority, and the military retained some autonomy from political control. But all males received the right to vote in 1925, and every prime minister to serve over 1918-1922 and 1924-1932 was head of the largest party in the lower house.

Two crises undermined this fledgling democracy in the early 1930s: the Great Depression, and a clash with Western imperial powers over control of China. The government's inability to provide quick relief from the depression brought censure upon the main political parties, which were linked to the interests of landlords and big business. The army sparked the international crisis by unilaterally invading Manchuria in late 1931. While the public responded favorably, the brief efforts of party governments to halt this act of aggression provoked the military's wrath.

The Manchurian conquest stimulated a rapid growth of rightist groups in civil society and among young military officers. In the early-mid 1930s, rightists proselytized against party government and assassinated two of the last three party prime ministers, setting the stage for the appointment of a non-party prime minister in 1932. Rightist terror culminated in an abortive coup

d'état led by junior officers in 1936. Masao Maruyama, the most widely read Japanese scholar of interwarpolitics, has labeled 1931-1936 the period of 'fascism from below.'[1]

After 1932, there was a gradual shift from party to military-bureaucratic rule, as lower house representatives steadily lost cabinet seats to military officers and bureaucrats. Some military-bureaucratic officials hoped to create a New Order based partly on the model of Nazi Germany, and they gradually increased their influence over policymaking. The onset of war with China in 1937 enabled them to force many legal and institutional changes through a now weak and intimidated Diet. In 1940, Japan's political parties disbanded under pressure, and the next year General Hideki Tōjō[2] became prime minister, appointing a solidly military-bureaucratic cabinet. Maruyama has labeled 1937-1945 the period of 'fascism from above.'

Most postwar Japanese research refers to the politics of the 1930s as fascist, but this has always been a contentious issue.[3] Marxism has swayed most scholars who apply the fascist concept today. Their starting point is the Communist International's portrait of Japan as fascist in 1935, by which it meant "an overt and violent dictatorship by the most reactionary, the most exclusionist, and the most imperialist elements of financial capital."[4] The Comintern's analysis was faulty. Finance capital did not propel the mo-

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[1] See Masao Maruyama, *Thought and Behavior in Modern Japanese Politics*, expanded ed., edited by Ivan Morris (London: Oxford University Press, 1969).

[2] Puncfuation: Straight lines over Japanese vowels are macrons.

[3] My review will cover only Japanese scholarship. In American academia, arguments against 'fascism' predominate: George Macklin Wilson, "A New Look at the Problem of 'Japanese Fascism,'" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 10 (July 1968), pp. 401-12; Peter Duus and Daniel I. Okimoto, "Fascism and the History of Prewar Japan: The Failure of a Concept," *Journal of Asian Studies* 39 (November 1979), pp. 65-76. For an early postwar application of 'fascism,' see Richard Storry, *The Double Patriots* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957). For an interesting recent application, based on a study of labor policy, see Andrew Gordon, *Labor and Imperial Democracy in Prewar Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), ch. 11.

[4] Georgi Dimitrov at the Comintern's seventh Congress, quoted in Takeshi Ishida, "Elements of Tradition and 'Renovation' in Japan During the 'Era of Fascism,'" *Annals of the Institute of Social Science*, no. 17 (1976), p. 112. R. Palme Dutt's *Fascism and Social Revolution* (New York: International Publishers, 1934), which echoed the Comintern's analysis of fascism, was well known among Japanese intellectuals.

mentous changes of the 1930s. The old industrial combines (*zaibatsu*), which ran the biggest banks, dragged their feet on expansion abroad and militarism at home (though they profited from both),[5] and the newer combines, which were enthusiastic about empire-building, were more the effect of imperialism and military rule than the cause. The interwar Japanese left was split on the Comintern's thesis, one faction arguing that Japanese capitalism was insufficiently advanced to justify it, but among postwar leftists, the fascist interpretation has been dominant.[6] Today the term 'monopoly capitalism' often appears in Japanese studies of 'fascism,' even in the work of writers who might not call themselves Marxists.

There have been many other arguments against the fascist interpretation in Japanese scholarship. In summarizing these, I rely on the research of Hirozumi Abe, a spokesman for the Marxist interpretation of a 'fascist' Japan, Yasushi Yamaguchi, an agnostic supporter of the fascist label, Takeshi Ishida, whose work refers to Japanese politics 'in the era of fascism,' and Takashi Itō, a critic of the fascist interpretation.[7] The arguments against

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[5] Relevant events include: (1) the old *zaibatsu's* backing of General Kazushige Ugaki, a conservative responsible for military cutbacks in the 1920s, for prime minister in 1936; (2) the Sumitomo and Mitsubishi Banks' refusal to extend further credit to the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, which they decried as 'red,' in late 1940 when the Diet was debating its character: Yokusan Undō Shi Kankokai, *Yokusan Kokumin Undō Shi* [History of the national assistance movement], (Tokyo: Kaimeidō, 1954), pp. 201-2; and (3) the Cabinet Planning Board Incident of 1941, when the *zaibatsu* accused officials of this radical military-bureaucratic planning organ of communist sympathies, resulting in a minor purge. As suggested in their slogan of 'private ownership/state management,' the state planning agencies charged with wartime mobilization largely viewed the four great *zaibatsu* (Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, and Yasuda) as unreliable (if irreplaceable) partners in the task of empire-building.

[6] The prewar Labor-Farmer Faction (*Rōnō-ha*) of Marxist intellectuals agreed that the military, bureaucracy, and business combines (*zaibatsu*) ruled the politico-economic system, but insisted that finance capital was effectively dominant, thus backing the Comintern's view of a fascist Japan. The other Marxist faction (the *Kōza-ha*) was more diverse, but many members argued that Japan had a more traditional absolutist emperor system, based on a pre-capitalistic form of land tenure: see Germaine A. Hoston, *Marxism and the Crisis of Development in Prewar Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 255-64; Ikuhiko Hata, *Gun Fuashizumu Undō Shi* [The history of the military fascist movement] (Tokyo: Hara Shobō, 1962), pp. 4-5.

[7] Hirozumi Abe, "Nihon ni Fuashizumu wa Nakatta no Ka" [Was there no fascism in Japan?], in Akira Fujiwara, Seiichi Imai, Shun'ichi Uno, and Kentarō Kuriya, eds., *Nihon Kindai Shi no Kyozō to Jitsuzō 3: Manshū Jihen - Haisen* [Real and imaginary images of modern Japanese history, vol. 3: The Manchurian Incident to war's end] (Tokyo: Ōtsuki Shoten, 1989); Yasushi Yamaguchi, "Fuashizumu Rongi no Kiken na Sokumen: Nihon ni

'fascism' fall into two groups: criticisms of the fascist line, and alternative explanations. The main criticisms of the fascist interpretation are these:

1. *Conceptual fuzziness.*
Japanese research has given 'fascism' so many vague meanings that its further use only invites confusion. This argument has many wrinkles. One contention is that scholars apply 'fascism' to the entire right wing, or even to the whole political establishment, failing to distinguish between groups of different tactics, goals, social status, and power. Another point is that the proponents of 'fascism' rarely define it. They assume the concept's relevance and uncritically ascribe all traits of late interwar politics to 'fascism.'

2. *Political motivation.*
Political motives underlie use of the fascist concept. This, the critics say, began with the allies' wartime propaganda, which painted Japan as fascist along with Italy and Germany to mobilize public opinion at home. Many postwar Japanese then accepted the fascist label out of self-recrimination, since fascism was the harshest term for wartime politics. Yet fascism was never an official slogan of the Japanese government, and Japan's alliance with Italy and Germany did not mean that these countries had the same domestic politics, any more than the U.S. and Soviet Union had similar domestic systems on the other side.

Academic politics affects both sides of the fascism debate today. 'fascism' is so closely linked to a Marxist analysis of interwar Japan that leftist scholars almost unfailingly adopt the term, while non-leftists avoid it. Some Marxists berate their critics as apologists for imperialism, while the latter dismiss Marxist research as mere ideology. The two sides publish in different journals and ignore each other's work except to disparage it.

3. *Japan differed from Europe.*
The fascist concept is inapplicable because Japanese politics differed from European fascism. There was no dictator like Hitler, no single-party regime.

Fuashizumu' wa Nakatta no Ka" [The dangerous side of the fascism debate: Was there no 'fascism' in Japan?], *Economisuto*, 29 July 1980, pp. 38-45; Ishida, "Elements of Tradition and 'Renovation' in Japan during the 'Era of Fascism'"; Takashi Itō, "Shōwa Seiji Shi Kenkyū e no Hito Shikaku" [One perspective on research in Shōwa political history], *Shisō* 624 (June 1976), pp. 949-61.

Abe and Yamaguchi call this the 'deficiency argument' (*ketsujo ron*). It is the most frequent objection to the use of 'fascism,' and most versions focus on the composition and form of Japan's ruling institutions. In this area, even Maruyama identified many differences between Japanese and European 'fascism.'[8]

Though many of these criticisms have merit, they do not settle the issue of fascism's relevance to interwar Japan. As for conceptual fuzziness, 'fascism' has seen some sloppy use in both Japanese and Western scholarship, but this does not mean it is incapable of sound application. All political concepts acquire many meanings and suffer some scholarly abuse. To reject a concept on that account is to reject conceptualization altogether, and that is what many of the critics have done. Some hide behind *shiryōshugi* or documentary positivism, editing large volumes of primary research materials without offering any analysis.

Some statesmen and scholars have used or rejected the term 'fascism' for political ends, but again, the same is true of many political concepts. If the critics hope to put the debate over fascism on a more objective footing, the only way is to test the empirical claims of the fascist argument, but few have bothered. 'Fascism' is not necessarily linked to Marxist theory, so opposition to Marxism is no reason to abandon the concept. Yet many Japanese scholars who reject Marxism have rejected 'fascism' on that account, ignoring the non-Marxist theories of fascism dominant in Western scholarship.

In my view, the differences between rightist politics in Japan and Europe advise against application of the fascist label to Japan (see below), but the mere recitation of these differences does not close the discussion. Along with the differences were some notable similarities, for the Japanese copied some features of European fascism. Thus an analysis excluding all mention of fascism would be as 'deficient' as one giving the term top billing. One conclusion of this essay is that while Japan may not qualify for the name 'fascism,' German models nonetheless had a major influence there, and Japan thus deserves a place in research on the worldwide impact of European fascism.

[8] This is one reason why, as Yamaguchi perceptively notes, some of Maruyama's students have abandoned 'fascism' as a label for Japan.

Among alternatives to the fascist interpretation are these:

1. *Imperial absolutism.*
Interwar politics was an extension of traditional imperial 'absolutism' (*zettaishugi*). This was the view of Marxists who spurned the Comintern's thesis and argued that Japanese capitalism was insufficiently developed to produce fascism. Most applied the term 'absolutism' to the entire era of the Meiji constitution (1889-1945).

2. *Developmental dictatorship.*
Interwar Japan was a 'developmental dictatorship' (*hatten dokusai*), perhaps more comparable to postwar modernizing dictatorships in Asia, Africa, and Latin America than to Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy.[9]

3. *Wartime politics.*
The changes in Japanese politics over 1937-1945 were emergency, wartime expedients, not shifts to a fascist system. In this view, policymakers were reactive, taking stopgap measures to cope with an escalating war in China. The argument is that Japanese policies resembled those of many nations, democratic and nondemocratic, facing the demands of war. After Japan's defeat in 1945, this was the explanation many wartime leaders gave for their actions.

4. *Historical nominalism.*
Rather than describing Japan's rightist forces with the imported name of fascism, some scholars have adopted native terms that were prominent in interwar political discourse: 'idealist right' (*kannen uyoku*) and '*kakushin* right' (see below). A self-styled 'neopositivist' school of historians appeared in the 1970s to champion this approach, which is now the chief alternative to

[9] An early advocate of third world comparisons was Michitoshi Takabatake, "Kyōkenteki Tōgō to Taishū Undō: San-jū Nendai Nihon o Chūshin ni" [Coercive integration and mass movements: Focusing on Japan in the 1930s], in Tokyo Daigaku Shakai Kagaku Kenkyōjo "Fuashizumu to Minshushugi" Kenkyūkai, ed., *Undō to Teikō* [Movements and opposition], vol. 1, Fuashizumu-ki no Kokka to Shakai 6 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1979).

the fascist interpretation. Takashi Itō, its leading advocate, describes the historical actors of the 1930s largely in their own language, and no one of consequence in interwar Japan called himself a 'fascist.'[10]

None of these alternative characterizations closes the debate over 'fascism.' The case for 'imperial absolutism' might undercut the Comintern's version of fascism, but it does not address other theories directly. 'Developmental dictatorship' suggests comparisons of Japan with many late-developing states, and not only with Italy and Germany, but since A.J. Gregor created this concept to describe Italian Fascism, it hardly rules out 'fascism' in Japan. I do not think that 'imperial absolutism' accurately describes Japanese politics, and while 'developmental dictatorship' is a stimulating heuristic device, I do not find it precise enough to capture the political dynamics of interwar Japan.[11] But the relevant point here is that neither theory settles the issue of whether there was 'fascism' in Japan.

War shaped the politics of all participants in World War II, but not in the same way. U.S. and British statesmen did not dissolve political parties or institute military rule, so war alone cannot explain why the Japanese did. Moreover, Japan's leading statesmen instigated the war; they were not simply reacting to an unexpected external stimulus. They copied many aspects of Nazi public policy, and they intended the changes they were making in the late 1930s to be permanent. In any case, even the concept of a wartime sy-

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[10] Itō uses the term *fukko* (reactionary) to describe the idealist right in the early 1930s, but sees it evolving later into a force for the status quo (*genjō iji ha*) against the more radical *kakushin* elements.

[11] The Meiji state-builders consciously rejected 'imperial absolutism,' forging a complex ruling structure that restricted the Emperor's role as well as the content and procedures of law-making: see Joseph Pittau, *Political Thought in Early Meiji Japan, 1868-1889* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967); Kazuto Sakamoto, *Itō Hirobumi to Meiji Kokka Keisei: 'Kyūchū' no Seido-ka to Rikkensei no Dōnyū* [Itō Hirobumi and the founding of the Meiji state: the institutionalization of the 'throne' and the introduction of constitutionalism] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Hiroshi Bunkan, 1991). The term 'developmental dictatorship' is very general. Most twentieth-century regimes have pursued development (mass education, industrialization, a modern military, etc.), and most have been late-comers like Japan. Can the goal of late development explain why various statesmen have chosen democracy or dictatorship to reach it, why those creating dictatorships for this end have organized them so differently, or why the economic programs of those dictatorships have ranged from liberal to mobilizational policies? In Japan, why create a liberal constitutional monarchy to develop in the late 1800s, but a mobilizational military regime in the 1930s? 'Developmental dictatorship' might form part of an explanation of interwar Japanese politics, but a satisfactory theory would have to be elaborated at a lower level of abstraction.

stem could be modified to accommodate a parallel application of 'fascism,' since war also helped to mold Europe's fascist movements and the regimes they created.

Professor Itō's historical nominalism is the most enlightening of these alternatives. His approach recreates the subjective perceptions of statesmen and draws distinctions between rightist groups that are often overlooked by scholars using the fascist concept. But although Itō does not use the term 'fascism,' even he has not argued that it is irrelevant in the Japanese context; he has only criticized the way others have applied the term.[12] As Yamaguchi notes, the weakness of historical nominalism is the absence of a comparative dimension: Itō's concepts are particular to Japanese history.[13] They illuminate Japan's political landscape, but do not fill the void left by fascism as a comparative tool. One goal of this essay will be to explore the comparative potential of the *kakushin* concept.

Most Japanese scholars treat 'fascism' as an all-or-nothing proposition: either Japanese politics was fascist, or it was not. This makes it appear that the debaters differ sharply in their analyses of the period, but their conceptual dispute hides much agreement on the facts. Those who eschew the fascist label acknowledge the impact of European fascism in Japan. Those who argue the fascist hypothesis recognize the divergence between the Japanese case and European fascism: they call the Japanese version 'military fascism' or 'Emperor-system fascism' or 'fascism from above' to highlight the differences. Do the differences warrant abandoning the fascist concept in descriptions of Japan, or do the similarities demand its retention? That has been the leading question. The difficulty is that both the similarities and differences are substantial, and whatever conceptual apparatus is employed, it should not lose sight of either.

Instead of asking whether the fascist label applies across the board, the approach here will be to dissect the fascist influence for analysis. Fascism did not travel to Japan as a package. Japanese intellectuals, politicians, and state officials borrowed selectively from fascism, much as they had from earlier Western political tendencies. Their knowledge of European fascism

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[12] Takashi Itō, "'Fuashizumu Ronsō,' Sono Ato" [Aftermath of the 'fascism debate'], *Kindai Nihon Kenkyū Nenpō* 10 (1988), pp. 310-11.

[13] Yamaguchi, "Fuashizumu Rongi no Kiken na Sokumen," p. 40.

was imperfect, and they modified what they took from fascism to accord with their own ideas and circumstances. Rather than making a sweeping judgment that Japanese politics was or was not fascist, this essay examines how European fascism affected different aspects of the political system. In particular, it will explore the impact of fascism on (1) political movements, (2) political ideology, and (3) the political regime.

European scholars treat fascism first as a type of political movement, second as a type of ultranationalistic ideology, and third as a type of political regime. This order reflects the European experience. Fascism-as-movement appeared in over 20 countries, providing a rich field for comparative analysis. fascist ideology was more varied and provides less solid ground for comparisons.[14] And since fascist movements founded only two political regimes on their own strength, and even these two differed in many respects, they provide the weakest material for comparative study. Most comparativists analyze these regimes under broader categories, like 'totalitarianism' or 'movement-regimes,' not under the rubric of fascism.

In tracing the impact of European fascism in Japan, this order of interest must be reversed. Fascism had its greatest impact on Japan's political regime, a secondary impact on political thought, and its slightest impact on political movements. As a movement out of power, European fascism had little visibility half way around the globe. Only when fascists formed governments in Italy and Germany did they draw the attention of the Japanese, who never studied (and still do not study) fascism elsewhere in Europe. In fact, for most Japanese, as for most Chinese, fascism meant Nazi Germany.[15] A few intellectuals read Italian fascist thinkers, and a heroic biography of Mussolini drew wider attention in 1928,[16] but it was the great-power status of Nazi Germany that most aroused Japanese curiosity about fascism.

A related point is that fascism swayed mainly political and intellectual elites. Few Japanese followed world events closely in the 1930s, and intel-

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[14] Nazism offered an unsophisticated, racist creed. Italian Fascism boasted a coherent ideology of national syndicalism. The ideologies of movements in Belgium and Rumania incorporated religious ideas, and so forth.

[15] Elsewhere in this volume, William C. Kirby's chapter shows that the Chinese, too, viewed fascism primarily as a form of regime, and that it influenced mainly political and intellectual elites.

[16] Michio Yoshimura, "Shōwa Shoki no Shakai Jōkyōka ni Okeru Nihonjin no Mussorinizo" [The Japanese image of Mussolini in the social conditions of early Shōwa], *Nihon Rekishi* 497 (October 1989), p. 66.

lectuals and state officials knew the most about European affairs. Given the limited development of mass politics, their interest in fascism did not readily translate into grass-roots political movements. The social basis of fascism, which is central to fascist studies in Europe, is of less interest in Japan, where there was no fascist mass movement or even much attempt to create one. But the elite's infatuation with fascism produced some momentous innovations in public policy.

Fascism and Civil Political Movements[17]

Rightists in civil society never seized power in Japan, but they helped to shape the politics of the 1930s. Rightist propaganda attacked democracy, liberalism, and individualism and inflamed passions for military expansion. Rightist terror blackened the last years of party government and created a pervasive sense of crisis. Rightists were, however, never a unified political bloc. When Prime Minister Fumimaro Konoe (1937-1939, 1940-1941), backed by elements in the army, tried to introduce certain features of the Nazi regime into Japan, different rightist groups worked to support and obstruct his efforts. Reactionary rightists thwarted Konoe's attempts to forge a one-party regime, which they berated as an un-Japanese filter between the Emperor and his subjects. But more innovative rightist elements urged Konoe to emulate Germany and helped him to intimidate parliamentarians during debates on several fascist-inspired mobilization bills. Only with the formation of Tōjō's military-bureaucratic cabinet in 1941 were civil rightists largely banished from political influence, some then becoming loud critics of the military regime.

How did European fascism sway rightist groups in civil society? The first task is to differentiate between rightist elements that approximated the fascist model and those which did not, but since the Japanese right was fragmented into hundreds of small groups, this is not easy. Especially in the early 1930s, it is impossible to identify even four or five dominant organizations. Scholarship must rely on police records as the only contemporary sources which surveyed the gamut of rightist elements.

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[17] I have addressed this topic in more detail in "Fascism from Below? A Comparative Perspective on the Japanese Right, 1931-1936," *Journal of Contemporary History* 19 (1984), pp. 607-29.

CHART 1
POLITICAL MOVEMENTS OF THE REACTIONARY RIGHT AND THEIR JAPANESE ADHERENTS

Conservative Authoritarian Right	Radical Right
Differences	
1. Nonviolent, legal political tactics.	1. Violent, illegal political tactics.
2. Traditional, often religious values and formula for legitimacy.	2. Romantic allusion to traditional or mythical national and religious values and formula for legitimacy.
3. Advocacy of a traditional, demobilizational type of authoritarian rule, often a return to the form of regime immediately predating parliamentary democracy.	3. An uncompromising stance toward existing political structures, combined with idealistic or ambiguous plans for a traditional style of authoritarian rule.

Similarities

1. Nationalism, anti-parliamentarianism, anti-individualism, anti-Marxism.
2. A vague or moderately reformist socioeconomic program that would curb class conflict and safeguard private ownership of the means of production.
3. A strategy of elite manipulation, not mass mobilization.
4. Support for foreign expansion.
5. No intent to supplant the state's security forces; often the aim of an alliance with the military.

Japanese Movements	
Mainly civilian groups seeking a return to the more bureaucratic, oligarchical form of constitutional monarchy that preceded the party governments of the 1920s, e.g., Kiichirō Hiranuma's National Foundation Society; also a prominent political tendency among elite military officers (imperial way faction) and bureaucrats.	Mainly young officers' cabals active during 1931-1936, which practiced terrorism and romantically invoked myths of direct imperial rule without offering a concrete political program, e.g., leaders of the attempted coup of February 1936.

Note: The general description of similarities and differences is adapted from Payne, *Fascism*, ch. 1. The account of Japanese movements is the author's.

Stanley Payne has divided the interwar European right into three categories: the *conservative authoritarian right*, the *radical right*, and *fascism*. Adding a fourth category, the *kakushin right*, I have used this scheme to classify rightists in Japan. Both the conservative authoritarian right and the radical right upheld reactionary political and economic goals (see chart 1). They would suppress class conflict, but otherwise not upset the social struc-

ture. They would destroy democracy, but replace it with an older form of authoritarianism, relying on traditional, monarchical principles of legitimacy. Neither tendency aimed at fomenting a mass revolution from below, both relying instead on elite manipulation. The main distinction between these reactionary forces was that the conservative authoritarian right advocated nonviolent change, while the radical right was inclined to use violent, extra-legal methods. The radical right was also prone to hold a more romantic, idealistic image of the past. Both camps differed from fascism, which aimed at a new form of authoritarian regime, a nontraditional formula for political legitimacy, a more ambitious transformation of class and social status, and a mass movement that would seize power. Payne identifies the conservative authoritarian right with Hindenburg and Brüning in Germany and the CEDA in Spain, and the radical right with the Stahlhelm and the Carlists.[18]

Both strains of the reactionary right were present in interwar Japan. The Japanese called them the 'idealist right' (*kannen uyoku*) because their programs stressed traditional ideals such as Japan's unique 'national polity' (*kokutai*) and Emperor worship, but contained few concrete political and economic proposals. Japan's conservative authoritarian right was the biggest rightist camp in the early 1930s and remained a potent force there-after. According to police, most rightists early in the decade rejected party politics but not the Diet, favored only moderate reforms of capitalism, and called for spiritual renewal rather than a new form of authoritarian regime.[19] Most conservative authoritarian rightists hoped to restore the bureaucratically-dominated form of constitutional monarchy that had preceded the parliamentarianism of the 1920s. They might sympathize with rightist violence but did not use violence themselves, and many of their organizations, like Baron Kiichirō Hiranuma's National Foundation Society (*Kokuhonsha*), had respectable, elite support. The 'imperial way faction' (*kōdō-ha*) of senior army officers belongs in this camp.

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[18] Stanley G. Payne, *Fascism: Comparison and Definition* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980), ch. 1.

[19] Naimushō Keihōkyoku [Home Ministry, Criminal Affairs Bureau], *Shuppan Keisatsu Gaikan* [Annual report of the publications police], 1932, pp. 259-61; ibid., 1933, p. 244; ibid., 1934, p. 154.

CHART 2
POLITICAL MOVEMENTS OF FASCISM AND THE *KAKUSHIN* RIGHT AND THEIR JAPANESE ADHERENTS

Fascism	*Kakushin* Right
Differences	
1. Legal and illegal tactics, using violence if necessary.	1. Nonviolent, legal tactics.
2. Reliance upon a mass movement from below to spearhead change and lead a new form of authoritarian regime.	2. Divided between reliance on a mass movement and reliance on military-bureaucratic elites, sometimes under a civil dictator, to spearhead change and lead an authoritarian regime that would depart in some ways from traditional patterns.
3. A predominantly secular ideological doctrine, usually combined with charismatic legitimacy.	3. A traditional doctrine of legitimacy, often rooted in monarchical or quasi-religious principles, combined with some modern, secular ideas.
Similarities	
1. Nationalism, anti-parliamentarianism, anti-liberalism, anti-Marxism.	
2. Advocacy of a highly interventionist state that would mobilize the mass of its subjects in new forms of official organization.	
3. The goal of a new form of multiclass economic structure that would enable the regime to control property but still allow ample room for private ownership.	
4. The goal of empire.	
Japanese Movements	
A small number of "national socialist" groups in the early 1930s, many led by former leftists advocating the nationalization of industry and a state socialist economy; perhaps the extreme wing of the *Great Japan Production Party*. (Ideologically, no Japanese groups fit perfectly, since all eulogized the monarchy.	Several civil movements in the late 1930s which consciously aped some aspects of European fascism but rejected violent tactics and upheld monarchical principles, e.g., the *Great Japan Youth Party*, the *Eastern Way Society*, some elements in the *Social Masses Party*; also a prominent political tendency among elite military officers (control faction) and bureaucrats.

Note: The description of fascism is adapted from Payne, *Fascism*, ch. 1. The general account of the *kakushin* right and the data on Japanese movements are the author's.

Young military officers constituted most of Japan's radical right, and they all but monopolized political violence over 1931-1936. Of the many plots hatched in this period, only the Shinpeitai Incident of 1933 involved mainly civilians. The young officers organized small, conspiratorial societies around vague programs, often eulogizing direct forms of imperial rule drawn from a mythical past, and their assassination of government and business figures precipitated political crises in 1932 and 1936. Their last hurrah was the attempted coup d'état of 1936, led by 21 junior officers and several civilians. The mutineers manifested all the traits of Payne's radical right. They announced no concrete aims other than a 'restoration' of the Shōwa Emperor to his proper glory; they murdered a few elderly statesmen; they made no attempt to mobilize the populace, even with downtown Tokyo briefly under their control; and they apparently hoped only that some sympathetic general might organize a new government to reward their selfless patriotism.[20] The Emperor, in whose name they acted, made one of his rare forays into politics to demand stern countermeasures, and the execution of the ringleaders finished off Japan's radical right.

What of fascism? In the early 1930s, those groups closest to the fascist prototype were labeled 'national socialist' in police reports (see chart 2). Their adherents included former leftists, and their intellectual inspiration came from Motoyuki Takabatake, the translator of Marx's *Capital*. They resembled the Nazi Party's early northern wing under Gregor and Otto Strasser, which also took seriously the 'socialism' in national socialism.

Japan's national socialists had more definite and extreme aims than the reactionary rightists noted above. They would nationalize the means of production and replace capitalism with a planned state socialist economy, and they brooked no compromise with parliamentarianism. Theirs was a truly revolutionary program. But they were a minuscule force on the right. Of all rightist periodicals, the national socialists accounted for only 7 of 59 in 1932, 8 of 73 in 1933, 8 of 94 in 1934, and 5 of 90 in 1935.[21] The conservative authoritarian right issued most of these publications. The law did not allow ordinary soldiers to publish, so the junior officers of the radical right were

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[20] Ben-Ami Shillony, *Revolt in Japan: The Young Officers and the February 26, 1936 Incident* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), pp. 159-61, 183.

[21] Naimushō Keihōkyoku, *Shuppan Keisatsu Gaikan*, 1933-1935.

represented in print only by a few civilian collaborators, like Shūmei Ōkawa. There were very few rightists in the early 1930s whose aims were as extreme as those of the 'national socialists.'[22]

The faint influence of European fascism before 1936 is not surprising. Japan's conservative authoritarian right dated back to the turn of the century. The radical right had first surfaced in the Cherry Blossom Society (*Sakurakai*) in 1930. Both camps experienced a growth spurt shortly after Japan's military incursion into Manchuria in 1931, but this occurred 16 months before Hitler rose to power. Even in 1935, when the publications police classified 712 books as 'rightist,' only 11 dealt mainly with the politics of Hitler and Mussolini, and most of those were critical. More popular were tracts on Eastern philosophy, theories of imperial sovereignty, and historical biographies.[23] Such was the impact of European fascism during 1931-1936, when most Japanese scholars, following Maruyama, believe the influence of Japan's civil rightists was at its zenith.[24]

Turning to the late 1930s, several shifts occurred on the right wing. First, rightists of all stripes, including the few who had promoted violence and the many who had hoped something good might come of it, largely gave up on violent change. This shift was under way even before the state snuffed out the radical right in 1936.[25] Second, several groups began to explore the possibilities for mass mobilization and electoral politics. The retreat from violence and the turn toward mass mobilization were mutually reinforcing trends. The failure of terror naturally led to consideration of other strategies, and violence did not serve the cause of mass organization because it was unpopular. The circulation of rightist journals plummeted after the 1936 coup attempt.[26] The third shift was to pay greater heed to the example of European fascism, which became more visible with the rise of Nazi Germany.

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[22] Exceptions were the intellectual Ikki Kita and an extreme wing of the Great Japan Production Party (*Dai Nihon Seisantō*): George M. Wilson, *Radical Nationalist in Japan: Kita Ikki, 1881-1937* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969); Naimushō Keihōkyoku, *Shuppan Keisatsu Gaikan*, 1932, p. 209; Maruyama, *Thought and Behavior in Modern Japanese Politics*, pp. 30-31.

[23] Naimushō Keihōkyoku, *Shuppan Keisatsu Gaikan*, 1935, pp. 46-47.

[24] Maruyama, *Thought and Behavior in Modern Japanese Politics*, pp. 26-33, 65-66.

[25] Naimushō Keihōkyoku, *Shuppan Keisatsu Gaikan*, 1935, pp. 109-10.

[26] Naimushō Keihōkyoku [Home Ministry, Criminal Affairs Bureau], *Shuppan Keisatsu Hō* [Monthly report of the publications police], no. 96, pp. 100-101.

The two most self-conscious attempts to mimic fascism were Kingorō Hashimoto's Great Japan Youth Party (*Dai Nihon Seinentō*) and Seigō Nakano's Eastern Way Society (*Tōhōkai*), both founded in 1936. Neither was a fascist movement, but as the closest approximations, they deserve attention.

Hashimoto was a veteran plotter of the radical right who had lost his army commission after the 1936 mutiny, and he hoped to build a mass party for extra-parliamentary action. Though he promised drastic change in politics, the economy, and foreign policy, the party's program offered few particulars. Its failure to build a mass base led Hashimoto to a strategy of infiltrating local residents' civic associations (*burakukai*, *chōnaikai*), but the party did not succeed in this either. Though it claimed 200.000 members, the Great Japan Youth Party never transcended the status of nearly all civil rightist groups as what Takeshi Ishida calls a '*dōjō-juku* movement,' that is, a small cabal that gathered in martial arts' clubs or private academies.[27] Despite Hashimoto's past as a conspirator among radical young officers, his party did not practice violence.

The Eastern Way Society was the most popular rightist organization in interwar Japan, winning 2.1 percent of the vote in the 1937 election, and a remarkable 3 percent in 1942, when it opposed a slate of official candidates. No other civil rightist group achieved even 1 percent of the vote, powerful testimony to the right's inability to organize at the grass roots. The party's leader, Seigō Nakano, was a Diet member and former mainstream politician, whose views drifted steadily to the right in the 1930s. Nakano denied he was a fascist, but he traveled to Italy and Germany to meet with fascist notables and praised European fascism at his well-attended rallies. He and his followers sported black shirts and aped the military style of fascism, earning him the nickname of 'the Japanese Hitler.'[28] This was one of very few Japanese rightist movements with the charismatic leadership typical of fascism. Nakano genuinely hated Japan's increasingly oppressive military-bureaucratic regime and hoped to create a single-party system based on a mass

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[27] Takeshi Ishida, "'Fuashizumu-ki' Nihon ni Okeru 'Kokumin Undō' no Soshiki to Ideorogi" [The ideology and organization of 'popular movements' in Japan during the 'era of fascism'], in Tokyo Daigaku Shakai Kagaku Kenkyūjo "Fuashizumu to Minshushugi" Kenkyōkai, ed., *Undōto Teikō*, vol. 1 (above n. 8), pp. 74-75.

[28] Ishida, "'Fuashizumu-ki' Nihon ni Okeru 'Kokumin Undō' no Soshiki to Ideorogi," pp. 72-74.

movement from below.[29] Yet the Eastern Way Society repudiated violence, and the combination of violent and legal tactics so typical of European fascism never found an analogue in Japan.

The closest European counterpart to the Eastern Way Society might be the early *Christus Rex* of Belgium, another movement that brandished many traits of fascism but used peaceful means.[30] Payne places the early Rex on the conservative authoritarian right, but this seems to stretch the word 'conservative' beyond its customary meaning. That description does not fit the Eastern Way Society. To locate these groups among the romantic young putschists of the radical right would be even less justified. The Japanese called them the "*kakushin* right," and I will adopt that label here.

The term *kakushin* has no equivalent in the English language. In the interwar context, it is sometimes translated 'renovation.' In the postwar context, it is often translated 'progressive' in reference to the opposition parties in Japan's predominant party system. Neither translation does it justice. *Kakushin* falls half way between 'reform,' a modest change within an existing system, and 'revolution,' the replacement of one system by another. *Kakushin* advocates would keep some features of the existing politico-economic system but change others fundamentally. They are selective revolutionaries.

While the term 'revolution' (*kakumei*) has strong leftist connotations in Japanese, *kakushin* can refer to the political right or left. A postwar leftist who would uphold parliamentary politics but nationalize the banks might fall under the rubric of *kakushin*. In reference to the interwar right, *kakushin* describes groups that pursued some revolutionary ends such as a new form of authoritarian regime or a state-directed economy, often inspired by the example of Nazi Germany. Yet these same groups differed from fascist movements by shunning violent, revolutionary means and embracing traditional principles of legitimacy.

All of Japan's rightist movements, including the national socialists of the early 1930s and the Great Japan Youth Party and Eastern Way Society, embraced the doctrine of imperial sovereignty.[31] Their plans for a future

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[29] Nakano's anti-bureaucratic stance continued a tradition of samurai protest rooted in the Tokugawa (1603-1868) and early Meiji (1868-1877) periods: Tetsuo Najita, "Nakano Seigō and the Spirit of the Meiji Restoration in Twentieth-Century Japan," in James William Morley, ed., *Dilemmas of Growth in Prewar Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971).

[30] Eugen Weber, *Varieties of Fascism* (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand, 1964), pp. 127-28.

[31] Naimushō Keihōkyoku, *Shuppan Keisatsu Gaikan*, 1932, pp. 203, 206; ibid., 1933, p. 242; Shillony, *Revolt in Japan:* ch. 3; Wilson, *Radical Nationalist in Japan*, pp. 116-17.

regime might differ, but all agreed that it had to include the monarchy. This obstructed the spread of fascism. No European fascist movement justified itself mainly on the basis of monarchical principles; this marks one of the boundaries between fascism on one side, and the conservative authoritarian right and radical right on the other. In Payne's words, fascism posited 'anti-conservatism,' "creation of a new nationalist authoritarian state based not merely on traditional principles or models," and the "specific espousal of an idealist, voluntarist creed, normally involving the attempt to realize a new form of modern, self-determined, secular culture."[32] The throne was a major impediment to the adoption of these ideas among Japanese rightists.

For reasons of expediency, Mussolini reached a modus vivendi with the Italian king, but few Japanese rightists eulogized the monarchy for purely tactical reasons. For most, the throne was the irreplaceable embodiment of the nation's unique history and spiritual values, which were at the heart of the rightist canon. The House of Savoy had assumed the kingship of Italy only a half century before Mussolini's March on Rome. Japan's imperial family had supposedly descended from the Sun Goddess and founded the nation: its 2600th birthday was the theme of year-long celebrations in 1940. No Japanese rightist ever suggested that Mussolini's deal with the king might serve as a model for Japan. The idea of negotiating a deal with the Emperor was an unthinkable impiety, not to mention a crime of lèse majesté. Japanese rightists often stressed that the Emperor's position did not depend on any form of social contract with the people.

How much difference did it make? For centuries the imperial house had reigned but not ruled. One reason European fascists were wary of monarchy was that many European kings exercised real power. By comparison, Japan's Emperor was more of a figurehead. Maruyama has argued that as far as practical politics went, the Emperor's presence involved no tangible commitments: anyone could seize power and use the Emperor's name for whatever purpose.[33] Imperial sovereignty had proven compatible with the patrimonial shogunate of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, with an oligarchical constitutional monarchy through the 1910s, and with a parliamentary system in the 1920s - why not with fascism?

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[32] Payne, *Fascism*, p. 7.

[33] Maruyama, *Thought and Behavior in Modern Japanese Politics*, pp. 8-19.

Ambiguous as the politics of imperial sovereignty might be, the monarchy was not just a form devoid of content, and its presence did influence the rightist politics of the 1930s. Hereditary rule, even as a cover for the real holders of power, demands some respect for ancestral achievements, and it was Emperor Meiji, not the Japanese people, who in 1889 had promulgated the constitution. That constitution provided for a parliament with an elected lower house, for civil liberties, and for private property. Rightists were adept at rationalizing compromises with these provisions, but for many the constitution and other aspects of imperial tradition did pose limits. They might condemn the democratic political parties, but not parliament itself; they might urge reforms of capitalism, but not nationalization; they might demand a cabinet that better reflected the Emperor's will (as they construed it), but not condone a single-party regime.

To be sure, a few extremists advanced proposals without much concern for the monarchy. Even in a single-party regime patterned after Nazi Germany, they assumed that the Emperor would fit in somewhere, as he always had. But most rightists, even those with some revolutionary aims, took the monarchy more seriously. When proposals for a single-party regime or a new legislature with corporatist representation were voiced in 1940, many objected that these ideas violated the constitution as well as Japan's unique national polity, which embodied imperial rule through the ages. The Emperor's status also stopped most Japanese rightists from adopting the charismatic, personal style of leadership found in European fascist movements. Claims for a leader could not infringe upon claims for the Emperor. The phrase "Mussolini is always right" could only have been said of the Emperor in Japan. Nowhere on the right (or elsewhere on the political spectrum, for that matter) was there any hope of organizing support for a program that excluded the Emperor or blatantly flouted the imperial constitution. In short, the monarchical principle was a big reason why the selective revolutionaries of the *kakushin* right, and the reactionaries of the conservative authoritarian right and the radical right, overwhelmed fascism among Japan's rightist movements.

In the late 1930s, Japan did not have a political movement showing all the traits of European fascism, but the *kakushin* groups were a vehicle for fascist influence. They differed from fascism in their monarchism and their nonviolence, but borrowed from it many political, economic, and military goals. No *kakushin* movement in civil society ever came close to seizing power, nor did any civil rightist movement share power with the military, as

occurred in Spain. But the *kakushin* political tendency also made converts among the military officers, bureaucrats, and intellectuals who did control the state over 1937-1945 (see below).

Why were rightist movements in general, and fascist movements in particular, not stronger in interwar Japan? Juan Linz has identified four conditions that explained the rise of strong fascist movements in Europe:

(1) the impact of World War I, especially on defeated nations and on those that felt cheated of the fruits of victory; (2) the presence of a potent revolutionary left; (3) a heightened sense of nationalism where the boundaries of the nation and the state did not coincide, or where people felt their country deserved a loftier place in the hierarchy of nations; (4) unresolved cultural conflicts in society, particularly those involving ethnic minorities.[34] With this as background, the main reasons for the weakness of Japan's fascist and other civil rightist movements were these:

(a) Japan was a part-time participant in World War I, and the demobilized soldiers whose experience and ethos shaped European fascism were a null factor in postwar Japanese politics. The militarization of Japanese society, like all the other major changes of the 1930s, was instituted from above, not below.

(b) Paradoxically, the solid ethnic and political basis of Japanese nationalism mitigated against the mass popularity of the right. Rightist movements appeal to nationalistic sentiment, and they are most successful where they can mobilize support against an alleged threat to the nation. The real or imagined threat might come from an ethnic minority like the Jews, from an internationalist political movement like communism, from foreign capital (as in Chile), or from the persecution of a country's nationals abroad.

There was no internal threat to the nation on which to base the right-wing appeal in Japan. The country had no large ethnic minorities. The revolutionary left was a minor force - it alarmed elites, but the state had crushed

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[34] Paraphrased from Juan J. Linz, "Political Space and Fascism as a Late-Comer: Conditions Conducive to the Success or Failure of Fascism as a Mass Movement in Inter-War Europe," in Stein Ugelvik Larsen, Bernt Hagtvet, and Jan Petter Myklebust, eds., *Who were the fascists: Social Roots of European Fascism* (Bergen, Norway: Universitetsforlaget, 1980), pp. 157-58.

it by 1934. There was no significant foreign capital investment. In short, there was no menace to nationalism at home that might have aroused a sense of danger and compelled masses of people to join a rightist organization.[35] People secure in their national identity do not have to join a political movement to defend it.[36] Japanese abroad suffered discrimination in the U.S., but this was not a major issue for the right in the 1930s. The right's most effective appeal to nationalism was its portrayal of the Western powers as obstacles to Japan's aspirations for empire in Asia, but after 1932 the government and the mainstream political parties also propagated this view. There was no need to join a civil rightist movement to promote imperialism.

(c) Mass politics was less developed in Japan than in most countries of Europe, and this worked against any political movement, fascist or otherwise, that was seeking a mass base. In much of Europe, even before World War I, political parties had organized most sectors of society. The world war then witnessed extensive military and civilian mobilization, leading to even higher levels of mass political involvement afterwards. New political groups could appeal to a mass public already involved in national political life, and, indeed, they had to if they hoped to compete in a political arena where power was won in the ballot box and on the streets. In Japan, mass politics was only beginning, and mass mobilization was less necessary for political success. Japan's first general election with universal male suffrage did not occur until 1928, when political parties had only started to evolve into mass organizations. After 1932, elite infighting rather than electoral strength determined the appointment of cabinets. In these circumstances, elite manipu-

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[35] "The early and stable statehood of Portugal, France, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Switzerland, Spain, the Netherlands, and to a lesser extent Belgium, goes far to explain the relative weakness of the appeal to nationalism in its most extreme forms as a means to integrate the nation": Linz, "Political Space and Fascism as a Late-Comer," p. 162.

[36] Commenting on the ubiquitous use of English phrases in Japanese popular music today, I once asked Professor Takeshi Ishida why Japanese were so insensitive about the practice. In the Andean countries, for instance, a new folkloric movement of native Indian music had arisen to combat the invasion of foreign rock and roll. Professor Ishida responded that most Japanese were so sure of their national identity that it would not occur to them that mouthing a few foreign lyrics in a popular song could threaten it. The military regime of the late 1930s tried to expunge jazz and other forms of music from enemy countries, but no rightist movement could have aroused support for such a move among the Japanese people. Despite the military's displeasure, Japanese universities continued their vigorous rivalries in baseball during the war.

lation, whether through private contacts, publications, or assassination, was a rational strategy for rightist groups. Many opted for this approach after observing the failure of workers' parties to mobilize the masses. At their peak, prewar labor unions organized only 7.9 percent of industrial workers, and many of these belonged to company unions. Consequently, few rightist groups attempted to organize the masses, and those trying had limited success.

(d) The greatest expansion of the interwar right occurred before Hitler's rise to power, when most Japanese had little exposure to European fascism. To a significant degree, the Japanese right originated and developed independently of foreign influence.

(e) Traditional values, centered on the institution of the Emperor, prevented most rightists from adopting the secular, voluntaristic norms of fascism and from formulating programs in disregard of the Meiji constitution.

(f) A final reason for the weakness of both fascism and the radical right is that the police kept the more extreme rightist elements in check. Throughout the 1930s, the police banned rightist publications advocating violence or clear violations of the constitution.[37] The assassins of the radical right escaped with lenient sentences early in the decade, but law enforcement gradually stiffened.[38] Police arrested hundreds of rightists during the campaign against democratic scholar Tatsukichi Minobe in 1935, and the rebels of 1936 received harsh punishment. When Seigō Nakano persisted in criticizing the Tōjō government after 1941, he was put under house arrest, driving him to suicide. Many state officials shared rightist values, but they were determined to control events.[39] Repression contributed to the growing propensity of civil rightists to refrain from violence and unconstitutional proposals. To put it bluntly, fascism was illegal.

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[37] See Kasza, "Fascism from Below?" p. 616.

[38] When rightists did get away with legal transgressions, it was usually because these served the interests of state officials, who became skilled at manipulating civil rightists to achieve their ends.

[39] In Rumania, Hungary, Brazil, Estonia, Latvia, and Portugal as well, fascist movements were "outlawed and persecuted by authoritarian regimes which at the same time were in many respects imitating fascism": Linz, "Political Space and Fascism as a Late-Comer," p. 155.

Thus the Japanese right was weak as a generator of mass movements, and fascism was a minor presence even among rightist groups. In the early 1930s, only the handful of national socialists and a few extremists in the Great Japan Production Party, who planned to overthrow the government in 1933, might be counted as fascists. In the late 1930s, organizations of the *kakushin* right borrowed from fascism, but their nonviolence and monarchism prevented them from becoming fascist movements themselves. Attention now turns from civil political movements to the official and intellectual circles where European fascism was a more potent influence.

Fascism and Political Thought

Over 1937-1945, most bureaucrats and military officers adhered to the aims of the *kakushin* right or the conservative authoritarian right. Officials of the conservative authoritarian right were more numerous, but those of the *kakushin* right were more influential. Agreed in their opposition to the mainstream political parties and in their desire to fortify the state, the two groups disagreed over how to realize these goals and held contrasting visions of the future. Depending upon the policy area and the point in time, judgments will vary as to which had the upper hand.

The *kakushin* elements were the main conduit for fascist influence (see chart 3). Both fascist ideology and German success swayed their thinking, and in 1940-1941 they used the crisis of war to win conservative support for some, but not all, of their designs. What distinguished *kakushin* elites from the likes of Seigō Nakano and Kingorō Hashimoto was that the latter hoped to realize their aims through a civil political movement, while those inside the establishment saw the state as the prime mover for change. This section describes the political thought of this elite segment of the *kakushin* right, while the next recounts its creation of a New Order in Japan, based partly on the example of Nazi Germany.

CHART 3
ELITE ELEMENTS OF THE *KAKUSHIN* RIGHT

Organizations	Individuals
Military Officers	
Control faction of the Army Kwangtung Army leadership	Gen. Tetsuzan Nagata (Army General Staff) Gen. Kanji Ishiwara (Kwangtung Army; Army General Staff) Gen. Senjūrō Hayashi (Prime Minister, 1937) Gen. Akira Mutō (Army Ministry) Gen. Teiichi Suzuki (Cabinet Planning Board)
Bureaucrats	
Cabinet Planning Board	Kiwao Okumura (Communications/CIB)
Cabinet Information Bureau	Yōji Minobe (MCI/CPB)
Ministry of Commerce and Industry	Shigeru Yoshida (CPB/Welfare)
Welfare Ministry	Nobusuke Kishi (MCI)
Intellectuals	
Shōwa Research Association	Kiyoshi Miki
National Policy Research Association	Masamichi Rōyama Shintarō Ryū

Note: The *kakushin* bureaucrat Shigeru Yoshida is not to be confused with the postwar prime minister of the same name.

Many *kakushin* military officers and bureaucrats had experience in the administration of Manchukuo, the occupied territory where the army experimented with statist policies after 1932. In Japan, many were identified with the army's 'control faction,' which directed total war planning. They gathered in new interministerial organs such as the Cabinet Planning Board and Cabinet Information Bureau, where they sought to seize the initiative in policy-making from the more conservative ministries.[40] These cabinet organs hired

[40] On the evolution of these agencies, see Yoshinori Ide, *Nihon Kanryōsei to Gyōsei Bunka* [Japan's bureaucratic system and administrative culture] (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1982), pp. 77-140.

some staff outside regular institutional channels, including some former leftists, and offered quick promotion to *kakushin* officials recruited from other agencies.[41]

On the fringes of officialdom, the Shōwa Research Association was a central meeting place for *kakushin* advocates. Serving as a brain trust for Prince Fumimaro Konoe, a statesman on whom many *kakushin* thinkers pinned their hopes, this organization assembled politically ambitious intellectuals and bureaucrats who would play a big part in initiating the New Order.[42] Other *kakushin* think tanks were the National Policy Research Association and the Japan-Manchuria Financial and Economic Research Association. The cabinet organs and the Shōwa Research Association and other *kakushin* study groups published extensively. Their collective output constitutes a coherent body of thought that became the driving force behind Japanese politics in the late 1930s.

As was true of some European fascists, *kakushin* ideologues relied partly on Marxism for their analysis of society.[43] They were historicists, convinced that history made sense, that it advanced in stages, and that it had reached a critical turning point in the 1930s. Reference to a "great world transformation" began almost every *kakushin* writing and speech.[44] In a rare violation of the taboo against the word 'revolution,' *kakushin* bureaucrat Kiwao Okumura wrote in 1938:

> The motion of the world which mankind is experiencing at present is an historic cultural revolution that promises to correct and alter fundamentally the mode of

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[41] In the ministries, *kakushin* influence varied. It was high in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, a young agency with much to gain from a state-controlled economy, and in the Welfare Ministry, created in 1939 in response to *kakushin* designs. It was lower in the Home Ministry, an older agency with much to lose in any major state reorganization.

[42] On the Shōwa Research Association, see William Miles Fletcher, *The Search for a New Order: Intellectuals and Fascism in Prewar Japan* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982). On Konoe, see Yoshitake Oka, *Konoe Fumimaro: A Political Biography*, translated by Shumpei Okamoto and Patricia Murray (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1972); Teiji Yabe, *Konoe Fumimaro*, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Konoe Fumimaro Denki Hensan Kankōkai, 1951).

[43] Hashikawa, "Kakushin Kanryō," pp. 271-72; Fletcher, *The Search for a New Order*, pp. 39, 46-47, 99.

[44] Hashikawa, "Kakushin Kanryō," p. 264; cf. Fletcher, *The Search for a New Order*, p. 28.

> existence we have been living in modern society. It is a revolution in law, a revolution in politics, a revolution in society and the economy.[45]

A belief in the imminence of change was at the core of the *kakushin* outlook.

Kakushin thinkers believed that the historical stage of *jiyūshugi* (literally, 'freedomism') was dying. Beginning with the French Revolution, this period had revolved around individualism and personal liberty, democracy and party politics, and capitalism and materialism. *Jiyōshugi* had proven its superiority over the old absolute monarchies. Its assembly lines had outproduced the artisans' guilds. Its conscript armies had outfought aristocratic and mercenary forces. The triumph of the U.S., Britain, and France in World War I marked the culmination of this historical era, the victory of those countries that epitomized its ideals. Japan had embraced a modified *jiyōshugi* in 1868, at the time of the Meiji Restoration, and had seen its fullest development under the party governments of the 1920s.[46]

In the 1930s, *kakushin* ideologues found *jiyūshugi* mired in crisis. Within countries, capitalism had entered its final, monopolistic phase, exacerbating class struggle and causing a catastrophic world depression. *Kakushin* elements could agree with the Marxists who condemned them as 'fascists' that 'monopoly capitalism' reigned in prewar Japan. *Jiyūshugi* had promised freedom to the many, but real freedom had become a privilege of the wealthy.[47] Democratic states, restrained by liberal scruples and by the selfish competition of political parties, could not cope with the crisis. Internationally, *jiyūshugi* had divided the world into exploitative great powers and helpless colonies, creating injustice between nations parallel to the injustice between classes.

Kakushin thinkers were convinced that the epoch of freedom was incapable of self-correction. Shintarō Ryū, who would soon become the fore-

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[45] Kiwao Okumura, *Nihon Seiji no Kakushin* [The *kakushin* of Japanese politics] (Tokyo: Ikuseisha, 1938), p. 3.

[46] Okumura, *Nihon Seiji no Kakushin*, pp. 23-24.

[47] Yoshio Miyamoto, *Hoso to Kokubō Kokka* [Broadcasting and the national defense state] (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1942), pp. 12-13; Okumura, *Nihon Seiji no Kakushin*, pp. 10, 99. 113-14, 133, 252; Kikakuin Kenkyūkai [Cabinet Planning Board Research Association], *Kokubō Kokka no Kōryō* [Principles of the national defense state] (Tokyo: Shin Kigensha, 1941), pp. 3-4, 7-8.

most *kakushin* economist, wrote in 1931 that capitalism was doomed. Masamichi Rōyama, the best *kakushin* political scientist, decided in 1934 that liberalism, capitalism, and parliamentary government had outlived their historical mission.[48] In short, these men believed that *jiyūshugi* was on the brink of extinction, much as many people view communism today.

Though *kakushin* intellectuals used Marxism to pinpoint the problem, they did not believe it provided the solution. In their youth, some had hoped that the workers' movement, whether social democratic or communist, might cure the ills of *jiyūshugi*, but the political impotence of the Japanese left disabused them of this notion. A few had flirted with communism, but ultimately they found it unpalatable. They could not accept its materialism, its advocacy of violent, class-based revolution, or its denial of Japanese traditions, including the institution of the Emperor.[49] Increasingly, they looked to European fascism for alternatives to liberalism and socialism. Though they did not agree on all details, this is how *kakushin* rightists envisioned the next stage of history:

(1) The first principle would be the priority of the national community over the individual. The sanctity of individual interests was at the root of liberal evils. Individualism justified political competition in parliament and economic competition in the marketplace, and *kakushin* thinkers, like many European rightists, rejected the institutionalization of conflict in liberal society. In the new era, the individual would identify his interest with that of the nation, and the members of the national community would work toward common goals. Rōyama derived this idea from the writings of Alfredo Rocco and Rudolf Brinkman, vice-minister of the German Economics Ministry.[50]

(2) A second principle was that the state must be the instrument of historical change. This would not be the reticent state of liberalism or the class-based state of socialism, but an interventionist state standing above classes, as the embodiment of the national interest. The bureaucrats in groups like the

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[48] Fletcher, *The Search for a New Order*, pp. 39-42, 54-58.

[49] Fletcher, *The Search for a New Order*, pp. 8, 18, 20, 23, 46-47, 63, 160.

[50] In Rōyama's words, Brinkman had shown that "the freedom of the personality is to recognize by oneself the higher necessity of the cooperative body, to enter into it, and to be placed under it": Fletcher, *The Search for a New Order*, pp. 56, 137.

Shōwa Research Association showed *kakushin* intellectuals that at least some state officials endorsed their program, and Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy showed them the potential efficacy of state action.

Mussolini's ideas notwithstanding, many fascists eulogized the movement above the state. But most *kakushin* thinkers had studied European fascism only after it had taken state power in Germany and Italy. They showed little interest in the form or constituency of fascist movements; it was the German and Italian regimes that impressed them. Moreover, the corruption of Japan's mainstream parties and the fragility of the workers' movement suggested that in Japan only the state had the power to reform capitalism and the political structure. By 1940, *kakushin* rightists also believed that the urgency of the China war left them no time to build a mass movement upon spontaneous popular energies. They put their faith in the state administration instead. As noted above, *kakushin* officials dominated several interministerial cabinet agencies, and they hoped to make these into authoritative planning organs within the state. This would mean the eclipse of the Diet as a major policy-making organ, and *kakushin* elites advocated enabling legislation to free the executive from parliamentary authority, similar to the laws that had freed Hitler from the interference of the Reichstag.

(3) In the economy, state control would replace market competition to re-orient economic activity toward the national good. Private property, guaranteed in the constitution, would remain, but the need to separate ownership from management was a constant refrain in *kakushin* proposals. The state would grant stockholders a fixed rate of profit, thereby freeing enterprise managers to work with officials for the public good. In the phrase of Okumura, who authored a controversial bill extending state control over the electric power industry, the operative principle would be 'private ownership/state management.' As a means to this end, *kakushin* elites praised Germany's system of state-regulated trusts and cartels. Among economic thinkers in the Shōwa Research Association, Kamekichi Takahashi asserted that the adoption of Nazi-style economic policies was 'inevitable,' and Shintarō Ryū admitted that his influential proposals "resembled the system that Germany has adopted."[51]

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[51] Fletcher, *The Search for a New Order*, pp. 119, 130.

(4) In politics, a single mass political organization would replace competition between political parties. The conservative authoritarian right supported state efforts at 'spiritual mobilization' to remold social ethics, but *kakushin* rightists went further to demand active mass support for the political and economic goals of the national community.[52] This required organization, but there was not a consensus on what form it should take.

Some spoke openly of a single-party regime, but they differed on whether the ruling party would unite members of existing parties or enlist new leadership. Most *kakushin* proposals avoided the word 'party' and spoke of the new organization as a 'cooperative body' (*kyōdōtai*) or a national association to 'assist' (*yokusan*) the Emperor. Some chose this nomen-clature to avoid constitutional complications, others to indicate that the new body would merely obey rather than govern like a ruling party.[53] Among *kakushin* intellectuals, there were also advocates of a corporatist system of occupational representation modeled after Fascist Italy, though few seemed aware of how poorly Italian corporatism worked in practice.[54]

The common denominator was the belief that the next stage of history would witness mass mobilization in some form of a unitary political body which would eliminate party competition. Despite admonitions that officials and the people must act as one, most *kakushin* elites assumed that the state would create this organization.

(5) *Kakushin* leaders believed in the inevitability of a world war in which the rising societies of the new era would prove their superiority over the dying societies of freedom.[55] This conviction followed logically from their reading of history. They labeled the coming era variously as the 'New Order' (*shintaisei*), a term borrowed from Nazi Germany, 'totalitarianism' (*zentaishugi*), a translation of the term both Mussolini and his critics used to describe the fascist system, or the 'high degree national defense state' (*kōdo kokubō kokka*), a phrase derived from the writings of Erich Ludendorff. They

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[52] Kikakuin Kenkyōkai, *Kokubō Kokka no Kōryō*, p. 30.

[53] For a survey of *kakushin* views on the party question in 1940, see Yokusan Undō Shi Kankōkai, ed., *Yokusan Kokumin Undō Shi*, pp. 43-75.

[54] Fletcher, *The Search for a New Order*, pp. 136, 140; Kikakuin Kenkyūkai, *Kokubō Kokka no Kōryō*, p. 19.

[55] Kikakuin Kenkyūkai, *Kokubō Kokka no Kōryō*, pp. 12-13; Okumura, *Nihon Seiji no Kakushin*, pp. 121-23.

applied these terms to Nazi Germany as well as Japan.[56] By marshaling the collective efforts of a unified nation, the new societies would be superior in productive and military potential to the societies of *jiyūshugi*, plagued as they were by the competition of parties, classes, and individuals working at cross purposes. Just as the French Revolution had reversed the rank order of states by introducing a new standard of national strength, so the new era would produce a new international power structure. Conflict between the old and the new was inevitable, and, in the thinking of *kakushin* elites, a favorable outcome, too, was inevitable.

On this point, the growing power of Nazi Germany was decisive. *Kakushin* thinkers took Germany's rapid recovery from the depression and its increasing military strength as signaling the arrival of the new age. It was natural that Germany, Italy, and Japan, the have-not nations of the old order and spearheads of the new, should become allies.[57] When Germany's armies swept through Western Europe in the spring of 1940, the *kakushin* perception of world history seemed completely vindicated. No one had predicted that Germany might easily defeat France, then reputed to have the world's strongest army, but this had happened in only weeks. Just as the mass conscript armies of the French revolutionaries had demonstrated the military inferiority of the *ancien régime*, so Hitler had triumphed under the banner of the new era. And so Japan, too, might triumph in a Pacific War against states that were stagnating in the obsolete institutions of the past.

Throughout the 1930s, *kakushin* rightists applauded Japanese imperialism and glorified the "New Order" in Asia as a moral crusade. All the traits of the next stage of history were to apply throughout the empire, and they often justified domestic change as necessary to meet the challenge of Japan's leadership in the region.

The immense impact of fascist ideas and success reflected the derivative character of so much of modern Japanese political thought. Since the Meiji revolution of the late 1800s, the example of the great powers had been the standard by which Japan's leaders judged their work. Consciously playing catch-up with the West, they assumed, in a manner rare in developing

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[56] Kikakuin Kenkyūkai, *Kokubō Kokka no Kōryō*, pp. 21, 24, 35; Okumura, *Nihon Seiji no Kakushin*, pp. 51-53.

[57] Fletcher, *The Search for a New Order*, pp. 95, 138; Okumura, *Nihon Seiji no Kakushin*, pp. 71-73, 83.

nations today, that Japan would walk the same historical path cleared by the advanced Western states, and they habitually legitimized domestic innovations with reference to foreign models. Intellectual and political elites were thus acutely sensitive to changes in the world's leading nations.

The ascendancy of Nazi Germany introduced a new phase in this ongoing process of adaptation, and many *kakushin* thinkers hoped that the New Order would end Japan's backwardness once and for all. It would enable Japan to overtake the U.S., Britain, and France and to establish itself finally as a world leader. The French Revolution had found Japan isolated from world affairs and had forced it to catch up. *Kakushin* elites were determined that this time history would not leave their country behind. As German tanks rolled over France, "Don't be late for the bus!" (*basu ni noriokure mai*) became a prominent slogan in Tokyo.

Kakushin ideology differed from that of the reactionary right. *Kakushin* thinkers saw their country entering a new stage of history, one requiring a sweeping transformation of its politico-economic system. Their practical designs reflected what they observed in contemporary Europe, not a desire to revert to some real or imagined period of their country's past.[58] But despite the pervasive influence of fascism in shaping their vision, they were not fascists, and they did not think of themselves as fascists. One of the founding principles of the Shōwa Research Association was to formulate ideas "from an anti-fascist viewpoint."[59] Their ideas differed from European fascism in these respects:

(1) *Kakushin* elites called for an orderly, legal transformation of society. They rejected a narrow reading of the constitution, but they advocated change within the Meiji constitutional system.[60] They praised the pure motives of the radical right assassins of the early 1930s, but they did not advocate violence.[61] Some rather cynically threatened that if conservatives

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[58] Okumura, *Nihon Seiji no Kakushin*, p. 11.

[59] Fletcher, *The Search for a New Order*, p. 96. The other two principles were to pursue reform within the framework of the constitution, and to reject the mainstream political parties as instruments of change.

[60] Okumura, *Nihon Seiji no Kakushin*, pp. 29-30, 32, 144-47; Fletcher, *The Search for a New Order*, pp. 83, 138; Gregory J. Kasza, *The State and the Mass Media in Japan, 1918-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 198.

[61] Kikakuin Kenkyūkai, *Kokubō Kokka no Kōryō*, pp. 11-12; Fletcher, *The Search for a New Order*, pp. 81, 140, 156.

did not approve the *kakushin* program, Japan might fall prey to a violent fascist movement,[62] but this prospect was no more pleasing to *kakushin* elements than it was to conservatives, and some openly condemned the violence of Europe's fascist movements. *Kakushin* thinkers did not glorify violence in the way Payne found to be typical of fascists.

(2) *Kakushin* rightists, like all prewar Japanese thinkers outside the extreme left, used traditional values to legitimize their designs, even when this required awkward intellectual contortions. The Cabinet Planning Board, after reciting the traditional doctrine of imperial sovereignty, asserted:

> Since the founding of our country, Japan has had an unparalleled totalitarianism . . . an ideal totalitarianism is manifest in our national polity [*kokutai*] . . . Germany's totalitarianism has existed for only eight years, but Japanese [totalitarianism] has shone through 3000 years of ageless tradition.[63]

Bureaucrat Kiwao Okumura also anchored Japanese "totalitarianism" in loyalty to the Emperor and lauded the samurai values of *bushidō*. Offering the typical *kakushin* mix of traditional spiritual values and modern social forms, he wrote:

> Japan is now growing, developing, taking a great leap ahead. A system of 'national unity' [*kyokoku itchi*] is being prepared, and more than anything else the great soul of our race is leaping forward. If we are able to advance this 'Yamato spirit' further, to organize it and to make it scientific [*kagaku-ka suru*], then nothing will be able to halt Japan's advance.[64]

The Shōwa Research Association posited that Confucian humanism would be the spiritual basis for the New Order, and Kiyoshi Miki, Shintarō Ryō, and Masamichi Rōyama all preached reverence for the Emperor.[65]

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[62] *Masu Media Tōsei* [Mass media controls], 2 vols., edited by Yoshimi Uchikawa, Gendai Shi Shiryō 40-41 (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō, 1973), 2:64; Okumura, *Nihon Seiji no Kakushin*, p. 153.

[63] Kikakuin Kenkyūkai, *Kokubō Kokka no Kōryō*, pp. 14-15.

[64] Okumura, *Nihon Seiji no Kakushin*, p. 55.

[65] Fletcher, *The Search for a New Order*, pp. 113, 156.

In their writings, *kakushin* thinkers discussed European models and proposals for institutional change at far greater length than traditional values. Nonetheless, as noted above, the acceptance of the Emperor did impose practical limitations. Their adoption of traditional values involved a more substantial commitment than Mussolini's veneration of the Roman empire or the Nazis' glorification of German tribes.

(3) *Kakushin* ideology did not exalt youth above other stages of life, as Payne found European fascism to do.

(4) To reiterate, the *kakushin* elite advocated a transformation from above, not a mass movement from below.

In sum, what impressed *kakushin* leaders about fascism were the economic and military achievements of the Italian and German regimes. They studied the principles, policies, and forms of socioeconomic organization that seemed responsible for those achievements, and they interpreted the success of these regimes as proof that a great world transformation was under way. But *kakushin* ideologues were silent on the traits of fascist movements and how those movements were able to seize power. On those aspects of fascism related to the movement's form and tactics, and in regard to traditional values, *kakushin* thinkers differed fundamentally from fascism. Yet their proposals drew so heavily upon the policies of Nazi Germany that they cannot be understood outside that context. In the *kakushin* perspective, the real test of fascist models in Japan was not in the creation of a political movement but in the realm of state action.

Fascism and the Political Regime

The influence of European fascism on Japan's political regime will be discussed in two parts: its impact on the structure of state authority, and its impact on state-society relations. The main finding is that while fascist models had little effect on the structure of Japan's ruling institutions, they had a pronounced effect on public policy and the restructuring of state-society relations.

The Structure of State Authority

Japan's ruling institutions differed so much from those of Italy and Germany that no advocate of the fascist thesis in Japan has pretended they were alike. Yet no one has carefully compared these regimes either, and perhaps for this

reason some Japanese scholars dismiss the differences in state structure as being unimportant.[66] Here I will contrast the ruling apparatus of Nazi Germany with that of Japan. Chart 4 outlines the analysis.

A single-party regime ruled Germany. A military-bureaucratic regime ruled Japan. The size of the ruling institutions and the social backgrounds of their members differed sharply. The Nazi Party had 849,000 members when it took power in 1933, and 6.5 million by 1941.[67] The party included people from all occupations and regions, and its size and diversity enabled it to penetrate every neighborhood and social organization in Germany. In Japan, the officer corps and bureaucracy remained exclusive professions, led by careerists who had run a gauntlet of exams and evaluations by superiors to

CHART 4
THE REGIME STRUCTURES OF NAZI GERMANY AND WARTIME JAPAN

	Nazi Germany	Wartime Japan
Ruling Organizations	Mass political party	Military and state bureaucracy
Executive Leadership	Individual dictator	Cabinet
Policymaking Centers	Leader's personal agents	Cabinet superagencies, ministries
Policymaking Process	Personalistic, informal	Institutional, formal

reach their positions. In 1935, excluding railroad and communications workers, the central government counted 213.367 officials, local government another 453.102.[68] Comprehensive figures are unavailable for later years, but data for individual ministries do not show dramatic increases.[69] Compared to

[66] E.g., Abe, "Nihon ni Fuashizumu wa Nakatta no Ka," pp. 199-200.

[67] Dietrich Orlow, *The History of the Nazi Party: 1933-1945* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973), pp. 18, 323.

[68] Nihon Tōkei Kyōkai, *Nihon Chōki Tōkei Sōran* [Historical statistics of Japan], 5 vols. (Tokyo: Nihon Tōkei Kyōkai, 1988), 5:328-31, 337.

[69] E.g., the Ministry of Finance grew from 21,736 officials in 1935 to 27,875 in 1938, the first full year of war with China: Nihon Tōkei Kyōkai, *Nihon Chōki Tōkei Sōran*, 5:329.

Germany, Japan's ruling institutions were small and segregated from the rest of society. It is easy to see why *kakushin* officials, a minority within this ruling establishment, had to compromise more with conservative officials and social elites than did the Nazi Party.

As noted above, some *kakushin* rightists had hoped to forge a genuine ruling party, especially those in civil society like Seigō Nakano who had ambitions to lead it. But the new political body launched in 1940, the Imperial Rule Assistance Association (IRAA), was not a ruling party but a tool of bureaucratic control. Prefectural governors, who were appointed career officials of the Home Ministry, headed the IRAA in their jurisdictions, and it never made policy or served as a channel of recruitment to the state elite. Thus, scholars agree that it was not a ruling party.

The failure to create a party was to a large extent due to compromises with bureaucrats and parliamentarians of the conservative authoritarian right. The State Total Mobilization Law of 1938 had transferred most legislative authority to the executive branch, but although *kakushin* elements got their way on most matters by 1940-1941, Diet members realized that a one-party regime without their participation meant extinction. The Diet still had to approve the national budget, and legislators refused to fund the Imperial Rule Assistance Association until it met their minimal terms for survival. The Reichstag posed no such obstacles to Nazi rule. There was also disagreement among *kakushin* elites themselves on the need for a ruling party. From the start, many military officers, bureaucrats, and intellectuals had advocated administrative leadership for the New Order, and professional administrators remained in charge of the executive branch of government.

The highest authority in Nazi officialdom was an individual, Adolf Hitler. According to the 'Führer principle,' no one could question Hitler's decisions. Hitler, however, often neglected day-to-day policymaking, especially in domestic affairs. He was impatient with bureaucratic procedures, rarely put anything in writing, habitually appointed different subordinates to perform the same or even contradictory tasks, and often refused to intervene when his orders sparked fierce struggles in the Nazi hierarchy. Whether Hitler's style reflected a disorderly personality or a strategy of divide-and-rule, or both, its effects have been described as 'planned chaos' and 'institutional anarchy.'[70]

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[70] Karl Dietrich Bracher, *The German Dictatorship: The Origins, Structure, and Effects of National Socialism*, trans. by Jean Steinberg, introduction by Peter Gay (New York: Praeger, 1970), pp. 212-13; Ian Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation*, 2d edition (London: Edward Arnold, 1989), pp. 64-71.

Below Hitler, policymaking revolved around the equally arbitrary and personalistic authority of his subordinates. Hitler appointed his long-time associates to lead state and party agencies, including the 33 provincial party headquarters. Very few were professional administrators, and many were socially marginal people whose only qualification for office was their loyalty to Hitler. Many were as disorganized as their boss, yet within their domains, their authority, too, was guaranteed by the Führer principle. There was no strict hierarchy between the various party and state agencies, so that each battled ceaselessly against the others. In short, policymaking in Nazi Germany was personalistic, disjointed, and unpredictable.

Though powerful individuals have led some military-bureaucratic regimes, this was not true in Japan. Prince Fumimaro Konoe, who might have become a dictator, did not pursue such authority and resigned before Japan attacked the U.S. General Hideki Tōjō, the prime minister from mid-1941, did not leave a highly personal imprint on policymaking. Tōjō's role is one of the least well documented aspects of wartime politics, but no one at the time or since has characterized the system as 'Tōjōism' or 'the Tōjō regime.'[71]

In Japan, the cabinet exercised the highest authority. Active-duty officers and state bureaucrats monopolized ministerships in Tōjō's first government. All were career officials who would have held posts at some level even if the party governments of the 1920s had continued to rule. Still, institutional changes were required to concentrate power in the hands of *kakushin* officials. New superagencies like the Cabinet Planning Board were formed directly under the prime minister. This enabled Konoe and Tōjō to involve military officers in all areas of policymaking and to unite *kakushin* officials so that they might draft policies free of the more conservative orientation of most ministries. Procedurally, however, both cabinet decisions and ministerial decrees were recorded and signed by the responsible officials. The lax supervision of the Diet and the courts gave bureaucrats considerable discretion in making and applying the law, but there was much less of the freelancing, personal, informal style of rule that marked Nazi officialdom.

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[71] A useful source is Takashi Itō, Tadamitsu Hirohashi, and Norio Katashima, eds., *Tōjō Naikaku Sōri Daijin Kimitsu Kiroku* [The secret record of the prime minister during the Tōjō cabinet] (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1990). This is the most extensive wartime record of Tōjō's activities, but it is more helpful on foreign than domestic policy, and it still does not give one a good feel for Tōjō as an individual.

Neither the German cabinet nor the party's Reich leaders ever met after 1938. Fearing conspiracies, Hitler prohibited his ministers from gathering even socially during the war, so that systematic coordination between agencies was impossible. There were conflicts in Japanese officialdom, but most were of an impersonal, institutional character. Agencies fought over turf, and the many policy innovations of the period increased friction between them, but they made great efforts to coordinate their work, and ministries often jointly sponsored key decisions after much discussion and compromise. Disputes between the army and navy could be especially severe, but interagency discord did not compare in scale or intensity to that in Germany, where rivalries between leaders not only disrupted orderly government but sometimes proved fatal.

The Japanese patterned at least one state organ after a Nazi model. The Cabinet Information Bureau was Japan's version of the German Ministry of Propaganda.[72] The German ministry supervised seven Reich Chambers of Culture, for film, radio, the press, music, fine arts, the theater, and literature. Six of the seven sections of Japan's Cabinet Information Bureau had the same jurisdictions as the German chambers.

But overall it is hard to imagine a greater contrast between two ruling structures than existed between those of Japan and Germany. They differed in size, composition, penetration of society, the role of the chief executive, and decision-making procedures. There would be slightly more similarity between Japan and Italy, where bureaucratic prefects ultimately prevailed over the provincial party bosses (the *ras*). But in Italy, too, a mass political party was part of the regime structure, and an individual and his party collaborators held the top government posts and made policy.

State-Society Relations

Despite the differences in state structure, *kakushin* officials imitated many of the policies and state-society structures of Nazi Germany. The organizational linchpins of Japan's New Order were state-administered cartels and mass organizations, and both borrowed heavily from fascist models (see chart 5). The state imposed compulsory cartels, called 'control associations' (*tōsei-kai*), on organizations in many sectors. Most businesses in the economic

[72] Early proposals for this body referred specifically to a 'ministry of propaganda.' E.g., see Rikugunshō [Army Ministry], *Kokubō no Hongi to Sono Kyōka no Teishō* [The true meaning of national defense and a proposal for its strengthening], reprinted in Junkichi Ishikawa, ed., *Kokka Sōdōin Shi Shiryō Hen Dai 5* [The history of state total mobilization, documentary vol. 5] (Tokyo: Kokka Sōdōin Shi Kankōkai, 1977), pp. 251-69.

tōseikai remained privately owned. The main exceptions were the distribution companies controlling the flow of materials and finished goods, which were often consolidated into public-interest monopolies. The founding of the *tōseikai* saw the forced merger or dissolution of tens of thousands of minor civil associations that did not fit into plans for the 'New Order.' Officials cut the number of newspapers and magazines from over 30.000 in 1937 to some 2500 in 1944, banks from 426 to 69, and textile mills from 271 to 44.[73]

CHART 5
THE OFFICIAL ORGANIZATION OF STATE-SOCIETY RELATIONS IN NAZI GERMANY AND WARTIME JAPAN

	Nazi Germany	Wartime Japan
Businesses	State-regulated cartels	State-regulated cartels
Industrial Workers	German Labor Front	Great Japan Industrial Patriotic Society
Women	German Women's Enterprise	Great Japan Women's Association
Youth	Hitler Youth	Great Japan Youth League
Agriculturists	Reich Food Estate	Great Japan Agricultural Patriotic Society
Local Residents		Neighborhood groups, village/ town associations (*tonarigumi, burakukai, chōnaikai*)

Policy execution through most of the control associations has yet to be carefully studied. The regime regulated organs of the mass media strictly, but the largest industrial firms retained some room for maneuver in the new structures, providing that they endorsed the regime's war-related goals. Labor was not represented in the control associations. Japan's self-regulating cartels

[73] Ōhara Shakai Mondai Kenkyūjo, ed., *Taiheiyō Sensōka no Rōdō Undō* [The labor movement during the Pacific war] (Tokyo: Rōdō Junpōsha, 1965), p. 186; Eleanor M. Hadley, *Antitrust in Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), p. 118; Chalmers Johnson, *MITI and the Japanese Miracle: The Growth of Industrial Policy, 1925-1975* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1982), p. 165.

of the early 1930s set domestic precedents for the control associations, but their chief inspiration came from Nazi Germany. Even before the China war started in 1937, early drafts of the State Total Mobilization Law had provided for enterprise control associations, and officials patterned the relevant articles after the Law for the Preparation of the Organic Construction of the German Economy, issued in 1934. *Kakushin* bureaucrats studied the Nazi system, and many translations of German economic statutes were published in the 1930s. The Nazi regime's compulsory cartels for industry similarly favored big business over small and allowed the largest producers some input into policymaking.[74]

To mobilize individuals, Japanese officials created and administered a vast complex of mass organizations under the rubric of the Imperial Rule Assistance Movement. These mass organizations targeted people according to their gender, age, occupation, workplace, and place of residence. The state dissolved autonomous interest groups, such as trade unions, political parties, youth clubs, and women's organizations, to clear a path for the new mass structures, which military officers and bureaucrats directed at the middle and upper levels of organization. Most Japanese had no choice but to join several of these bodies, since access to employment, food rations, and other goods and services was contingent upon membership.

Some of these official mass organizations had roots in Japan's earlier experiences with bureaucratic mobilization. A state-supported youth organization (the *Seinendan*) dated back to 1915, and there were already several officially sponsored women's groups in the early 1930s.[75] But it was under fascist influence that the state expanded this system and made membership compulsory in the late 1930s. *Kakushin* intellectuals had studied Italian corporatism, but the example of Nazi Germany, which had itself emulated some of Italy's mass organizations, was of greater moment among policymakers. The German Labor Front, whose bylaws were translated into Japanese, clearly influenced the creation of Japan's Industrial Patriotic Society (*Sangyō Hōkoku Kai*), for which there were no domestic precedents.

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[74] Ronald Smelser, *Robert Ley: Hitler's Labor Front Leader* (Oxford: Berg, 1988), pp. 224-26; Martin Broszat, *The Hitler State: The Foundation and Development of the Internal Structure of the Third Reich*, translated by John W. Hiden (London: Longman, 1981), pp. 170-72.

[75] Richard J. Smethurst, *A Social Basis for Prewar Japanese Militarism: The Army and the Rural Community* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 25-33; Gregory J. Kasza, "The State and the Organization of Women in Prewar Japan," *The Japan Foundation Newsletter*, vol. 18, no. 2 (October 1990), pp. 9-13.

The mass organizations of Germany, Italy, and Japan shared these traits:

1. The regime fixed the organizations' goals and operating procedures.
2. Officials structured the organizations' offices parallel to those of the regime's ruling institutions (the ruling party, the military, or the bureaucracy).
3. The organizations targeted whole categories of people for membership.
4. The regime coerced membership to some degree and prohibited alternative organizations.
5. The organizations' key provincial and national officers were appointed regime officials, not people rising independently from within the organizations.

There were also differences between Japan's mass organizations and those of Germany and Italy, some reflecting the differences in regime structure. Soldiers and bureaucrats led Japan's mass bodies at the top, while party members and bureaucrats led those of Germany and Italy. More important, Japan had to rely on ordinary subjects to lead the base units of its mass bodies, whereas in Germany and Italy party members provided much of the local leadership. The new authority of party members in the local chapters of the Italian and especially the German mass organizations produced a significant shift in social status that did not occur in Japan, whose nonparty regime was more dependent on the existing social structure.

The sectoral organizations also varied in effectiveness between the countries. In Germany and Italy, the mass labor bodies neutralized a menacing social sector, but neither regime organized women or local residents very vigorously. In Japan, where there was little workers' opposition to neutralize, the producers' body was the least active in the system, whereas the women's association and residential groups were powerful policy tools. Official youth groups had a great impact in all three countries.[76]

These variations do not alter the fact that Japan's military regime mobilized society through the same forms of organization used by the single-party

[76] Jill Stephenson, *The Nazi Organization of Women* (London: Croom Helm, 1981); H.W. Koch, *The Hitler Youth: Origins and Development, 1922-1945* (London: Macdonald and Jane's, 1975); Tracy H. Koon, *Believe, Obey, Fight: Political Socialization of Youth in Fascist Italy, 1922-1943* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985); Smethurst, *A Social Basis for Prewar Japanese Militarism.*

regimes of Germany and Italy. The Japanese did not copy the single-party ruling apparatus of fascism, but they did restructure society through official cartels and mass organizations based partly on fascist models. This is what *kakushin* came to mean in practical politics. The study of public policy also reveals many instances of the copying of fascist laws in Japan.[77] It is simply impossible to explain state-society relations in Japan without reference to European fascism.

A Comparative Framework for Japan's *Kakushin* Right

This chapter began by locating Japan's civil rightist movements in Stanley Payne's comparative typology. 'Fascism,' as he carefully defined it, was a weak force in Japanese civil society, the 'radical right' was small but swayed events through terror, and the conservative authoritarian right was substantial. In addition, there were so-called *kakushin* movements on the Japanese right that both mimicked and differed from fascism in significant ways. But the most powerful rightist elements in interwar Japan were cliques of state officials and their intellectual fellow travelers. The political tendencies of these officials will be the focus of this comparative analysis.

Japan's military-bureaucratic regime represents a distinct response to the interwar crisis from the political right. Official ideology touted traditional nationalistic values and monarchical legitimacy, but also the conviction that Japan was entering a new stage of history requiring an overhaul of its politico-economic system. Officials did not create a ruling party, but they did force the dissolution of existing parties, emasculate the Diet, and concentrate authority in new cabinet superagencies that altered the administrative hierarchy. Without reliance on a mass movement from below, they effected a radical but selective transformation of society from above. They eliminated labor unions and many other civil associations and reorganized society into compulsory cartels and mass bodies patterned partly after those of Nazi Germany.

Was the politics of this regime 'fascist'? The instigators of change (military-bureaucratic elites), the process of change (an orderly imposition from above), and the traditional values legitimizing change differed from those of Europe's fascist regimes. Yet much of the substance of change (the official cartels and mass organizations) and part of its ideological inspiration (the belief in a great world transformation) were borrowed from those same

[77] E.g., Japan's Film Law of 1939 was inspired by a translation of Nazi Germany's film legislation: *Doitsu Eiga Hō* [German film law] (Tokyo: Dai Nihon Eiga Kyōkai, 1937).

fascist regimes. In identifying the political tendency of Japan's military-bureaucratic rulers, it first appears, we cannot make do with an explanation of fascism, yet we cannot make do without it.

Most Japanese scholars have tried to resolve this dilemma by modifying the fascist concept to fit Japan. Some speak of 'Emperor-system fascism,' a term combining the regime's traditional legitimacy with the impact of fascism on its policies. Others prefer 'fascism from above' or 'military fascism,' indicating that military-bureaucratic elites were in charge but took many of their programs from fascism. In that scenario, the role of military officers and bureaucrats was functionally equivalent to that of a fascist mass movement that seized power. I hope my account has made the logic of these formulations apparent and enabled the reader to evaluate their merits. That said, I will explain why I prefer another analytical framework.

In my judgment, the differences in structure and ideology between the Japanese regime and the Italian and German regimes are too great to ascribe all three to the same rightist tendency. These regimes do not share enough positive traits to justify the hypothesis that they had the same causes and effects. To set aside the differences and identify 'fascist' regimes only by a rough functional equivalence (the function usually being that of responding to a crisis of capitalism) turns the category of fascist regimes into a hodgepodge of diverse phenomena. Hirozumi Abe, for instance, designates the following as fascist regimes: in the 1920s, Italy, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Portugal, and Lithuania, and in the 1930s, Germany, Yugoslavia, Finland, Austria, and Japan.[78] Theories that identify both the Japanese and the Italian and German patterns as 'fascism' typically use more space trying to explain away the differences than they do elaborating a common explanation of the similarities. If two phenomena resist a common theory of explanation, they should not be joined under the same comparative concept.

There is no gain denying the impact of European fascism in Japan. Japan deserves a place in comparative fascist studies, which should explore the influence of fascism wherever and however it was felt. Likewise, comparative fascist studies must be part of research on interwar Japan, for European fas-

[78] Hirozumi Abe, *Nihon Fuashizumu Kenkyū Josetsu* [Introduction to research on Japanese fascism] (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1975), pp. 10-11.

cism supplied Japanese officials with many of their ideas and policies. But 'fascism' does not offer the best conceptual framework for the politics of Japan's military-bureaucratic regime.

A more accurate characterization is that there were two prominent rightist tendencies in Japanese officialdom, the conservative authoritarian right, and a more influential *kakushin* right that was enamored of fascist models. Officials of these two tendencies were at odds as often as they were in agreement. Government policies might result from the victory of one over the other, or from a compromise between them. In the most critical period of policy change, 1940-1941, officials of the *kakushin* right initiated most policies, while those of the conservative authoritarian right were reactive, modifying some proposals and blocking others. Since Japan's conservative authoritarian elements fit Payne's general description of this camp, the real challenge of locating this regime's political tendencies in comparative perspective is what to do with the *kakushin* right.

The *kakushin* right slips through the cracks of Payne's typology of rightist movements, falling halfway between fascism and the conservative authoritarian right. If the *kakushin* tendency was unique to Japan, it would not be worth modifying Payne's scheme to accommodate it, but the *kakushin* right had analogues elsewhere. There were several countries in Eastern and Southern Europe where this tendency similarly won over powerful groups of officials and swayed public policy in nonparty authoritarian regimes. The German invasion cut short most of these experiments, but they belong together both as examples of a rightist tendency distinct from fascism, and as situations in which the influence of fascism was felt in similar ways. Few of these cases are as well documented as that of Japan (at least in languages accessible to me), but Poland is an exception.

The rule of Marshal Edward Śmigly-Rydz over Poland in 1937-1939 reflected a rightist orientation similar to that which inspired Japan's New Order. A new constitution in 1935 had weakened parliament, leaving the military and bureaucracy as the dominant forces in the regime. Rightist movements in civil society were significant but never took power. Officials flirted with them but ultimately kept them under control, especially the Falanga, a genuinely fascist organization.[79] The government undertook to transform society from above, "without shocks and violence, which always

[79] Edward D. Wynot, Jr., *Polish Politics in Transition: The Camp of National Unity and the Struggle for Power, 1935-1939* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1974), pp. 47, 88, 146, 163, 172, 178.

threaten the state."[80] Ideologically, Rydz and his collaborators saw the world in a great upheaval that would witness the eclipse of liberalism, and they were strongly anti-communist and nationalistic. The regime proposed to subordinate the individual to the nation, its goal being "the reconstruction of the state and social life demanded by the . . . deep transformations of which we are conscious near us and throughout the entire world."[81] Its slogan of 'national security' mirrored Japan's 'national defense state.'

Polish officials borrowed many of the same aspects of fascism as did officials in Japan. Poland's Camp of National Unity paralleled Japan's Imperial Rule Assistance Movement in both intent and form. It was not a political party and did not participate in policymaking; it sought to embrace the entire nation of Poles; and its subsections divided people by occupation, age, gender, and place of residence. Unlike the demobilizational strategy of the previous regime of Pilsudski, who stood solidly on the conservative authoritarian right, the Camp was designed to orchestrate the active involvement of subjects in the state's political and economic programs. In the economy, while pledging to honor the principle of private property, officials emphasized the priority of the public interest and central planning. The Polish leadership did not call itself fascist, but it occasionally acknowledged the fascist (mainly Italian) inspiration for its innovative policies, especially its new mass organizations for workers and youth.[82] The Soviet Union did label the Polish regime fascist; the Nazis did not.[83]

Kakushin elements exerted extraordinary influence in Poland and Japan, but they also played a role in other regimes, if often as a junior partner to the conservative authoritarian right.[84] The Greek dictatorship of John Metaxas (1936-1940) reflected the input of conservative authoritarian and *kakushin* officials by repressing fascist movements while creating from above a mass

[80] Quotation from Colonel Adam Koc, the first head of the Camp of National Unity (see below): Wynot, *Polish Politics in Transition*, p. 103.

[81] Wynot, *Polish Politics in Transition*, pp. 77, 79, 85 (for quotation).

[82] Wynot, *Polish Politics in Transition*, pp. 26, 83-84, 91, 133, 135, 161, 217, 251.

[83] Wynot, *Polish Politics in Transition*, pp. 129-30.

[84] *Kakushin* officials also may have served as minoritarian elements in the fascist regimes of Germany and Italy as well as in some of the interwar democracies, but I have not explored these possibilities systematically.

state youth organization, the *Neolaia*, based partly on fascist models. Metaxas saw this body as his most important innovation, and many of its officers as well as other government leaders were known admirers of Nazi Germany.[85]

The Salazar regime in Portugal also betrayed the hand of the *kakushin* right alongside conservative authoritarian elements. The regime's 'nonparty' (the *União Nacional*), its corporatist workers' organizations, and its compulsory *Mocidade Portuguesa* for youth resembled the organs of Japan's Imperial Rule Assistance Movement: the regime based them partly on fascist models, legitimized them with reference to both traditional and modern values, and built them from above for the purpose of state control.[86] A neutral in World War II, Salazar's regime did not mobilize its people as actively as did the Japanese. But there was an innovative policy dynamic in its mass organizations that transcended the demobilizational, conservative, authoritarian rightist politics of the past. It is only in contrast to the more dramatic mass mobilization that occurred in Germany and Italy, and in light of the Portuguese regime's reversion to a more conservative style after the Axis defeat, that such innovations could appear simply conservative. Nazi Germany is not a realistic standard for judging whether another regime has taken a conservative or substantially innovative stance vis-à-vis the social order; next to Germany, nearly all other rightist regimes look conservative.

The interwar regime of King Carol II in Rumania manifested a similar mix of conservative authoritarian and *kakushin* elements: (1) a nationalistic ideology that was a hybrid of traditional and modern values, the latter (a 'totalitarian state') drawn partly from fascism, (2) authoritarian rule by a monarchical military-bureaucratic regime, (3) the suppression of true fascist movements, (4) the dissolution of political parties and rejection of parliamentary democracy, and (5) compulsory mass organizations for youth, workers, and the nation as a whole (the Front of National Rebirth), which were patterned after fascist models, created from above, and operated as

[85] David Close, "Conservatism, Authoritarianism and Fascism in Greece, 1915-45," in Martin Blinkhorn, ed., *fascists and Conservatives: The Radical Right and the Establishment in Twentieth-Century Europe* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), pp. 206-11.

[86] Tom Gallagher, "Conservatism, Dictatorship, and Fascism in Portugal, 1914-45," in Blinkhorn, ed., *fascists and Conservatives* (above n. 85), pp. 160-65, 167.

instruments of bureaucratic control.[87] The interwar regimes of Konstantin Päts in Estonia and Augustinas Voldemaras and Antanas Smetona in Lithuania also appear to exemplify this pattern.[88]

When these regimes are compared to the fascist movements they suppressed, they might appear simply conservative. To the Marxists they persecuted, however, they embodied 'fascism from above.' The truth stands midway between these two positions, and that is where we find the selective revolutionaries of the *kakushin* right. I conclude that it may be fruitful to analyze these cases together as a distinct strain of rightist politics, to discover if their particular brand of "organization from above instead of revolution from below" has had common causes and effects.[89]

The *kakushin* right was most likely to emerge as a potent force in the state in countries where:

1. There had been a relatively brief, qualified experience of liberal democracy, which was ideologically and organizationally too fragile to survive the interwar crises or the reaction of disaffected elites. Based on this experience, many officials came to view liberal democracy as an impotent form of government and became more receptive to a statist, *kakushin* alternative. The weaker the resistance of liberal democratic forces, the greater would be the opportunity to implement *kakushin* designs.[90]

2. Extremists of the right or the left had alarmed social and political elites but were too weak to take power. Some officials embraced *kakushin* policies as a means to undercut the appeal of political extremists by appropriating some of their programs and slogans.

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[87] Joseph Rothschild, *East Central Europe Between the Two World Wars* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974), pp. 307, 311-13.

[88] Rothschild, *East Central Europe Between the Two World Wars*, pp. 373-74, 379-80.

[89] Andrew C. Janos, "The One-Party State and Social Mobilization: East Europe Between the Wars," in Samuel P. Huntington and Clement H. Moore, eds., *Authoritarian Politics in Modern Society: The Dynamics of Established One-Party Systems* (New York: Basic Books, 1970), p. 217.

[90] I rely partly on Janos, "The One-Party State and Social Mobilization," pp. 205-13, for his analysis of this factor and other interwar political conditions in Eastern Europe.

3. Mass politics, if not so developed as to require a political party to take power, was sufficiently advanced to rule out an authoritarian regime based solely on repression. The experiences of democracy and political extremism persuaded many officials that the demobilizational authoritarianism of the past was no longer viable.

To control events, they would have to forge a regime that could structure mass behavior, and *kakushin* policies were one way to do this.

4. There was a pattern of assertive, independent political action by military officers and state bureaucrats, which made feasible a *kakushin* transformation from above.

CHART 6
MILITARY-BUREAUCRATIC REGIMES COMBINING CONSERVATIVE AUTHORITARIAN AND *KAKUSHIN* TENDENCIES

Interwar/Rightist	Postwar/leftist
Japan	Egypt (Nasser)
Poland (Rydz)	Burma (Ne Win)
Greece (Metaxas)	Peru (Velasco)
Portugal (Salazar)	Indonesia (Sukarno)
Rumania (Carol II)	
Estonia (Päts)	
Lithuania (Voldemaras, Smetona)	

Common Features

1. Military-bureaucratic dominance over the state.
2. A hybrid ideology of traditional nationalistic values and modern values, the latter borrowed from fascism or communism.
3. The suppression of fascist and/or communist movements from below.
4. The dissolution of political parties and rejection of parliamentary democracy.
5. Compulsory mass organizations created from above as instruments of military-bureaucratic control and patterned partly after the mass organizations of fascist or communist single-party regimes.

5. Officials had broad exposure to the organizational forms and ideologies of the German and Italian regimes. The sources of this exposure might be geographic proximity, the propaganda of local fascist movements, international alliances, or merely the habit of looking to the world's leading nations as a guide to the political future.

6. The economic and international crises of the interwar era struck hard enough to move a substantial part of the establishment to consider fundamental change. Though state officials had a stake in the status quo, the Great Depression and the threat of war brought many to advocate novel *kakushin* solutions. These crises also helped *kakushin* officials to overcome the opposition of colleagues of the conservative authoritarian right, with whom they usually shared power.

Regimes molded by the *kakushin* right stand in relation to the fascist regimes of Germany and Italy as many leftist military-bureaucratic regimes have stood in relation to Soviet Communism. The leftist regimes of Nasser in Egypt, Ne Win in Burma, and Velasco in Peru have had these traits: (1) a hybrid ideology of traditional and modern values, the latter drawn partly from communism ('Arab socialism' for Nasser, the 'Burmese way to socialism' for Ne Win); (2) authoritarian rule by a military-bureaucratic regime, (3) the suppression of revolutionary communist movements from below, (4) the dissolution of political parties and rejection of parliamentary democracy, and (5) compulsory mass organizations for youth, workers, and other social sectors, which were patterned after communist models, created from above, and operated as instruments of bureaucratic control. In particular, state-administered mass organizations such as Egypt's Arab Socialist Union, Burma's People's Councils, and Peru's New Towns and Industrial Communities bear a strong structural resemblance to Japan's Imperial Rule Assistance Movement and Poland's Camp of National Unity.[91] Just as there is a convergence in the structures of fascist and communist single-party regimes, there is a convergence in the structures of the military-bureaucratic regimes that have selectively emulated them (see chart 6).

[91] See Gregory J. Kasza, "Parties, Interest Groups, and Administered Mass Organizations," *Comparative Political Studies* 26 (April 1993), pp. 81-110.

In Japan and its former colonies, there was some continuity between the interwar *kakushin* right and what many Japanese call the postwar *kakushin* left. Many rightist advocates of Japan's New Order in 1940 joined leftist parties after 1945, some having come full circle from the leftist politics they had quit in the early 1930s.[92] In interwar Java and Burma, the Japanese army established mass organizations similar to those it created in Japan. In the postwar period, authoritarian regimes in these countries forged very similar types of compulsory mass organization, the *Golkar* in Indonesia and People's Councils in Burma. Though these regimes adopted leftist ideologies and borrowed from communist models as well, the postwar statesmen who promoted their mass organizations had served in the Japanese army (Ne Win) or mass organizations (Sukarno) during the war.[93] Here the currents of the *kakushin* left and right merged in the politics of the same countries.

In regard to officials of the *kakushin* right, Japanese scholars overstate their radicalism when calling them 'fascist,' but many European scholars err in the other direction by dismissing their innovations as a mere facade for conservative intentions. *Kakushin* rightists were not full-fledged revolutionaries, but neither were their programs merely superficial gestures concealing some deeper desire to maintain the status quo. To label them 'conservative' underestimates the novelty and impact of their programs; it overlooks the sincere conviction of many *kakushin* officials that they were strengthening their nations to meet the challenges of a new age; and it fails to take into account the substantial reshuffling that occurred within a military-bureaucratic establishment when *kakushin* elements seized the initiative from genuinely conservative officials. In a bureaucratically dominated regime, changes in administrative structure and the rise of new bureaucratic cliques can be just as consequential for public policy as changes in the party system of a democracy.

Why persist in inconclusive debates over whether the adherents of the *kakushin* right were *really* conservative authoritarian or fascist, moderately reformist or revolutionary? In different respects, they were all these things, and that is why none of these labels fits. The term *kakushin* fills an awkward

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[92] Takashi Itō, "Kyū Sayokujin no 'Shintaisei' Undō" [The 'new order' movement of former leftists], *Kindai Nihon Kenkyū Nenpō* 5 (1983), pp. 259-96.

[93] Josef Silverstein, *Burma: Military Rule and the Politics of Stagnation* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977), p. 45; Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, *Java in a Time of Revolution: Occupation and Resistance, 1944-1946* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1972), chs. 1-5.

gap in the comparative typology of rightist (and perhaps also leftist[94]) political tendencies, and it also fills a void in the English language. Alas, there seems to be a law that political concepts must derive from English. If so, the best translation for the '*kakushin* right' might be 'renovationist authoritarian right,' to form a pair with Payne's 'conservative authoritarian right.' But the word 'renovation' is ambiguous, and the English language has nothing better to offer. If the science of politics is to be truly universal, perhaps we should be more open to the Japanese concept of *kakushin*, which captures this political tendency so well.

[94] In typologies of leftist political tendencies, leftist military regimes in countries like Egypt, Burma, Peru, and Indonesia have floated in a conceptual limbo between 'social democracy' and 'communism.' Most leftist scholars refuse to share the good name of 'socialism,' even in modified form, with military rulers. Other scholars often describe these regimes as 'corporatist,' even though their leaders have not identified themselves as corporatists and it is obvious that they have modeled their ideologies, policies, and mass organizations largely after those of communist regimes in the U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia, Cuba, and elsewhere. '*Kakushin* left' might offer a more accurate characterization of these regimes, and it would highlight their resemblance to military regimes of the *kakushin* right.

8

WILLIAM C. KIRBY

IMAGES AND REALITIES OF CHINESE FASCISM[1]

Introduction

When the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor inaugurated the Pacific War, China found itself allied with the so-called 'democratic' powers in what was described as a global struggle against 'fascism.' This was a doubly inaccurate representation of Chinese domestic politics: China was in no sense democratic; and its leaders had quite openly discussed the merits of fascism as a model for Chinese development. But if China ultimately did not follow a 'fascist road,' this was not just the result of international alignments.[2] Fascism had already proved to be a singularly incoherent concept when applied to the world of Chinese politics.

Of course the confusion was not just China's. Perhaps no political or historical term has acquired quite the variety of meanings as the word 'fascism.' Certainly the easiest way to approach the term is to limit its use to describe the ideology of Mussolini's movement: "the body of principles held by the Fascisti".[3] However, it was already clear in the 1920s that the term would enjoy currency outside Italy, and that there existed an idea of 'international fascism.' In a work of that title, a German author wrote in 1928:

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[1] The author is grateful to Stanford University Press for permission to reproduce here material which appeared first in his *Germany and Republican China* (1984).

[2] This is not the place to discuss the extraordinary complexity of China's international relations in this period. For one interpretation, see Kirby, "Nationalist China's Search for a Partner: Relations with Germany, the Soviet Union, and the United States, 1927-1942," in Harry Harding, ed., *China's Cooperative Relationships: Partnerships and Alignments in Modern Chinese Foreign Policy*.

[3] *Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary* (Springfield, Mass., 1965), 302.

> We make the distinction between idea and method in international fascism. The idea is at once national and international. The idea of nationalism as the religion of the here and now is *international*, while the rallying and development of popular forces in a specific nation is *national*.

Further, he argued, the path to a modern nation "is, in the twentieth century, the path of the fascist state."[4] It has often been remarked that the slogan "nationalists of the world unite," is inherently illogical. But that does not mean that it was an idea without force. As Mussolini told Hitler in Berlin in 1937: "Although the course of our two revolutions may have been somewhat different, the goal they have sought and achieved is the same: the unity and greatness of a people."[5] 'Unity and greatness' was what many Chinese admirers of fascism saw as its end result. And for China, fascism became a general concept only with the victory of National Socialism in Germany.

The term 'fascism' first entered the Chinese vocabulary in the 1920s as *fan-hsi*, an apparent transliteration of the Italian. It was also early translated as *pang-ho*, in the not very flattering meaning of "to arouse a person from his stupid ways as if by hitting him with a club." Both terms applied only to the Italian fascist party (for example, *pang-ho-tang*) as originally did another transliteration, *fa-hsi-ssu-t'i*, for Fascisti. After 1933, however, the latter term, especially in the shortened form of *fa-hsi-ssu*, came to mean fascism in general. It was seldom rooted specifically in the Italian context. Fascism now became a transnational movement, an 'ism' – *fa-hsi-ssu-chu-i* – which had not been the case with *fan-hsi* or *pang-ho*.[6] To be sure, admirers of Hitler's Germany were also likely to be admirers of Mussolini's Italy or Kemal's Turkey – nations often grouped together

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[4] Helmut Franke, "Der deutsche Faschismus," in Carl Landauer and Hans Honneger, eds., *Internationaler Faschismus* (Karlsruhe, 1928), 40.

[5] Quoted in Martin Kitchen, *Fascism* (New York, 1976), 83.

[6] This analysis is based on titles of periodical articles containing terms for 'fascism,' as compiled in the comprehensive monthly periodical indexes of *Jen-wen yüeh-k'an*, 1930-1935. For an intercultural view of Italian fascism in Chinese perspective see Michael R. Godley, "Fascismo e nazionalismo cinese: 1931-1938. Note preliminare allo studio dei rapporti italocinesi durante il periodo fascista," *Storia contemporanea* 4, no. 4 (Dec. 1973), 739-737. On the limited influence of Italian Fascism on early Kuomintang thought see A. James Gregor and Maria Hsia Chang, "*Nationalfascismo* and the Revolutionary Nationalism of Sun Yat-sen," *Journal of Asian Studies* 39, no. 1 (Nov. 1979), 21-37.

because of apparent similarities of rigid government control, planned economic growth, and sense of national mission.[7] But the German case was the fascism that Chinese studied most intensively.

The Chinese government of Chiang Kai-shek had as its central objectives the creation of a unified, militarized nation-state that would end the humiliation of nearly a century of 'unequal treaties' with the West and Japan. It sought to create a world-class military force capable of resisting Japan; to industrialize China as part of the world economy; and to forge out of the Chinese people a duty-bound, responsible citizenry. It pursued international advice and assistance to meet these goals, and for its first ten years, from 1928 to 1938, had closer relations with Germany than with any other foreign power. This decade saw a conjunction of interests between China and a Germany that had lost its imperialist privileges in Asia and sought new means of securing export markets and sources of raw materials. Although only in the broadest sense, as 'revisionist' powers, did China and Germany share political goals in international politics during the interwar period, their complementary needs and perceived common status outside the international system led to cooperation on several levels.

During these years, a German military mission reorganized the Nationalist army, and its leading members served as Chiang Kai-shek's personal political and economic advisers. In the mid-1930s, Sino-German trading, credit and technical assistance agreements laid the foundation for China's nationalized industries. By 1936, one could speak of a (mutually agreeable) German 'sphere of influence' in Chinese military and industrial development. All this was buttressed by a wide range of formal and informal cultural exchanges. Chinese officers received German training; the education of Chinese engineers was subsidized by German industry; and a broad program of German 'cultural propaganda' was aimed at educated Chinese urban audiences. It was no overstatement when an English journalist reported in 1935 that "China's whole economy – commercial, political, and military – is an open book for Germans here."[8]

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[7] Ch'eng Shih-kan, "Lun fa-hsi-ssu-t'i te ch'i-yuan chi ch'i ch'ien-t'u" (On the origins and future of [Italian] fascism), CKYK 7, no-. 5 (Oct. 1932); "Sino-Turkish Similarities," *People's Tribune* 9, no. 2 (16 Apr. 1935), 81-84; Sih Kwong-chin (Hsueh Kuang-ch'ien), "A Summary of the Relations between China and Italy," *China Quarterly* 2, no. 3 (Summer 1937), 482-486.

[8] *The Times* (London), 27 Nov. 1935, p. 14. Generally, see William C. Kirby, *Germany and Republican China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984).

This high level of cooperation with a non-threatening Western power involved no apparent threat to Chinese political or economic sovereignty; on the contrary, the gearing of Sino-German cooperation to areas of most pressing concern for the Nationalist regime promised to increase the regime's effective power. Equally important from the Chinese perspective was the possibility for cooperation with a foreign nation whose ethic of development – as understood by Chiang Kai-shek and other Kuomintang leaders – was compatible with their own. Chinese leaders sought more than industrial facilities and armaments from their German partners. They also endeavored to learn those lessons from Germany's experience that seemed applicable to China. Theirs was a positive assessment of the German past and present. Militarization and industrialization had forged Imperial Germany. An elite officer corps loyal to the best traditions of the nation had preserved the state during the turbulent tenure of the Weimar Republic. And now, in the 1930s, National Socialism provided the means of breaking the shackles of an unbearable 'unequal treaty' (Versailles), of stimulating a depressed national economy, and of molding the populace into a disciplined, unitary force – all central aims also of China's Nationalist government.[9] In contemplating the applicability of fascism to China, Chinese leaders therefore concentrated their attention on the German variant.

In investigating Chinese perceptions of National Socialism and, in the process, the nature of 'Chinese fascism,' this essay focuses on the viewpoints of various military and political factions within the Kuomintang, China's ruling party. It is notable that most Chinese admirers of fascism were already part of this one-party regime in one sense or another; and many intellectuals who wrote favorably of fascism would ultimately enter government service. To the degree that one can speak of Chinese fascism, it was – to borrow the title of Gregory Kasza's article elsewhere in this volume – a 'fascism from above,' contemplated in China's case by a regime that had seized the heights of political power but had yet to establish an enduring institutional or social foundation for its rule. There was no mass pressure in favor of fascism, no organized fascist opposition to the regime, and no fascist agitation outside of the realm of military-political elites: not in China's great cities, such as Shanghai, where the regime had suppressed the working class and bourgeoisie alike; and certainly not among the eighty-plus percent of China's people who resided in rural areas. Nor was there any legal political machinery - such as elections - by which an opposition movement might have made its mark. Unlike the situation in interwar Europe, Chinese politics

[9] For a discussion of Chinese leaders' perspectives on German history, see Kirby, *Germany and Republican China*, 147-152.

were marked by a very low level of popular participation and mobilization. Indeed, it was concern about this popular political apathy that led some Chinese leaders to see fascism as a cure.

The leaders whose viewpoints will be analyzed here were seeking to answer what remains the enduring question of Chinese politics in the twentieth century: what kind of political system will ultimately replace the 2000 year-old imperial tradition that ended in 1911? Their predecessors in the post-imperial era had experimented with republicanism as the most modern form of government then developed. Their enemies in the Chinese Communist movement espoused a Marxism-Leninism that seemed a step further along the political-evolutionary scale. To Kuomintang leaders seeking means for both galvanizing and disciplining China's great population, fascism could appear the leading 'ism' of the day.

None of the 'isms' imported by the Chinese could be fully abstracted from their diverse national derivations. Thus Chinese communism would forever bear the mark of its Stalinist origins; and Chinese fascism, such as it was, would be inseparable from the evolving Sino-German relationship. But in all cases Chinese also borrowed selectively from foreign prototypes. To paraphrase professor Kasza again, "fascism travelled to China not as a single package, but as a series of special deliveries, mail-ordered to fit discrete tastes."

With the exception of one group – the Southwest Political Council of Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces, which remained substantially autonomous until mid-1936 – there was a broadly favorable response to fascism, based on a positive assessment of Nazism, in all Chinese political factions. However, the consensus of admiration for fascism would prove divided enough to impede any real 'fascisization' of the regime. As Karl Mannheim wrote:

> Words never signify the same thing when used by different groups even in the same country, and slight variations of meaning provide the best clues to the different trends of thought in a community.[10]

In China, fascism meant different things to different men.

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[10] Karl Mannheim, "Conservative Thought," in Kurt H. Wolff, ed., *From Karl Mannheim* (New York, 1971), 135.

Perceptions and Politics of 'Chinese Fascism'

Sources of information on National Socialism.
Educated Chinese had no lack of literature with which to inform themselves about German National Socialism. General fascination with the topic may be gauged from entries in a comprehensive periodical index of the 1930s, that of *Jen-wen yueh-k'an*. In the November 1933 index, for example, over one-third of all articles on 'foreign politics' were related to Germany, Hitler, or National Socialism; nearly half of those listed under 'politics' concerned fascism; and in the category of 'political parties' half were directly devoted to the relevance of fascism to the Kuomintang.[11]

In addition to hundreds of periodical and newspaper articles on Germany and Nazism which appeared each year, Chinese also had at their disposal a variety of primary and secondary works translated from German or English. The translation bureau of the Central Military Academy *(Chün-hsueh pien-chi chü)*, which translated German works on military science for Chinese officers, also published for wider distribution a Chinese edition of Gottfried Feder's 1920 *Programm der NSDAP* (*Te-kuo kuo-shih-tang tang-kang*) in late 1934, calling it the "Bible of fascism."[12] Within a year, *Mein Kampf* (*Wo te fen-tou*) was also translated and available at 'every large newsstand and bookstore.'[13] As part of the effort at *Kulturpropaganda* by German business and academic circles, Fichte's *Reden an die deutsche Nation* were rendered in Chinese with an appropriate National Socialist introduction, and Leni Riefenstahl's film of the 1934 Nuremberg Party Rally, "Triumph of the Will," was shown with Chinese subtitles.[14] Chinese periodicals were also frequent translators of Hitler's foreign policy speeches and of important acts of the Third Reich, such as the Enabling

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[11] *Jen-wen yueh-k'an* 4, no. 10 (Nov. 1933).

[12] MA, W 02-44/45, 123, Gen. Wu Kuang-chieh to Gen. Hans von Seeckt, 22 May 1934; Huang Kung-an, trans., *Te-kuo Kuo-shih-tang tang-kang* (Program of the German National Socialist Party, Lushan, 1935).

[13] Cited in Hsin Ta-mo, "Fa-ehr-ken-hao-sen chiang-chün hui-i chung te Chiang wei-yuan-chang yü Chung-kuo" (Materials relating to Chiang Kai-shek and China in the memoirs of Gen. von Falkenhausen), CCWH 21, no. 1 (1972), 66; also on the appearance of *Mein Kampf* in China, see *Das Neue China* 2, no. 4 (20 Feb. 1936).

[14] *Das Neue China* 3, nos. 18-19 (May-June 1937), 38-39.

Bill and the Nuremberg Laws.[15] A compendium of official National Socialist documents and statements was published by the Foreign Affairs Society of Nanking in 1937.[16]

The Chinese daily press relied heavily on British and American news agencies for its coverage of foreign news. But after 1933 the German Transozean news service, which had become a serious competitor only in 1929,[17] gained greater acceptance. The German government also sought to ensure that the German point of view would be represented in the Chinese press. Knowing that the press outside the International Settlement was subject to government surveillance, German diplomats intervened to prevent '*Hetzartikeln*,' and to encourage the running of stories favorable to the New Germany.'[18]

First-hand acquaintance with National Socialism was possible for Chinese who studied in, or visited Germany. In 1936 there were over 1600 Chinese residing in Germany, most of them students.[19] The Nanking government also funded numerous technical study missions to the Reich during the period 1933-1937. Finally, a number of high government officials and leading personalities travelled to Germany during this period: among the more prominent were the Manchurian militarist Chang Hsueh-liang; Kuomintang politicians Hu Han-min and Wang Ching-wei; party ideologist Tai Chi-t'ao; China's leading industrial planner, Weng Wen-hao; and Chiang Kai-shek's influential brothers-in-law, T. V. Soong and H. H. K'ung.[20]

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[15] Cf. "Tsui-chin Te-kuo kuo-hui chih chung-yao chüeh-i-an" (Document containing important decisions recently passed by the German parliament), HPYK 4, no. 4 (15 Oct. 1935), 148; "Hsi-t'e-la te ho-p'ing-i-tu t'an" (Hitler's talk concerning his plan for peace), KWCP 13, no. 8 (2 Mar. 1936); "Hsi-t'e-la kuo-ts'e yen-ts'u chüan-wen" (Complete Text of Hitler's speech on national policy), KWCP 12, no. 31 (12 Aug. 1935).

[16] Wai-chiao p'ing-lun she, *Hsi-t'e-le chih-cheng hou chih Te-i-chih* (Germany after Hitler's seizure of power, Nanking, 1937).

[17] PA, Abt. IV OA, Po. 12 Chi., Bd. 4, Borch (Peking) to AA, 28 Aug. 1929.

[18] See, for example, PA, Abt. IV OA, Po. 12 Chi., Bd. 6, Rüdt (Shanghai) to AA, 2 Mar. 1933; *China Press.*, 1 Mar. 1933, 4 Mar. 1933. On the post-1933 predominance of the Nazi press among German publications in China see Françoise Kreissler, *L'action culturelle allemande en Chine* (Paris, 1989), 98ff.

[19] OR 17 (1 Aug. 1937), 193.

[20] Ch'eng Tien-fang, *Shih-Te hui-i-lu* (Memoirs as Ambassador to Germany, Taipei, 1967), *passim.*

Although he never visited Germany, Chiang Kai-shek had his own sources of information on National Socialism. Two of his German military advisers, Colonel Max Bauer and Colonel Hermann Kriebel, were close to the movement. As Nazism gained strength in the summer of 1932, Chiang turned to the deceased Max Bauer's son for literature on the party. Ernst Bauer, then employed by the Trade Department of the Chinese Legation in Berlin, reported the request:

> His Excellency Chiang Kai-shek has always shown the greatest interest in the National Socialist movement, and seeks to obtain, through his agents, a variety of material on the entire organization of our party. One point is especially important for him: how our party leadership is able to maintain the strictest discipline among its many followers, and to take harsh measures against possible dissidents or enemies of the party, so that these measures are fully successful.[21]

By December 1932 the information Chiang received led him to send two emissaries 'on a secret mission' to Berlin to personally acquaint themselves with the organization and leadership of the NSDAP. It is likely that they met with Hermann Goering, then Reichstag President, in late December.[22]

Chiang's requests for information on Nazism grew following Hitler's appointment as Chancellor, and were funneled to Bauer by Liang Ing-wen, the former chief of the Trade Department in Berlin who had become a secretary to Chiang. Chiang's requests concerned popular military education, sport, and forms of national service by youth. Bauer met all requests, and added his own favorable reportage on Nazi rule: "You cannot imagine ... how greatly things have turned for the better .... "[23]

Debates over dictatorship.

Chiang's requests to Ernst Bauer reflected a concern felt both in and out of government by 1933: that the party and government, in addition to efforts in the military and economic realms, had to increase dramatically its political control

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[21] BA, Nachlaß Bauer, no. 62, 229-230, E. Bauer to Paul Hinkler (head of NSDAP delegation in the Reichstag), 3 Aug. 1932.

[22] Ibid., E. Bauer to Goering, 19 Dec. 1932.

[23] Ibid., 185, E. Bauer to Liang Ing-wen, 20 Aug. 1934. See also 224b, Liang to Bauer, 11 Sep. 1934; 163, Liang to Bauer, 19 Dec. 1933; 171, Bauer to Liang, 15 Mar. 1934; 175, Bauer to Liang, 13 Apr. 1934; 177, Liang to Bauer, 17 Apr. 1934; 179, Bauer to Liang, 27 Apr. 1934.

over the nation if China was to become a modern state capable of resisting Japan, which had seized Manchuria in 1931. Chiang's own power had certainly been increased by a government reorganization in 1932, but he led a factionalized party that appeared to have lost the revolutionary zeal of its early years. Chiang told assembled military leaders in the autumn of 1933 that "the most important task is to rejuvenate our already dead revolutionary spirit!"[24] In berating the Kuomintang as a "lifeless skeleton," Chiang praised in comparison the "rising political parties in Western countries," whose revolutionary spirit had guided them to total control of their nations.[25] Chiang's was only one in a growing chorus of voices berating the Kuomintang and raising the question of whether China, like Germany and other nations, would best be served by a stronger, dictatorial government.

The issues were laid out most clearly by leading intellectuals. The eminent political scientist Ch'ien Tuan-sheng, who as late as 1932-33 had authored a book praising Weimar democracy, came out in 1934 for a "government of concentrated powers" *(chi-ch'üan cheng-fu)*. He declared that the triumph of Nazism, together with that of fascism in Italy and Communism in the Soviet Union, had "dealt fatal blows to democracy, whose weaknesses have been starkly exposed."[26] In this he was joined by Ch'en Chih-mai, a Columbia Ph.D., who endorsed a government of concentrated powers as more competent and more efficient for the 'current situation.'[27] Ch'en's conceptions were close to those of China's most prominent scientist, the geologist Ting Wen-chiang, who called for a 'new model,' technocratic dictatorship, arguing that a strong leader who governed for the good of the nation could make most effective use of China's trained elite.[28] The basic impetus behind such calls for dictatorship was

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[24] Chiang Kai-shek, *Lu-shan hsün-lien chi* (Collected Speeches on training) given at Lu-shan, Yangmingshan, 1950, I, 5.

[25] Cited in "Observations" (editorial), *People's Tribune* 12, no. 5, (1 Mar. 1936), 302.

[26] Ch'ien Tuan-sheng, "Min-chu cheng-chih hu? Chi-ch'üan cheng-chih hu?" (Democracy or the totalitarian state?), TFTC 31, no. 1 (Jan. 1934), 18ff.; see also Chester C. Tan, *Chinese Political Thought in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1971), 240; and Lloyd Eastman, *Abortive Revolution: China Under Nationalist Rule, 1927-1937* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974), 147.

[27] Ch'en Chih-mai, "Lun cheng-chih t'an-wu" (On governmental corruption), TLPL, no. 184 (5 Jan. 1936), 2-6; Idem., "Tsai lun cheng-chih te she-ch-i" (Once again on the planning of a political system), TLPL, no. 204 (14 June 1936), 4.

[28] Cf. Charlotte Furth, *Ting Wen-chiang: Science and China's New Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), 216-218.

phrased best in late 1933 by Chiang T'ing-fu, then a historian at Tsinghua University. In supporting his own unique call for a centralizing autocracy modelled on those of early modern Europe, Chiang struck a distinctly modern note:

> We want to get things done. We want to build roads, control rivers, construct iron foundries, build more and better schools .... We shall support a person who gets things done; we shall idolize him.[29]

The strength of the intellectual movement espousing dictatorship is perhaps best measured by the weak defense given the concept of democracy, for which Kuomintang's 'tutelage' was supposedly preparing the nation. The philosopher Hu Shih was one of democracy's few consistent supporters. But China's best-known intellectual argued from weak premises. He shared with his critics a belief that the mass of Chinese were politically "ignorant and incapable." He saw that, however, as a cause not for dictatorship but rather for a "government of the kindergarten," that is, democracy. Hu argued that dictatorship required a high degree of intelligence and technological expertise to be successful, traits in which China was "remarkably lacking." Since he saw no outstanding individual capable of becoming a dictator, the "assemblage of mediocrity" that made up the nation would inevitably be led by mediocre men, for whom the less taxing system of republicanism was more suited.[30] This was damning democracy with faint praise indeed, and was, by 1935, a voice crying in the wilderness.

Of the writers whose arguments filled the pages of such prestigious journals such as *Tu-li p'ing-lun* (Independent Critic), *Kuo-wen chou-pao* (National News Weekly) and *Tung-fang tsa-chih* (Eastern Miscellany), only Ch'ien Tuan-sheng clearly called for emulation of European totalitarianism. But their beliefs encouraged and reflected an intellectual milieu in which the central question was not 'whether dictatorship' but 'what kind of dictatorship?' Chang Wei-pin summed up the view of many. The choice, he wrote in June 1935, was no longer

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[29] Chiang T'ing-fu, "Min-tsu fu-hsing te i-t'iao-chien" (One condition for restoring the nation), KWCP 11, no. 28 (17 Jul. 1934); idem., "Ko-ming yü chuan-chih" (Revolution and despotism), TLPL, no. 80 (10 Dec. 1933), 2-5.

[30] Hu Shih, "Do We Need or Want a Dictatorship?" *People's Tribune* 8, no. 2 (16 June 1935), 92-93; idem., "Tsai lun chien-kuo yü chuan-chih" (Again on national construction and dictatorship), TLPL, no. 82 (24 Dec. 1933).

between dictatorship and democracy, but between dictatorship and divisiveness; for the opposite of one-man rule *(tu-ts'ai)* was the rule of many *(to-ts'ai)* with local, contending centers of power (*k'o-chü*).[31]

The debate among leading intellectuals was at times highly theoretical. But it echoed arguments on the same subject by men with more immediate political concerns and responsibilities. The question of whether China could or should follow the German example in erecting a 'government of concentrated powers' was a major topic of discussion within various party factions whose very divisiveness was part of the Kuomintang's problem.

Chiang Kai-shek's regime was composed of a number of factions, all of which were tied to him by personal or client relationships. They performed different services in helping to consolidate his control and had fairly distinctive – although not always internally consistent – ideological perspectives. While there was much fluidity in clique membership, clique allegiances constituted – for Chinese of the 1930s as for historians today – an important method of placing individuals in the political spectrum.[32]

Three major factions were beholden to Chiang. The Whampoa or military faction dated from the time when he was Commandant of the Whampoa Military Academy in Canton. It provided the nucleus of his original personal military support, controlled political education in the armed forces, and, through the clandestine Blue Shirt Society, performed tasks of intelligence, indoctrination, and political terror.[33] Second, the C. C. or Organization Clique, named perhaps for the brothers Ch'en Li-fu and Ch'en Kuo-fu, controlled party organization and patronage. Its leading members shared a belief in 'national psychological reconstruction,' through reliance on traditional morality as a foundation and 'propellant force' for modernization. The Ch'en brothers most actively promoted the

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[31] Chang Wei-pin, "Chung-kuo hsien chieh-tuan so hsü-yao te cheng-chih hsing-t'ai" (The political form needed by China in the present stage), KWCP 12, no. 21 (24 June 1935).

[32] Committee on International and Regional Studies, Harvard University, ed., *Biographies of Kuomintang Leaders* (1945-46), Foreword, p. 1. This is a translation of a confidential publication issued by the Chinese Party to members containing information on leading KMT personnel. Cf. Hsi-sheng Ch'i, *Warlord Politics in China* (Stanford, 1976), ch. 1; and Andrew Nathan, *Peking Politics* (Berkeley, 1976), Introduction, Ch. 1.

[33] Good general discussions on the Blue Shirts are found in Eastman, *Abortive Revolution*, 31-84; Hung-mao Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China* (Stanford, 1972), 52-65. An inside account is Ch'en Shao-hsiao (Ch'en Fan), *Hei-wang lu* (Record of the Black Net, Hong Kong, 1966). The most detailed work now on the Blue Shirts is Maria Hsia Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society: Fascism and Developmental Nationalism* (Berkeley: Center for Chinese Studies, 1985).

revival of the cult of Confucius during the Nanking period.[34] Third came the so-called Political Study Clique, a loose grouping of politicians, bureaucrats, scholars and technocrats, held together by client relationships with each other and to Chiang Kai-shek. At the risk of over-generalization, its members may be called elitist, often Western-trained problem-solvers, less organized and influential than other factions, but on whose integrity and expertise Chiang relied for personal diplomatic missions and problems of economic development.[35] Outside of Chiang's direct control stood two other Kuomintang factions, led by rival claimants to the legacy of Sun Yat-sen: the Reorganization Clique of Wang Ching-wei, which was still a part of the Nanking government, and a less well-defined grouping around Hu Han-min, who had associated himself with the virtually autonomous Southwest Political Council of Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces.

The views of all these groups on dictatorship, 'fascism,' and particularly German National Socialism may be gathered from arguments made in journals which were associated with factions (or edited by leading members) and which were seen, at least in a general sense, to convey their respective outlooks.

The Whampoa Clique and the Blue Shirts.

From the mid-1920s when Chiang Kai-shek commanded the Whampoa Academy, its staff members and graduates who went on to achieve government or military posts counted among his most loyal supporters. What was called the Whampoa Clique had its primary source of strength in the military. With the organization of the Blue Shirt Society, however, this group also sought to expand its influence to the party and nation at large.

The suggestion for the corps apparently came from Liu Chien-chün, secretary to War Minister Ho Ying-ch'in. Liu envisaged an elite group within the party which would 'create the party's soul.' The corps would be staffed by committed 'revolutionaries,' idealists who could be counted on for strict loyalty

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[34] See Lloyd Eastman, "The Kuomintang in the 1930s," in Charlotte Furth, ed., *The Limits of Change: Essays on Conservative Alternatives in Republican China* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), 199; also, Hung-mao Tien, *Government and Politics*, 47-52.

[35] Howard L. Boorman, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China* (New York, 1967), II, 191; Hung-mao Tien, *Government and Politics*, 67-68. Generally, on all cliques see Committee on International and Regional Studies, Harvard University, ed., *Biographies of Kuomintang Leaders*, Foreword.

to the Leader.[36] Members swore allegiance to Chiang and the organization in a manner more like that of a traditional secret society than a modern political group. Recruiting procedures were strict, and by 1935 membership was less than 14.000, divided into a network of branches and small units, all secret, which met weekly. Blue Shirt activities included infiltration and indoctrination of Kuomintang party cells, student groups, and of armies of regional militarists; propaganda in regions recently taken from the communists; and a wide range of intelligence, espionage, and terrorist activities.[37] Their base of power remained in the central military organizations however, which Blue Shirt leaders controlled as a result of Chiang Kai-shek's hold over the National Military Council.[38]

Blue Shirt beliefs were a mixture of nationalism, militarism, and, in the broadest sense, 'national socialism' tempered by vulgar Marxism. They opposed capitalism, materialism, individualism, democracy and communism. They sought a unanimity of national beliefs and activities, forged by the 'leadership principle' from top to bottom, the 'militarization' of education, the nationalization of industry, and (interestingly enough) the collectivization of agriculture.[39]

Liu Chien-chün once wrote admiringly of Mussolini, Kemal, and Hitler, all of whom had risen to power on what he called a 'national socialist' platform. But on the question of whether China could import their successful formula, Liu hedged: "We must stick resolutely to the standpoint of the nation (*min-tsu*) ... China is still China."[40] Others associated with the movement were less hesitant, however, and called for open emulation of European fascism. As one editorialist

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[36] Liu Chien-chün, "Kung-hsien i-tien cheng-li pen-tang te i-chien" (Presenting some ideas on the reform of our party), in his *Fu-hsing chung-kuo ko-ming chih lu* (The path of reviving the Chinese revolution, Canton, 1934), 57-112.

[37] Hung-mao Tien, *Government and Politics*, 57-59; Eastman, *Abortive Revolution*, 64-77.

[38] Hung-mao Tien, *Government and Politics*, 61.

[39] Eastman, *Abortive Revolution*, 47-52. For a comprehensive discussion of Blue Shirt ideology see Maria Hsia Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society*.

[40] Liu Chien-chün, "Fu-hsing Chung-kuo ko-ming chih lu" (The path of reviving the Chinese revolution), in Liu, *Fu-hsing chung-kuo ko-ming*, 8, 10.

wrote, "fascism is the only tool of self-salvation of nations on the brink of destruction ... China cannot but imitate the fascist spirit of ... Italy and Germany."[41]

Mirroring the arguments of better known writers, publicists for the Blue Shirt cause offered pseudo-historical explanations of why dictatorship was a necessity. To one author writing in the Blue Shirt journal *Ch'ien-t'u* (The Future), democracy was the political reflection of an earlier, free-market stage of capitalism. Such competition eventually gave way to cartelization and monopoly which rendered society ungovernable by the chaotic political competition of parliamentarianism. Eventually a Hitler would arise to 'cut through the weeds and jungle' of democracy, and give the nation centralized political authority consonant with its centralized economic structure. While the author could not argue that Chinese capitalism had developed so far as to 'naturally' give birth to dictatorship, China's symptoms, he claimed, were similar to those of a state in the last throes of democracy: economic, political, and cultural confusion. Thus the need for dictatorship. "It is a new age, and dictatorship is the method of progress ... of the age."[42]

The military strain of obedience and action that ran through the Blue Shirt movement made its members contemptuous of traditional Chinese customs and values that seemed unsuited to the 'new age.'[43] This contempt is also evident in the wish to transport, in a mechanistic fashion, the 'lessons' of European totalitarianism to China. To one writer in a Blue Shirt journal, history was made by neither great movements nor great men, but by 'central idols' who owed their position as much to theatrics as to talent. The 'Son of Heaven' had ruled the Chinese empire not because he personally had 'any wonderful qualities,' but because he had become an idol adored by the masses. China had forgotten this lesson, which was now being practiced in Italy and Germany. The author queried: "Among the fascists in Italy, how many really know [Mussolini's] abilities? ... They worship not the man but his image, his spirit." Hitler, Stalin,

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[41] "Kuo-min-tang yü fa-hsi-ssu-t'i yün-tung" (The Kuomintang and fascist movements), SHHW 4, (24 Aug. 1933), 274; cf. also Eastman, *Abortive Revolution*, 41.

[42] I Jen, "Min-chu yü tu-ts'ai" (Democracy and dictatorship), *Ch'ien-t'u* 1, no. 8 (Aug. 1933), 1-4.

[43] A good example is Liang Yuan-tung, "Chung-kuo min-tsu chih t'e-tien" (Special qualities of the Chinese race), *Ch'ien-t'u* 1, no. 4 (1 April 1933).

and Kemal were the same. For China then, the creation of a new central idol was the precondition for unity and strength. "We must not disguise that we demand China's Mussolini, China's Hitler, China's Stalin!"[44]

Journals connected with the Blue Shirt movement fostered a vision of National Socialist Germany consonant with their belief in a 'fascist revival.' In the *She-hui hsin-wen* (Society Mercury), Hitler and his followers were introduced in early 1933 as saviors of the land, restorers of the economy, teachers and disciplinarians of the German people, and propagators of national spirit; in general, "doing whatever is needed to make a weak country strong."[45] If that meant oppressing the Jews and suspending individual freedoms, then so be it. The Berlin correspondent of *She-hui hsin-wen* noted with admiration that "If any speech or action is injurious to the country ... the government will intervene, and force the individual to return to the united direction taken by the state and the German masses as a whole."[46]

In April 1933, the journal *Ch'ien-t'u* reported Hitler's seizure of power as the response to international political and economic oppression, and predicted that his success presaged the fascisization of all Europe. In later issues, *Ch'ien-t'u* translated reports of the improved conditions of the German working classes under National Socialism, and reported German progress in issues devoted almost exclusively to European fascism. In foreign policy, the editors of *Ch'ien-t'u* found Hitler 'an extraordinary person' (*kuai-chieh*) around whose every word the actions and policies of other nations revolved; he was all the greater because of his skillful use of foreign policy in effecting domestic consolidation and restoring the pride of the German people.[47] Hitler, another editorial claimed, was

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[44] "Tsu-chih yü ling-shou" (Organization and the leader) , editorial, SHHW 3, no. 16 (18 May 1933), 242-243.

[45] Hsü Ssu-pang, "Te-kuo chih fa-hsi-ssu-t'i yü Hsi-t'e-le" (German fascism and Hitler), SHHW 3, no. 15 (15 May 1933), 235-236.

[46] Hsü Ssu-pang, "Te-kuo cheng-wen chung-chung" (Varied news on German politics), SHHW 3, no. 23 (9 June 1933), 362-363; cf. also the continuation in no. 24 (12 June 1933), 378-379.

[47] Cf. Chang Mu-lin, trans., "Te-kuo lao-tung chuang-t'ai yü kung-yeh sheng-ch'an te ching-ch'i" (The condition of German labor and the boom in German industry), *Ch'ien-t'u* 1, no. 10 (Oct. 1933); for further translations on fascism see 1, nos. 11, 12 (Nov., Dec., 1933); `Chün,' "Hsi-to-le wai-chiao hsüan-yen yü Ou-chou cheng-chü" (Hitler's foreign policy speech and the political situation in Europe), *Ch'ien-t'u* 3, no. 6 (June 1935).

a 'hero' to Germans, who had overcome all difficulties and all lesser men. "Whatever the occasion, he governs men, rather than being governed by them."[48]

The German example was repeatedly used by the Blue Shirts to buttress their arguments for radical change in China. Germany's success, wrote Liu Ping-li, the editor of *Ch'ien-t'u*, could give China a model (*hsiao-fa*) to follow, even though objective circumstances in the two countries were different.[49] To Sun Po-chien, another *Ch'ien-t'u* author, the German example showed clearly the interrelationship between dictatorship, central planning, and economic recovery.[50] Elsewhere, Sun noted that the NSDAP had mastered the skills of 'revolutionary mass organization,' skills which could be profitably applied in China.[51] Still others saw in Nazi racial policies a promising and needed direction for a resurgent people.[52] Finally, if somewhat ironically for the anti-democratic Blue Shirts, Germany could be viewed as a nation where the needs of the individual were reconciled with those of the nation: for had not the German people *voted* for a powerful dictatorial government?[53]

In the area of Chinese military education, a favorable image of Germany and fascism was, for all practical purposes, part of the curriculum. This was only partly due to German military instruction at the central military institutions, since the advisers were largely confined to the technical sphere and among them only

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[48] "Te-kuo kuo-min chih t'e-shu hsing-chih" (The special properties of the German people), *Ch'ien-t'u* 3, no. 6 (June 1935).

[49] Liu Ping-li, "Min-tsu fu-hsing te i-i" (The meaning of the revival of the race), *Ch'ien-t'u* 1, no. 6 (June 1933), 4; see also his "Min-tsu t'u-ts'un te chi-pen t'iao-chien" (Some basic conditions for planning the survival of the race), *Ch'ien-t'u* 1, no. 8 (Aug. 1933).

[50] Sun Po-chien, "T'ung-chih cheng-ts'e" (Policies of control), *Ch'ien-t'u* 1, no. 11 (Nov. 1933), 3.

[51] Sun Po-chien, "Chin-jih te Chung-kuo ko-ming" (The Chinese revolution of today), *Ch'ien-t'u* 1, no. 11 (Nov. 1933), 2.

[52] Ch'en P'u, "Min-tsu fu-hsing yü Chung-kuo cheng-chih" (The revival of the race and Chinese politics), *Ch'ien-t'u* 3, no. 6 (June 1935), 62; Wei Chü-hsien, "Chung-kuo min-tsu ch'ien-t'u chih shih te k'ao-ch'a" (An investigation of the annals of the future of the Chinese race), *Ch'ien-t'u* 1, no. 10 (Oct. 1933), 17-18.

[53] Ch'en P'u, "Min-tsu fu-hsing yü Chung-kuo cheng-chih."

a few National Socialists could be found even after 1933. While some, such as General Fritz Lindemann, taught courses on the 'Grundlagen der Politik,' political instruction was essentially a Chinese preserve.[54]

Most important, it was a Blue Shirt preserve. The Office of Party Affairs within the Military of the Kuomintang Central Organization Department (*Kuo-min-tang chung-yang tsu-chih-pu chün-tui tang-wu-ch'u*) was the central organ in this effort, controlling all branches of military education, selecting all local instructors and secretaries. This organization did not take its orders from the party Organization Departments controlled by the C. C. faction, but rather from the *Fu-hsing she* (Revival Society), another appellation for the Blue Shirts.[55] Control of military education and publications was further assured by the fact that General Ho Chung-han, a "dominant figure in the Blue Shirt oligarchy,"[56] headed the Central Political Training Office, while the 'Special Task Force' (*pieh-tung-tui*) of K'ang Tse, another prominent Blue Shirt, had among its duties political propaganda within the services.[57]

One of the major concerns of *Huang-p'u yueh-k'an* (Whampoa Monthly), the journal of the Central Military Academy at Nanking, was to "introduce the political, economic, and military systems of other countries." Under 'political systems,' it treated the following topics: 'Democracy and Dictatorship,' 'Dictatorship and the Leader,' 'The Political Thought of fascism,' 'The Political Organs of fascism,' 'Dictatorial Government under Mussolini,' 'German Dictatorship under Hitler,' and 'Dictatorial government and China.'[58] The point of view was clear. Through fascism, one author wrote, a nation could quickly 'emerge from misery,' militarized and united.[59]

The journal of the Central Air Academy offered similar fare. Its readers

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[54] Fritz Lindemann, *Im Dienste Chinas*, (Peking, 1940), 161.

[55] Ch'en Shao-hsiao, *Hei-wang lu*, 41.

[56] Eastman, *Abortive Revolution*, 41.

[57] Ch'en Shao-hsiao, *Hei-wang lu*, 48.

[58] "Huang-p'u yueh-k'an yü-ting pien-chi" (Whampoa Monthly sets down editorial plan), HPYK 4, no. 5 (15 Nov. 1935), inside cover.

[59] Ma Hsing-yeh, "Fa-hsi-ssu-t'i I-ta-li chih hsin wu-li" (The new military power of Fascist Italy), HPYK 4, no. 5 (15 Nov. 1935), 16.

were provided details of how the Nazi Party had 'overcome the class struggle,' and were often given the German version of international incidents, such as the march into the Rhineland in 1936.[60]

Military modernization was a central concern of the Chinese military academies, and their journals focused in detail on the qualitative and quantitative growth of the German military establishment during the 1930s. But here too the political lesson was not lost; only a state with strong and unquestioned central leadership could effectively 'control' the economy for national defense purposes and insure the needed spirit of sacrifice.[61]

The C. C. Clique.

No other governmental group matched the Blue Shirts and the Whampoa faction in their adulation of European fascism, and none shared their desire for such a radical solution to China's problems. Their very existence, and attempted infiltration of party organs was a threat, for example, to the C. C., or Organization Clique, which was working in a more conservative fashion to, as Hung-mao Tien has put it, "turn the Kuomintang into Chiang Kai-shek's effective power vehicle."[62]

The C. C. Clique did not allow admiration of fascism to become a Blue Shirt monopoly. In his capacity as Consul-General at Shanghai, the Nazi and former adviser to Chiang Kai-shek Hermann Kriebel reported to Berlin on the "proliferation of the fascist idea" in China. In his reports of autumn 1934 Kriebel concentrated on the friction between the Chinese Culture Study Society (*Chung-kuo wen-hua hsueh-hui*), which was a Blue Shirt front group under the leadership of Teng Wen-i, and the Association for the Cultural Construction of China (*Chung-kuo wen-hua chien-she hsieh-hui*), a rival group led by Wu Hsing-ya,

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[60] 'Chih Ch'ing', "Kuo-shih-tang `kuo-min ko-ming' chih cheng-t'i" (The foundation of the "popular revolution" of the Nazi party), *K'ung-chün* no. 82 (17 June 1934), 13; "Fa-hsi-ssu-t'i te k'ao-ch'a" (Investigation of fascism), *K'ung-chün* no. 183 (28 July 1936); Shen Min-chiu, "Te-kuo ti-erh-tz'u chan-tan hsüan-yen yü Ou-chou chih hsin chü-shih" (Germany's second bombastic pronouncement and the new situation in Europe), *K'ung-chün* no. 176 (16 Apr. 1936), 39-40.

[61] 'Ssu Ch'ing,' "Te-kuo chung-cheng chün-pei chi ch'i t'ung-chih ching-chi" (German rearmament and its controlled economy), HPYK 3, no. 4 (15 June 1935); `Hsi Ling,' "Chung-kuo chan-shih kung-yeh t'ung-chih lun" (On the control of Chinese industry in wartime), HPYK 3, no. 5 (15 July 1935); `Te Heng,' "T'ung-chih ching-chi yü Chung-kuo" (Controlled economy and China), *K'ung-chün*, no. 108 (30 Dec. 1934).

[62] Hung-mao Tien, *Government* and Politics, 52; see also Jürgen Domes, *Vertagte Revolution: Die Politik der Kuomintang in China, 1923-1937* (Berlin, 1969), 596-597.

P'an Kung-chan and Wu K'ai-hsien, government officials associated with the C. C. Clique at Shanghai.[63] With branches in most major cities, these groups, joined by another Blue Shirt front, the China Cultural Association (*Chung-kuo wen-hua hsieh-hui*), fought bitterly over territory and recruits and carried their appeals directly to Chiang Kai-shek. The guiding force behind the C. C. association for the Cultural Construction of China was, moreover, none other than the C. C. Clique's dominant figure, Ch'en Li-fu.[64]

Like the Blue Shirts, Ch'en Li-fu was concerned with problems of order and control. He sent a party commission to Europe to investigate fascist party organization and edited its study of the ruling parties of Germany, Italy, and Turkey which gave particularly high marks to NSDAP organization, Leadership Principle, and recruitment of youth.[65] Among the original twenty members of the C. C. faction were several other professed admirers of the 'New Germany.' Chu Chia-hua, who had first introduced German advisers to Chiang Kai-shek in 1927 (and who would head the Kuomintang Organization Department in 1939-44), was one. Ch'eng T'ien-fang, who became Ambassador to Germany and called for China to "follow the German example," was another.[66] Unlike the Blue Shirts, however, the aspect of German National Socialism perhaps most admired by the C. C. was its 'national' character. The German example, in its harkening back to *völkisch* and Germanic ideology, could show that regeneration was rooted in a people's cultural heritage.

Although the C. C. faction was without a strict ideological structure, it is still fair to say that leading members shared with Ch'en Li-fu a belief that the regeneration of Chinese society could best take place by relying on traditional morality as a tool for change; for if the Chinese people could again take pride in their past glory, they might overcome feelings of national inferiority which hampered progress. Self-confidence and belief in a glorious past – a past which the Blue Shirts largely disdained – would allow China to adopt the newest and

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[63] PA, Abt. IV OA, Po. 29 Chi., Kriebel (Shanghai) to AA, 24 Sep. 1934; Trautmann (Peking) to AA, 4 Oct. 1934; Behrens (Shanghai) to Peking, 31 Jan. 1935.

[64] Ch'en Shao-hsiao, *Hei-wang lu*, 42-43, 45-46; PA, Abt. IV OA, Po. 29 Chi., Kriebel (Shanghai) to AA, 24 Sep. 1934.

[65] Chang Ch'ung, Lo Hsueh-lien, Chang Pi-hai, Hsü Shao-ti, *I-Te-T'u fang-wen lu* (Records of an official visit to Italy, Germany, and Turkey), ed. Ch'en Li-fu (Nanking, 1935), 2 vols.

[66] Hatano Ken'ichi, *Chugoku Kokuminto tsushi* (General history of the Chinese Kuomintang, Tokyo, 1943), 461-462; cf. Hung-mao Tien, *Government and Politics*, 200. Ch'eng T'ien-fang's statement is found in *Peiping Chronicle*, 5 July 1935.

best of the West from a position of psychological strength. The branches of Ch'en's Association for the Cultural Construction of China probably sought, in competing with the Blue Shirts, to merge study of new political ideas and techniques with a culturalist appreciation of the Chinese heritage.

Shao Yuan-ch'ung, also one of the original twenty members of the C. C. and confidential secretary to Chiang Kai-shek, shared this perspective. Shao opposed Western democracy and individualism and emphasized the need for 'national psychological reconstruction' (*hsin-li chien-she*) as the prerequisite for renewal.[67] His journal, *Chien-kuo yueh-k'an* (Reconstruction Monthly), was an early and strong admirer of fascist reconstruction in Europe. The rise of fascist movements abroad, wrote one contributor, was the result of the failure of 'false democracy' and communism to fulfill man's inner purpose. The great distinguishing feature of fascism was that it gathered together the strength, power, and will of a people and mobilized their common spirit for reform and reconstruction.[68]

During the years from 1933 to 1936, *Chien-kuo yueh-k'an* offered specific discussions on how the German spirit of regeneration had been translated into policy under the National Socialist regime: in the economy, in political dictatorship; in civil service reform; and in military preparations.[69] The valuable lesson however was that such reconstruction took place within a *national* context, with national roots. The very title of the 'Third Reich' harkened back to Germany's medieval past. There were, wrote Ch'eng Shih-kan, two types of fascism: the imperialist and the nationalist varieties. Japan fell into the first group and Germany into the second. The goals of the second type were to restore a nation's will, independence, and strength and then to 'energetically reconstruct

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[67] Cf. Shao Yuan-ch'ung,. "Hsin-li chien-she lun" (On Psychological Reconstruction), CKYK 5, no. 4 (Aug. 1931); idem., "Ko-jen-chu-i yü ssu-hsiang kai-tsao" (Individualism and thought reform), CKYK 8, no. 5 (May 1933).

[68] Ch'eng Shih-kang, "Lun fa-hsi-ssu-t'i te ch'i-yuan chi ch'i ch'ien-t'u" (On the origins of fascism and its future), CKYK 7, no.5 (Oct. 1932).

[69] Shou Ch'ang, "Te-kuo fu-hsing yün-tung hsia te ching-chi shih-k'uang" (The real economic situation of the German recovery movement), CKYK 11, no. 6 (Dec. 1934); Chiang Shao-yen, "Te-i-chih te cheng-tang yü tu-ts'ai chih-tu te yu-lai" (German political parties and the origins of the dictatorial system), CKYK 9, no. 6 (Dec. 1933); Miao Chung-i, "Te-kuo chih ching-chi cheng-ts'e" (German economic policy), CKYK 14, no. 3 (Mar. 1936); Chu Shih-k'ang, "Te-kuo chih kung-wu-yuan pao-hsien" (German civil servants' insurance), CKYK 11, no. 5 (Nov. 1934); Hu Shao-mi, "Tsui-chin Te-kuo te chün-pei kai-k'uang" (The recent situation of German rearmament), CM 15, no. 5 (Nov. 1936).

the country.' Moreover, it was an error to see the opposition of German-style fascism to democracy as 'reactionary'; it was rather the necessary stage for the realization of 'true democracy,' that is, national freedom.[70]

The Political Study Clique.

Leading members of the Political Study faction had a very different perspective on German fascism and its relevance to China. As a growing number of clique members came to hold high government positions in the mid-1930s, several had broad dealings in Sino-German relations. As Minister of Railways Chang Chia-ao negotiated major railroad contracts with the German firm of Otto Wolff; as Secretary-General of both the Executive Yuan and the National Resources Commission, which oversaw state industry, Weng Wen-hao completed the complex Sino-German barter and credit agreements of the mid-1930s; and in this he had the support of Chiang T'ing-fu, who served after December 1935 as head of the Political Affairs Bureau in the Executive Yuan. In all of these cases the motives for seeking German cooperation were pragmatic, not ideological, and pragmatism (in the general sense) was perhaps the key trait of the Political Study group.

In writings associated with members of this faction, Nazism received a favorable press less because fascism was deemed to be inherently superior to other systems, but because it seemed to meet the needs of the moment. Huang Fu, a leading Kuomintang statesman, was an acknowledged leader of the faction, and the journal of his New China Reconstruction Society, *Fu-hsing yueh-k'an* (Renaissance Monthly) had as its focus the experiences of other nations in 'reconstruction.' After January 1933 this journal regarded the Nazi regime as a further step, not a break, in the continuing process of German revival. For contributors to *Fu-hsing yueh-k'an*, Nazism was esteemed insofar as it alleviated unemployment and increased production. By 1934 the journal was reporting in detail, and usually favorably, on specific actions of the Third Reich concerning unemployment, labor management, mandatory labor service, and military matters such as air defense-areas in which Germany was seen as a leader from whom China could learn.[71]

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[70] Ch'eng Shih-kang, "Lun fa-hsi-ssu-t'i."

[71] Cheng Tu-pu, "Te-kuo lao-tung t'ung-chih te hsien-shih" (The present situation of the regulation of German labor), FHYK 4, no. 11 (July 1936); Wu Wen-ying, "Hsi-t'e-le chih chiu-chi shih-yeh cheng-ts'e" (Hitler's policies for alleviating unemployment), FHYK 4, no. 11 (July 1936); Huai Ya, "Te-kuo te lao-tung fu-i chih-tu" (The organization of German labor service), FHYK 5, no. 9 (May 1937); Yeh Le-ch'ün, "Hsi-t'e-le t'ung-chih hsia chih ch'i-yeh chih-tu" (The organization of German business under Hitler's rule), FHYK 4, no. 10 (Oct.

Aside from an occasional attack on 'individualism,'[72] *Fu-hsing yueh-klan* was careful to avoid involvement in the debate on political dictatorship. But economic dictatorship was another matter, and a number of authors argued the merits of studying the 'fascist economy of controls,' the technical aspects of planning an economy.[73] As a thorough account of Nazi policy toward trusts and cartels made clear, the problems facing German economic planners were much different from those facing China. Yet it was stressed that the basic element of government control of economic growth could indeed benefit China in the 'preparatory work' for successful industrialization: mechanization, standardization of goods, and the gearing of productive activities to the national interest. It was further argued that the nations from which one could learn most in this regard were not those, such as the Soviet Union, who practiced a 'planned economy' (*chi-hua ching-chi*) with full state control over production, but those with a somewhat less rigid 'controlled' or 'directed economy' (*t'ung-chih ching-chi*), which included private enterprise, of which Nazi Germany was a prime example.[74]

Wang Ching-wei's Reorganization faction.

The extent of favorable opinion in China toward new, authoritarian systems in the 1930s may be gauged from the stance taken by the Reorganization faction (*kai-tsu p'ai*) headed by Wang Ching-wei. Wang Ching-wei held himself to be the heir of Sun Yat-sen's 'democratic' legacy. He had been identified with the left wing of the party in 1927, and cooperated with Chiang Kai-shek most uneasily

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1935); "Te-kuo cheng-fu chih-tao hsia te min-chien fang-k'ung" (Anti-aircraft activities among the people under the guidance of the German government), FHYK 2, No. 12 (Aug. 1934); Chang Su-min, "Te-kuo `lai-ch'ih' yün-tung chih chien-t'ao" (A review of the German "Nazi" movement), FHYK 2, no. 6 (Feb. 1934).

[72] Hu Shan-heng, "Ko-jen-chu-i ssu-hsiang chih shan-pien yü mo-lo" (The changes and decline of individualist thought), FHYK 2, no. 8 (Apr. 1934).

[73] For example, Cheng Tu-pu, "Fa-hsi-ssu t'ung-chih ching-chi te jen-shih" (Knowledge of the controlled economics of fascism), FM 2, no. 7 (Mar. 1934).

[74] Yeh Le-ch'ün, "Hsi-t'e-le t'ung-chih hsia chih ch'i-yeh chih-tu"; Yin Nan, "T'ung-chih ching-chi tsai Chung-kuo" (Controlled economy in China), FHYK 2, no. 5 (Jan. 1934); Cheng Tu-pu, "Su-o chi-hua ching-chi te p'i-p'an" (A critique of the planned economy of the Soviet Union), FHYK 2, no. 6 (Feb. 1934); Chang Su-min, "I-chiu-san-san-nien Ying-Mei chih t'ung-chih ching-chi yün-tung" (The movement for a controlled economy in England and America in 1933), FHYK 2, no. 5 (Jan. 1934); idem., "T'ung-chih ching-chi yü chi-hua ching-chi" (Planned economy and controlled economy), FHYK 1, no. 12 (Aug. 1933).

after 1931. In his position as head of the Executive Yuan, Wang was nominally in charge of the government at Nanking, although real power resided in Chiang's Military Commission.

Wang saw himself as a progressive force in the Nanking government, and publicly attacked the movement for dictatorship.[75] But following a lengthy stay in Germany in 1936, he too became impressed by the apparent fruits of fascism in Europe: "Several advanced countries have already expanded their national vitality and augmented their people's strength, and are no longer afraid of foreign aggression."[76] A major publicist of the Wang Ching-wei clique, T'ang Leang-li, wrote in 1937: "Whatever we may think about fascist and Nazi methods and policies, we must recognize the fact that their leaders have secured the enthusiastic support of their respective nations." While "foolish, unwise, and even cruel things" may have been done in accomplishing the "tremendous change in the political outlook of the German and Italian people," it was nonetheless clear to T'ang that Hitler and Mussolini had done "more in a few years than many countries have done in decades." Although T'ang Leang-li emphasized that he was not calling for Chinese fascism, there was an overriding need in China for 'national discipline,' by compulsion if necessary.[77]

T'ang Leang-li provided space in his *People's Tribune* for pro-Nazi commentary that had a different emphasis from that in other journals, stressing the 'socialist' character of National Socialism. This was an approach more compatible with Wang Ching-wei's espousal of 'state capitalism,' and the Reorganizationists' oft-stated concern for social and economic change.[78] "We in China have heard," wrote Shih Shao-pei, "too much about the 'national' and other flagwaving activities of the Nazis, and not enough about the 'socialist' work they are doing." Shih was impressed with reports of improving working conditions in German factories, *Kraft durch Freude* vacations, better employer-employee relations, public service work camps, and the 'socialist' activity of youth. It was implied that the NSDAP's 'socialism' bore a resemblance to Sun Yat-sen's

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[75] See text of his circular telegram of 27 Nov. 1934 in Hu Shih, "Do We Need or Want a Dictatorship?" *People's Tribune* 8, no. 2 (16 June 1935), 89.

[76] Wang Ching-wei, "State Capitalism in Major Industries," *People's Tribune* 17, no. 4 (16 May 1937), 206.

[77] T'ang Leang-li, "International Issues of Today," *People's Tribune* 16, no. 1 (1 Jan. 1937), 23-24.

[78] Cf. Wang Ching-wei, "State Capitalism"; John Hunter Boyle, *China and Japan at War 1937-1945: The Politics of Collaboration* (Stanford, 1972), 26.

concept of the People's Livelihood.[79] Another author in the *People's Tribune* set forth 'social integration' as the central goal of National Socialist philosophy, which sought the "integration of the working masses ... into the National Socialist state and the abolition of ... the evil elements of modern capitalism."[80] A German author was quoted to support the view that the Chinese leadership was "called upon to do very much the same sort of work as has been achieved by Hitler" in Germany, that is, subordinating 'selfishness' and individual interests to the 'welfare' of the community.[81]

Chinese views of German racism.

All of the groups discussed above found something of value in the National Socialist state, although they differed about what was to be valued. For a variety of reasons, a broad range of Chinese leaders admired Germany's drive for autonomy in the international arena, political unity at home, and nationally-directed military and economic development. On the other hand, one might expect little applause for Nazi rhetoric about the 'master race.'

Writing to his mentor Ludendorff in 1928, Max Bauer noted that there were no Jews in China, and that there was "not the slightest understanding of [our] racial question."[82] If this was true, it was not because Chinese were unconcerned with 'racial questions' *per se*. Indeed, most admirers of National Socialism had little quarrel with Nazi racism. Many found the Nazi concern for a healthy, vibrant race something positive and necessary for national revival, and espoused programs for national reform in terms of the 'future of the Chinese race.' To be sure, there was an imperfect understanding of the distinction in National Socialist ideology between 'nation' and 'race,' where the former was seen as an imported political concept and the latter as the main source of unity of the *Volk*; these were lumped together in the Chinese terms *min-tsu*, which could mean

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[79] She Shao-pei, "What China Can Learn from Germany," *People's Tribune* 15, no. 4 (16 Nov. 1936), 241-246.

[80] "Cultural Relations between China and Germany," *People's Tribune* 13, no. 6 (16 June 1936), 376.

[81] "German Tribute to China's Progress," *People's Tribune* 15, no. 4 (15 Nov. 1936), 229-230.

[82] BA, Nachlaß Bauer, no. 38, 297, Bauer to Ludendorff, 18 July 1928.

nation and race at once.[83] Nevertheless there were few Chinese objections to Nazi racial policy in Germany, and many open calls for emulation of the German concern with 'race.'

German anti-Semitism received relatively little notice. To Chinese students in Berlin, visible evidence of anti-Semitism seemed mild in comparison to reports in the foreign press.[84] When the foreign affairs journal *Wai-chiao p'ing-lun* published the text of the Nuremberg Laws in 1935, it did so without comment; the reputable *Kuo-wen chou-pao* saw the laws solely in the light of conflict between the aims of the NSDAP and those of economic planners, who were seen to be opposed to the laws.[85]

What some Chinese did object to was Hitler's lumping of the Chinese with other 'lesser' races. But here the opposition was largely limited to the Chinese diplomatic corps at Berlin. In a passage in *Mein Kampf* particularly offensive to Chinese residing in Germany, Hitler wrote that it was incorrect to believe that 'a Negro or a Chinese' could ever take part in Germanic life, implying that they were not fit for such an honor. When Chinese Ambassador Liu Chung-chieh complained about the passage, he was assured that Hitler never wanted to hurt the feelings of the Chinese people, and was promised that the paragraph would be dropped in the next edition.[86]

Another source of controversy was the Nazi equation of mixed marriage with 'race betrayal.' When it was suggested in September 1933 that this be made a punishable crime in the Third Reich, Chinese Chargé d'Affaires T'an Po-yü sought clarification from German authorities. Although the German Foreign Ministry stated that the discrimination was not intended against the "old cultural races of the Far East, in particular the Chinese," future German-Chinese matches were made with much difficulty and red tape, and needed special dispensations

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[83] The Chinese dictionary *Tz'u-hai* defines *min-tsu* as a "people related by blood, life, language, religions, and customs." *Tz'u-hai* (Shanghai, 1938), 1, 1620. When translated as "nation" the meaning is somewhat blurred. It is not, as 'nation' sometimes is in English, a synonym for 'country' (*kuo-chia*). For a compelling new analysis of Chinese conceptions of race see Frank Dikötter, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China* (Stanford, 1992).

[84] Interview, Huang Yu (Hwang You), Taipei, 28 July 1977. Huang Yu was a police cadet in Berlin.

[85] 'Sung Shan,' "Te-kuo kuo-shih-tang ti-ch'i-chieh ch'üan-kuo tai-piao ta-hui" (The seventh national congress of the German National Socialist party), WCPL 5, no. 4 (Nov. 1935), 179-183; KWCP 12, no. 37 (23 Sep. 1935).

[86] PA, Abt. IV OA, Po. 6 Chi., memorandum of 20 Dec. 1935. The passage is found in Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (Berlin, 1933), II, 429.

from the Prussian Ministry of Justice.[87] Instances of discrimination continued through the 1930s. In 1936 Chinese were prohibited from attending the annual Berlin Christmas Festival.[88] For Chinese diplomats, however, the issue of German racism was a secondary matter, and the racial question was never the issue in Sino-German relations that it was to become in Japanese-German relations.[89] Outside of diplomatic circles it was even less of a problem.

Many Chinese shared the general concern of the Nazis with a unified, resurgent race. At the Army Staff College officers heard lectures on "The Influence of Race on Politics."[90] Chiang Kai-shek himself attributed his difficulties in unifying the nation to a 'worsening of the race.[91] To the Blue Shirt journal *Ch'ien-t'u*, China, in its need to protect the Han race, had much to learn from Nazi eugenics, for only in the preservation and improvement of the Han people (as distinct from national minorities) could the cultural, military, and economic invasions of other nations be resisted.[92]

The Blue Shirt biweekly *She-hui hsin-wen* sought to portray Nazi anti-Semitism in a favorable light. German anti-Semitism, according to the Berlin correspondent of the journal, was but the expression of the just feelings of the German people. After all, "Germany's largest banks, newspapers, and other commercial enterprises are almost all controlled by Jews."[93] In 1935, an article in *Ch'ien-t'u* called for direct Chinese emulation of Nazi racial and exclusionary policies:

> We must recognize the lofty and superior position of the race, restore the race to its old glory, and discriminate against (*p'ai-chih*) aberrant strains which disrupt the race ... as in Germany, where Jews and non-Germans are persecuted.[94]

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[87] NA, T-120, Ser. 6022, H044359-360, memorandum by Altenburg 30 Oct. 1933; Ser-858o, E601928-932, memorandum by Bülow, 8 Nov. 1933.

[88] PA, Abt. IV OA, Po. 46 Chi., K. Protze to AA, 19 Oct. 1936.

[89] J.P. Fox, "The Development of Germany's Far Eastern Policy, 1933-1936" (Ph.D. Diss., London School of Economics, Univ. of London, 1969), 92.

[90] Lindemann, *Im Dienste Chinas*, 161.

[91] Quoted in ibid., 264.

[92] Wei Chü-hsien, "Chung-kuo min-tsu ch'ien-t'u."

[93] Hsü Ssu-pang, "Te-kuo cheng-wen chung-chung" (Varied news on German politics), SHHW 3, no. 23 (9 June 1933), 362.

Within the academic community similar understanding for Nazi racial policies could be found. Chiang Ting-fu (also of the Political Study faction) stated publicly his acceptance of German explanations concerning races other than Jews, and was gratified by professed German regard for the Chinese.[95] On occasion, Chinese scholars also discoursed on the need for 'racial unification' in China. Chang Ch'i-yün, then Professor of History and Geography at the National Central University and Lecturer at the Central Political Institute, wrote in 1935 a geopolitical-racial analysis of the need to sinicize national minorities in China:

> The task of racial unification in China must be completed as soon as possible, especially in view of the fact that these minor races are all grouped in regions on the frontiers, occupying parts of the Republic of a size far out of proportion to their numbers ...[96]

In sum, there is no evidence that Chinese shared the revulsion of much of the international community against Nazi racial policies or doctrine. On the contrary, they interpreted it in the light of their own culturalism and racial prejudices and in terms of their own desire for national recovery.

The movement for dictatorship.

The arguments for dictatorship, fascism, and emulation of Nazi Germany acquired immediate political significance in the autumn of 1934. An orchestrated movement arose with the aim of granting Chiang Kai-shek dictatorial powers at the Fifth Party Congress of the Kuomintang, scheduled for November. To earlier calls by the Blue Shirts and other groups for new forms of centralized controls other voices were now added. Chang Hsueh-liang, the 'Young Marshal' of Manchuria, who had been ousted with his troops from his homeland in 1931 by the Japanese, returned from a 1933 study tour in Germany and Italy to declare that dictatorship was the only way to solve China's problems, and that Chiang Kai-shek was the man for the job. He founded a small 'National Socialist Party' (*Kuo-shih tang*) to work for this cause.[97] Chang Chi, an elder statesman of the

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[94] Ch'en P'u, "Min-tsu fu-hsing yü Chung-kuo cheng-chih" (The revival of the race and Chinese politics), *Ch'ien-t'u* 3, no. 6 (June 1935), 62.

[95] OR 15 (1 Mar. 1935), 137.

[96] Chang Ch'i-yün, "National Crisis and National Unity," *People's Tribune* 10, no. 3 (1 Aug. 1935), 169.

[97] Wu Tien-wei, *The Sian Incident: A Pivotal Point in Modern Chinese History* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 197), 5; Kao Chin-hsüan, "Does China Need a Dictator?", *People's Tribune* 8,

Kuomintang, urged support for Chiang as 'China's Hitler.'[98] As early as March 1934 twenty provincial and municipal Kuomintang headquarters publicly urged that Chiang assume the position of *tsung-li*, or Director-General of the party. The title was that of Sun Yat-sen and had been retired on his death; it was also used on occasion to translate the German term 'Führer' into Chinese.[99]

The apparent welling of support for a fascist-style dictatorship in China was reflected in foreign views. A German newspaperman noted the increasing correspondence between "the activities of the National Government and the National Socialist government of Germany."[100] The American-edited *China Weekly Review* expressed fear that Chiang was "developing fascism *à la Chine*."[101] Japanese military intelligence found it 'disquieting' that China seemed to be moving toward open emulation of fascism.[102]

Nevertheless, the public movement for dictatorship failed. It failed perhaps in good part because it was seen to be a screen behind which the Whampoa faction would attain a position of new eminence in an openly dictatorial state under Chiang's leadership. In an immediate sense, the movement foundered on the threat of open rebellion by the Southwest Political Council whose *de facto* autonomy was threatened. But apart from the Blue Shirts, even within the Nanking government there was little support. No other major faction was willing to openly support such a state and, in so doing, trade its existing influence for the principle of dictatorship, on the specific nature of which there was no agreement. As a result, the Fifth Party Congress was postponed for a year. The movement for dictatorial unity thus ended by showing how divided China still was. Recognizing this, Chiang renounced any claim to dictatorship on November 27,

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no. 1 (1 Jan. 1935), 12-16; PA, Abt. IV OA, Po. 29 Chi., Behrens (Shanghai) to Peking, 31 Jan. 1935; Plessen (Peking) to AA, 18 Jan. 1935. Chang's small party, which disbanded in January 1935, is not to be confused with Carsun Chang's larger *Kuo-chia she-hui-tang*.

[98] Eastman, *Abortive Revolution*, 173.

[99] Ibid., 172. For an example of this translation of 'Führer' see "Hsi-t'o-la kuo-ts'e yen-ts'u chüan-wen" (Complete text of Hitler's speech on national policy), KWCP 12, no. 31 (12 Aug. 1935). The term *yuan-shou*, however, was more commonly used to translate "Führer."

[100] Anon. 'Hamburg Correspondent,' "Cultural Relations between China and Germany," *People's Tribune* 13, no. 6 (16 June 1936), 377.

[101] *China Weekly Review* 68, no. 10 (5 May 1934), 387.

[102] Nitcha Senso, *Gendaishi Shiryo* (Materials on Contemporary History, Tokyo, 1964-), 8, 385-387.

1934, in an extraordinary interview with a Japanese correspondent: "As China's situation differs from that of Germany, Turkey, and Italy, so there is no need for a dictator."[103]

Hu Han-min's critique of 'Chinese fascism'.

The failure of the movement for dictatorship brought forth the first coherent critique of so-called Chinese fascism. To be sure, the opposition to dictatorship by the military leaders of China's Southwest cannot be explained in ideological terms. Their concern was above all for regional independence. (Ch'en Chi-t'ang, the leader of Kwangtung, was himself enamored of Nazism and had his own contingent of German advisers.) Hu Han-min, on the other hand, who had associated himself with the Southwest Political Council, remained a major opposition theorist within the Kuomintang, and made the call for fascist-style dictatorship the subject of scathing criticism.

Hu Han-min was no democrat. He had long opposed the promulgation of an interim constitution, and viewed extended one-party rule as necessary. On a European tour in 1928 he had expressed public admiration for Kemal's Turkey.[104] But his personal disdain for Chiang Kai-shek's dictatorial pretensions led him and his supporters to formulate a theory of opposition to fascism in his journal, *San-min-chu-i yueh-k'an* (Three People's Principles Monthly). He did so, however, not only on the basis of opposition to Chiang, but in terms of his own understanding of German fascism.

Hu and his fellow authors in *San-min-chu-i yueh-k'an* appropriated elements of the Marxist critique of fascism for their purposes. Their arguments were put most clearly by Professor Liu Lu-yin, a veteran Kuomintang member who held degrees from Johns Hopkins and Harvard and had toured Europe with Hu Han-min in 1928.[105] In his "Criticism of fascism from the Standpoint of the Three People's Principles"[106] written at the height of the controversy over dictatorship,

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[103] Cited in Hu Shih, "Do We Need or Want a Dictatorship?", 89. On the failure of the movement see also Eastman, *Abortive Revolution*, 175-176.

[104] Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, II, 164-165. On the thought of Hu Han-min see Melville T. Kennedy, Jr., "Hu Han-min: Aspects of his Political Thought," *Papers on China* 8 (1954) (Duplicated for private distribution by the Committee on International and Regional Studies, Harvard University).

[105] Max Perlberg, *Who's Who in Modern China* (Hong Kong, 1954), 145.

[106] Liu Lu-yin, "I san-min-chu-i p'i-p'an fa-hsi-ssu-t'i-chu-i" (Criticism of fascism from the standpoint of the Three People's Principles), SMYK 4, no. 5 (15 Nov. 1934), 15-20.

Liu conceded that fascism was clearly the trend of the times. But, he asked, was it progress? It was not. Its popularity was due not to its own merits but to the failure of capitalist parliamentary government and to the social sicknesses that this 'false democracy' had engendered. Furthermore, it reflected the bankruptcy of Western political thought in the final era of capitalism.

Liu compared European fascism to Sun Yat-sen's three principles of nationalism, people's rights, and people's livelihood. He argued that fascism was militarism masquerading as nationalism: Hitler used nationalist rhetoric to justify an expansionist dictatorship. fascism was also in clear opposition to 'people's rights': no rule of law protected the German people. And as for 'people's livelihood,' although Nazi economic policy might appear to promote the general welfare, it really served only the interests of big capital; one had only to compare Hitler's 'socialist' rhetoric before 1933 with his present good relations with German industry. German fascism was not even 'national socialism,' but rather a capitalism stronger than before, which 'enchained' the country.

In China, Liu concluded, fascism could only mean militarism without the capitalist base - in other words, a return to warlordism. Moreover, while European fascism might be able to temporarily re-awaken nationalist passions, Chinese fascism (read: the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek) could lead only to further fragmentation and thus dissipation of the national spirit.

A barrage of other articles in *San-min-chu-i yueh-k'an* supported this critique and denounced the 'absurdity' of transplanting fascism to China. As Hu Han-min rhetorically queried, who would be the 'Leader' of Chinese fascism? Certainly not Chiang Kai-shek, who had already foundered in this role.[107] Chiang, Hsu T'ien-i wrote, had "tried to sketch a tiger and had drawn a dog," that is, had attempted more than his abilities would allow.[108] The most telling criticism was that of Hsu Ta-ch'üan, who took Liu Lu-yin's argument a step further by asking if "Chinese fascism" were truly "representative of the movement." Taking the Blue Shirts as his subject, Hsu noted that they, unlike European fascist movements, had no basis of mass support. They were rather a

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[107] Quoted in Ch'ien Shih-fu, "Fa-hsi-ssu-t'i kei Chung-kuo te shih shen-mo?" (What can fascism give to China?), SMYK 4, no. 5 (15 Nov. 1934), 49. Cf. Hu Han-min, "Lun so-wei fa-hsi-ssu-t'i" (On so called fascism), SMYK 1, no. 5 (15 May 1933), 18-22.

[108] Hsü T'ien-i, "Pu-lun-pu-lei te Chung-kuo tu-ts'ai cheng-chih" (Grotesque and unnatural Chinese dictatorial government) , SMYK 4, no. 5 (15 Nov. 1934), 33-34. See also 'Hsi Chu', "Fa-hsi-ssu-t'i-chu-i pien-wei" (The false pretenses of fascism), ibid., 50-72; 'Sen Yuan', "I-ta-li fa-hsi-ssu-t'i yü Chung-kuo" (Italian fascism and China), ibid., 73-84; Liu Ta-pai, "Hsi-t'e-le t'ung-chih hsia Te-kuo ching-chi chih hsien-chuang" (The dangerous condition of German's economy under Hitler's rule), SMYK 4, no. 3 (15 Sep. 1934), 96-103.

"dictatorial, warlord clique, with no economic, social, or historical foundation," and had, therefore, no hope of expansion and no future. Theirs was but the empty propaganda of slogans borrowed from Europe. They were "a stalk without roots, a river without a source."[109]

Conclusion: The reality of 'Chinese fascism'

Hsu Ta-ch'üan's comments form a good basis for asking the question: what exactly was meant by 'fascism' in the Chinese context? On the one hand, to many contemporary proponents and critics, as well as to some later historians, fascism appeared to be a generic concept, a general phenomenon with multinational manifestations and certain basic criteria. On the other hand, in the 1930s a basic criterion for calling something 'fascist' was often simple outward similarity with what appeared to be happening in Germany or Italy. As described above, a variety of groups and individuals in China shared a generally positive view of National Socialist Germany yet differed greatly in their perceptions of it. Certainly very few thought of themselves as 'fascists,' and the fact that some did does not necessarily make them so.

Among the many theories of fascism that have appeared in the last half-century there are none in which Chinese admirers of fascism can fit with ease. The Comintern's 1933 definition of fascism as the "openly terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary and most imperialistic elements of finance capital" certainly does not apply, and neither do recent variations on this theme.[110] Nor is it possible to imagine a general idealist approach broad enough to encompass both the 'cultural crisis' seen by Fritz Stern, George Mosse, and Klemens von Klemperer to be a precursor of Nazism in Germany and a Chinese crisis of political and ethical beliefs in the twentieth century. The closest Chinese parallel to the German case would be the C. C. faction's attempt to guide fascination with 'fascist' ideas into national-culturalist channels, as in the Association for the Cultural Reconstruction of China and the writings in *Chien-kuo yueh-k'an*. But these efforts were in part a reaction to the Blue Shirts who sought to deny, not return to an earlier cultural heritage. According to *Ch'ien-t'u*, reliance on the attitudes of history and tradition was to invite 'certain destruction.'[111]

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[109] Hsü Ta-ch'üan, "So-wei Chung-kuo fa-hsi-ssu-t'i te p'i-p'an'" (Criticism of so-called Chinese fascism), SMYK 4, no. 5 (15 Nov. 1934), 21, 28-29.

[110] John M. Cammett, "Communist Theories of Fascism, 1920-1935," *Science and Society* 31 (Spring 1967), 155.

[111] F. Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of the German Ideology* (New York, 1961); G. Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the*

Theories of fascism as somehow related to 'modernization' also have difficulties in fitting the Chinese context. The concept of the "totalitarianism" school, which lumps together fascism and communism as structurally similar systems of total control, and sees both as the *product* of modern technological development, is clearly inapplicable to China.[112] Somewhat more problematic is the relationship between 'Chinese fascism' and the *process* of modernization.

Certainly the popularity of 'fascist' ideas in China cannot be explained as a mass-movement of *déclassés*, as in Germany of the lower middle class losers in the process of industrialization.[113] It was hardly China's pre-modern producers who sought to emulate Germany and Italy, but rather members of the intellectual, military and political elite. Furthermore, whatever else it was, 'fascism' did not mean to Chinese, as it does to Ernst Nolte, "a revolt against the universal process of secularization ... and international integration."[114] Quite the contrary. To sympathetic Chinese, fascism was a step forward to modernity. It was no accident that its virtues were most openly espoused in a periodical entitled *Ch'ien-t'u* (The Future). The first principle of fascism, according to an author in *Ch'ien-t'u*, was "The organization of a strong nation and the establishment of a strong government."[115] And what members of the moderate Political Study Clique valued in National Socialist Germany were precisely its apparent secular successes, the planned integration of the economy with national goals.

These beliefs are close to the idea quoted at the outset of this study, that

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Third Reich (New York, 1964); K. von Klemperer, *Germany's New Conservatism: Its History and Dilemma in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, 1957); Liang Yuan-tung, "Chung-kuo min-tsu chih t'e-tien" (Special characteristics of the Chinese race), *Ch'ien-t'u* 1, no. 4 (1 April 1933).

[112] C. J. Friedrich, Z. K. Brzezinski, *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), is perhaps the best example. See also Hannah Arendt, *Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York, 1951). But the first to propose this approach was Hans Kohn, "Communist and Fascist Dictatorship: A Comparative Study," in *Dictatorship in the Modern World* (Minneapolis, 1935). A review of the literature is found in B. Siedel and S. Jenker, "Wege der Totalitarismus-Forschung," in *Wege der Forschung* 140 (1968).

[113] Cf. Wolfgang Sauer, "National Socialism: Totalitarianism or Fascism," *American Historical Review* 73 (1967), 404-424.

[114] Quoted in ibid., 413; cf. Ernst Nolte, *Three Faces of Fascism: Action Francaise, Italian Fascism, National Socialism* (New York, 1969).

[115] Ch'en Ch'iu-yün, "Fa-hsi-ssu-t'i yü Chung-kuo" (Fascism and China), *Ch'ien-t'u* 2, no. 2 (1 Feb. 1934), 1.

fascism could be the path to a modern nation. Henry A. Turner has tried to place fascism in the context of modernization theory, which, according to Turner, assumes that the basic force in recent history is:

> the displacement of traditional societies by an unprecedentedly thorough and rapid process of change, basically similar everywhere, involving industrialization, secularization, and rationalization.[116]

Turner concludes, however, that at least in the German case fascism was 'utopian anti-modernism' in which modern industrial and military strength were seen as the tools by which a pre-modern society could be restored.[117] Only if Turner's approach is turned on its head, as has been done by Renzo de Felice and particularly A. James Gregor, to see fascism as a step toward modernization specifically valuable for developing countries, can one begin to talk of a 'Chinese fascism.'

Gregor has globalized the concept of fascism and related it directly to modernization. Not only does Gregor see fascism in its original Italian context as "an industrializing and modernizing movement in both performance and intention," he characterizes fascism in general as a "developmental dictatorship appropriate to partially developed or underdeveloped national communities."[118] Gregor considers as following the 'fascist persuasion' a wide variety of national movements, whose differences he recognizes but whose similarities with what he calls 'paradigmatic fascism' he argues. He defines 'paradigmatic fascism' as:

> The intention of creating a totalitarian political system, an integrated social order in which all men, all classes, and all productive categories would be marshaled to the nationalistic and developmental 'ideal purposes' of the authoritarian state under the aegis of a charismatic Leader.[119]

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[116] H.A. Turner, "Fascism and Modernization," *World Politics* 24 (1972), 548.

[117] Ibid., 555, 557.

[118] A. James Gregor, "Fascism and Modernization: Some Addenda," *World Politics* 26 (1974), 383-384. Renzo de Felice has argued that fascist movements occurred predominantly in "those countries that confronted change in conditions of backwardness ... and economic and political abnormality." There, he argues, it embodied the desires of an emerging, not declining, middle class. Renzo de Felice, *Fascism: An Informal Introduction into its Theory and Practice. An Interview with Michael A. Ledeen* (New Brunswick, 1976), 46.

[119] A. James Gregor, *The Fascist Persuasion in Radical Politics* (Princeton, 1974), 398.

There are two problems in applying this approach to the China of the 1930s. First, as Gilbert Allardyce has pointed out and as Gregor himself recognizes, if fascism is defined in this manner, then Nazism, with its anti-modern bias, was not fascism, and regimes as different as Franco's Spain and Castro's Cuba may be called 'fascist.'[120] That National Socialism was not, in fact, fascism, would have come as quite a shock to Chinese of the 1930s. Second, Gregor's definition assumes a desire for mass mobilization and participation that was quite absent among Kuomintang admirers of fascism. In their varied perceptions of National Socialist Germany, the only level of generalization on which most admirers of fascism could agree was that it could be a useful method of control: control of the nation as a whole (for the Blue Shirts), of party organization and national culture (for Ch'en Li-fu), of the economy (for the Political Study faction). But there was no agreement on what should be controlled, or, more important, how control should be brought about.

If fascism seemed to promise varying levels of control, this was because Chinese admirers took established fascist regimes as their models, not fascist movements. In so doing they saw existing political systems of 'concentrated powers' and not the often anarchic, social-revolutionary forces that preceded them and helped drive them to power. No Chinese enamored of European fascism was seriously willing to make the efforts at mass mobilization or countenance the social upheaval that, for example, marked German National Socialism in the years before its seizure of power. In their often contradictory calls for emulation of fascism, different segments within the Chinese regime addressed each other, not the masses. They sought, through publications, argument, and in the case of the Blue Shirts, occasionally through coercion, to make their points understood. They did not try to raise the rabble.

In this way the Blue Shirts and others misunderstood, or mistranslated, the difference between leadership and domination. In National Socialist theory, this was the difference between *Führung* and *Herrschaft*, the difference between charismatic leadership that may grow out of a mass movement, on the one hand, and absolutist domination on the other.[121] Chinese admirers of fascism saw it mostly in terms of the latter element. In Germany, the distinction may be made between the National Socialist movement (*Bewegung*) and Hitler's government. The latter included the politics of Hitler, the bureaucracy, the political apparatus

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[120] G. Allardyce, "What fascism Is Not," *American Historical Review* 84 (1979), 375.

[121] See Franz Neumann's discussion of "The Charismatic Leader in the Leadership State," in *Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism, 1933-1944* (New York, 1944), 83-97.

and, to a far lesser extent, the 'movement.' Indeed, in the initial stages of the regime, the movement had little place, and had to be purged. But the movement was essential to the establishment of the fascist regime, and the idea that one could have the results without the struggle, that one could 'militarize' the nation without first mobilizing it, was a misreading of European fascism.

Nearly all historians of fascism would agree that, if it meant nothing else, fascism involved the mobilization of segments of society that had not previously participated in political activity. Chinese who could agree on little else concerning fascism were, however, united in ignoring this central element of European fascism. Even the Blue Shirts, who most openly espoused the fascist 'model,' at most shared 'ideological traits' with European fascism:[122] their activities were limited by their own clandestine organization, and they never achieved predominance even within the Kuomintang.

It may be that Chiang Kai-shek, in inaugurating a nation-wide crusade for 'New Life' in 1934, sought to create a movement that would go beyond the party, army, and government, of which he would be the undisputed Leader. The content of his New Life Movement, however - an amalgam of Confucian moral idealism and another German import, that of the Prussian military ethic-stressed the disciplining, not the participation of the populace.[123] Without their participation, there could be no "movement" in the sense of mobilization, but only a political education campaign.

'Chinese fascism,' then, was less than the sum of its parts. There exists no coherent approach to fascism that can accommodate its various admirers in China, with their divisions, rivalries, and different interpretations of the term. There was no 'fascist movement' in China but rather a vogue that coincided with the emergence of a close Sino-German relationship. Fascism, like the anti-fascism of Hu Han-min, was defined in terms of the domestic political arrangement, and, relatedly, in terms of often blurred perceptions of the contemporary German phenomenon.

Finally, it may be noted that in the twentieth century the Chinese language has proven capable of translating in a meaningful manner many Western political terms. Often these came via Japan, but they made sense in Chinese: democracy

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[122] Eastman, *Abortive Revolution*, 80-81. For a comparative look at other putative 'fascist movements' see Juan J. Linz, "Some Notes Toward a Comparative Study of fascism in Sociological Historical Perspective," and Alistair Hennessy, "Fascism and Populism in Latin America '" both in Walter Laqueur, ed., *Fascism: A Reader's Guide* (Berkeley, 1976).

[123] See Kirby, *Germany and Republican China*, 176-185.

as 'people's rule' (*min-chu-chu-i*), communism as 'shared production' (*kung-ch'an-chu-i*). Fascism, although transliterated (*fa-hsi-ssu-chu-i*), was never translated into the Chinese context.

Abbreviations Used in the Notes

BA Bundesarchiv, Koblenz.

CCWH	*Chuan-chi wen-hsueh* [Biographical Literature], Taipei.
CKYK	*Chien-kuo yueh-k'an* [Reconstruction Monthly], Nanking.
FHYK	*Fu-hsing yueh-k'an* [Renaissance Monthly], Shanghai.
HPYK	*Huang-p'u yueh-k'an* [Whampoa Monthly], Nanking.
KMWH	*Ko-ming wen-hsien* [Documents on the Revolution], Taipei, 1953-.
KWCP	*Kuo-wen chou-pao* [Kuo-wen Weekly], Tientsin.
MA	Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv, Freiburg.
NA	National Archives, Washington, D.C.
OR	*Ostasiatische Rundschau*, Hamburg and Berlin.
PA	Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Bonn.
SHHW	*She-hui hsin-wen* [Society Mercury], Shanghai.
SMYK	*San-min-chu-i yueh-k'an* [Three People's Principles Monthly], Canton.
TFTC	*Tung-fang tsa-chih* [Eastern Miscellany], Shanghai.
TLPL	*Tu-li p'ing-lun* [Independent Critic], Peking.
WCPL	*Wai-chiao p'ing-lun* [Foreign Affairs Critic], Peking.
WCYP	*Wai-chiao yueh-pao* [Foreign Affairs Monthly], Nanking.

9

JOHN PERKINS
and
ANDREW MOORE

FASCISM IN INTERWAR AUSTRALIA

There were a number of developments in early-20th century Australia that provided a context favourable for the emergence of fascist movements. With the establishment of the White Australia Policy from around the turn of the century, racism was institutionalised and prevalent among the general public. Anti-Semitism was quite widespread and tending to become more virulent in response to economic difficulties and the arrival in the 1930s of Jewish refugees fleeing Nazi persecution; although a very limited number were permitted to enter the country. As a legacy of the Great War Australia inherited an intense nationalism and a returned serviceman problem in terms of psychological and occupational adjustment to civilian life. There was a large rural sector, the major source of export earnings, which suffered from the vagaries of the world market for primary produce during the interwar years. The downturn of the economy during the Great Depression of 1929-33 was particularly pronounced with almost 30 percent of the labour force out of work by 1933.[1] Finally, in part reflecting these developments, the country acquired a particularly active Communist Party and a generally militant industrial wing of the labour movement that was a cause of some concern, and at times alarm, to the propertied classes.

The experience of the interwar years did produce an increasing questioning of the viability and the appropriateness of democratic political arrangements in the situation. As a political scientist at the University of Adelaide observed in 1937, in an address to the local branch of the Constitutional Association: "People like you and me, good liberals and tolerant people, have tried to keep to the middle of the road, but social and economic forces have pushed us off to the

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[1] C.B. Schedvin, *Australia and the Great Depression* (Sydney, 1970) p. 46.

right". In the academic's view; "the trend of affairs in Australia was towards a Fascist type of dictatorship".[2] A number of fascist and quasi-fascist movements actually emerged. Yet democracy survived.

II

Individuals and groups evidently fascist in nature first appeared in Australia after the First World War among non-British nationals residing in the country. A basis for the diffusion of the ideology and organisation of Mussolini's *Partita Nazionale Fascista* to Australia existed in the substantial number of Italian immigrants who had settled in the country. By the 1930s branches of the Italian party existed in all state capitals and in the north Queensland towns of Cairns, Innisfail and Babinda, settlements located in sugar-producing areas where many Italians were employed as cane-cutters. In total 10 branches were in existence by the later 1930s. The membership of some was quite them was large. By 1938 the Sydney branch, the *Fascia Luigi Platania*, had 258 members.[3]

Members of Hitler's NSDAP were resident in Australia by the later 1920s, after the prohibition on the entry of German citizens - imposed as an outcome of the 1914-1918 war - was lifted at the end of 1925.[4] They included a childhood friend and correspondent of Heinrich Himmler and a man who had been a warder at Landsberg Gaol during Hitler's imprisonment, after the failed 'Beer Hall Putsch' in Munich on 9 November 1923. He had been particularly impressed by the Führer.[5] The first party branch (*Stützpunkt* or 'Stronghold') was formed at Adelaide in 1932.[6] During 1934 further branches were established in

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2 *Adelaide News*, 3 Feb. 1937.

3 AA Adelaide, D1915/0, SA20840; AA Sydney, C414 [1]. On Italian fascism in Australia, see G. Cresciani, *Fascism, Anti-Fascism and Italians in Australia* (Canberra, 1980); and the same author's essay "Italian Fascism in Australia 1922-1945", in J. Milfull (ed.) *The Attractions of Fascism* (New York, 1990) pp. 307-17.

4 The Immigration Act of 1920 prohibited the immigration, of German citizens until 2 December 1925, along with Austrians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, "epileptics, idiots, and criminals". *Argus* (Melbourne 16 May 1924.) However, Germans were permitted to immigrate before than time where it served the economic interests of Australia.

5 AA Adelaide, D1815/0, SA19447 (1).

6 University of Melbourne Archives, Augustin Lodewyckx Deposit, Section D, Germans in Australia, J. Becker to A. Lodewyckx, 1 Dec. 1935. On the basis of the mention of the existence of a 'Stronghold in Australia in 1932 in H.-A. Jacobsen's, *Nationalsozialistische Aussenpolitik 1933-38* (Frankfurt, 1968), p. 650, G. Kinne incorrectly assumed it was formed at Tanunda, the residence of Dr. J. Becker, the 'State Trustee' of the Party. "Nazi

Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane and at Tanunda, a small town in the Barossa Valley of South Australia, in the midst of an area of concentrated German-Australian settlement. In 1936 an attempt was made, albeit unsuccessfully, to form a branch at Broken Hill, a mining town in western New South Wales, and in the later 1930s efforts were underway to establish 'Strongholds' in Perth, the capital of Western Australia, as well as in other areas where a number of German immigrant families had settled during the 19th century. The latter included the Riverina, which straddles the New South Wales-Victorian border, and the Innisfail district in north Queensland where a number of German-Australians operated sugar-cane farms.[7]

Of the three fascist movements to emerge among the White Russian emigres, two acquired representation in Australia.[8] The most important of these by far was the RFO (*Rossiiskaia fascistskaia organizatsiia*) whose basis of support was among the numerous White Russians residing in Manchuria. In 1934 the RFO amalgamated with the *Vserossiiskaia faschistskaia organizatsiia* (VFO) or All-Russian Fascist Organisation, a movement founded in 1933 among Russian immigrants in the U.S.A. The All-Russian Fascist Party that emerged from this amalgamation barely survived one year before the leader of the VFO withdrew to form the Russian National Revolutionary Party.[9]

The Russian National Revolutionary Party had representatives in Australia by the mid-1930s, as well as a number of subscribers to its periodical *Fashist*. A party organisation, however, does not appear to have emerged. Its leading representatives were Vassily Prootkovsky, a merchant seaman whose home was in the Sydney suburb of Bondi, and Nicholas Poliakoff (alias Pole-Rogan) who lived among a group of White Russians settled, mainly as cotton-growers, in the Thangoul district of Queensland. The more numerous membership in Australia

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Stratagems and their Effects on Germans in Australia up to 1945", *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. LXVI, Part 1, 1980, p. 1).

[7] AA Adelaide, AP308/1, SA20418(6). See J. Perkins, "The Swastika Down Under: Nazi Activities in Australia, 1933-39", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. XXVI, No. 1, 1991, pp. 111-29.

[8] The third Russian fascist organization, the ROND, derived almost all of its supporters from among the Russian emigres resident in Germany.

[9] On fascism among Russian emigres, see J.J. Stephan, *The Russian Fascists* (New York, 1978) and the same author's "Fascism among Russian Emigres", in J.L. Wieczynski (ed), *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*, Vol. XI (Gulf Breeze, Florida, 1979), pp. 60-2.

of the All-Russian Fascist Party, which became the Russian Fascist Union in 1938, was concentrated in Brisbane where there was a large Russian emigre community; the Queensland capital being the first Australian port of call on the shipping line from Shanghai, the point of departure for those leaving Manchuria.[10] Among the Australian population in general in the 1930s there were individual members of Oswald Mosley's *British Union of Fascists*. By the later 1930s, with the arrival in Australia of Edward Campion-Ackroyd, a former private secretary of Mosley's, a degree of organisation apparently began to emerge among the local membership.[11] Connections also existed with other fascist organisations based in Britain. A branch of the 'Imperial Fascists or British Empire Fascists' was established in Melbourne in the later 1930s.[12] The leader, a solicitor, financed the periodical *Angle* and, under the pseudonym 'Tasman Forth', published a volume of poetry entitled *Hail, Odin*, which had a gold swastika embossed on the cover.[13] A few members of William Dudley Pelley's fascist *Silver Shirt Legion* based in the U.S.A. also resided in Australia.[14]

A number of indigenous manifestly fascist and quasi-fascist organisations emerged among the Anglo-Celtic population of the country. Most never achieved any significance in terms of members. They included, for example the *All Australian Peoples' Federation* founded in the 1930s by a South-Australian wine salesman of Sudeten-German extraction, whose membership does not seem to have extended beyond his immediate family.[15] Even so it was a somewhat larger organisation than the fascist *Australian Unity League* established in

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[10] AA Canberra, A373/1, Item 578; A6122/1, Item 115; AA Melbourne, MP729/6, File No. 29/401/1348). See J. Perkins, "Fascism and the Russian Community in Interwar Queensland", *Journal of the Royal Queensland Historical Society*, Vol. XV, No. 8, 1994, pp. 393-408.

[11] AA Melbourne, MP70/1, File No. 37-101-185, Part 3.

[12] The organization in question was undoubtedly the Imperial Fascist League headed by Arnold Leese. On the League, see R. Benewick, *Political Violence and Public Order* (London, 1969 pp. 43-7).

[13] AA Adelaide, D1915/0, SA20040.

[14] Pelley has been described as a "spiritualist, mystic, 'red-baiter', Jew-hater ... and union buster". *Investigate Martin Dies* (National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, Washington, D.C., 1942) p. 17.

[15] AA Adelaide, AP308/1, SA20419(1).

the late 1930s, whose founder, E.J. Jones was the only known member.[16] The most significant fascist movement to emerge in Australia, the *New Guard*, is considered below.

Links between the various fascist groups operating in Australia were forged during the 1930s. Colonel Eric Campbell, a well-to do and well-connected solicitor and the leader of the New Guard, was a frequent visitor at the German Consulate-General in Bridge Street. Campbell often called upon the Consul-General for information on Nazi Germany for inclusion in his numerous speeches. (The acquaintance began when Campbell wrote to request a signed photograph of Hitler, to join that of Mussolini on the desk he worked from at his Sydney office.[17]) In June 1937, for example, he asked for information on "developments in Germany relating to the National Youth Service and compulsory Military Service", for an address to the Constitutional Club in the country town of Griffith. On that occasion he was also "particularly interested in the efforts of the German Labour Camps to make themselves as self-supporting as possible".[18] Campbell was also a founding member of the exclusive Elanora Golf Club, in the northern Sydney suburb of Narrabeen, which excluded Jews from membership. German woolbuyers, many of them members of the local branch of the NSDAP, also played there on a regular basis.

Connections were also forged between the various foreign fascist movements active in Australia. On 22 November 1938 a group of leading Sydney Nazis attended a film show on board the Italian ship Vriminale. The films included newsreels of Hitler's visit to Rome and of Mussolini's sojourn in the capital of the Third Reich. The films were later shown at the German club Concordia, which had come under effective Nazi control. A similar Nazi-Fascisti social occasion, involving the showing of the same newsreels, was held in May 1939 at the Empire Theatre in Adelaide.[19]

Up to the outbreak of war in 1939, the Brisbane branch of the *Russian Fascist Union* held their meetings at the German Club in that city and on these

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[16] AA Adelaide, D1915/0, SA6106.

[17] AA Canberra, A373/1, Item 11104. On the activities of the Consul-General, see J. Perkins, "An Old-Style Imperialist as National Socialist: Consul-General Dr. Rudolf Asmis (1879-1945?)", in J. Milfull (ed.) *The Attractions of Fascism* (New York, 1990) pp. 291-306; "Dr. Asmis and the 'Rescue of Deutschtum' in Australia in the 1930s", *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. LXXII, Part 4, 1988, pp. 296-312.

[18] AA Sydney, C443, Item G, Part 1.

[19] AA Adelaide, D1915/0. SA20840.

occasions they were said, in the appropriate manner, to have 'saluted Hitler's photograph'. After the outbreak of war in September 1939, it was claimed by the security service that Brisbane Nazis and Nazi sympathisers who had not been interned "endeavoured to utilise the White Russians [i.e. the local branch of the RFU] as a means of maintaining contact as a movement".

Of all the foreign fascist groups operating in Australia, the *Russian Fascist Union* appears to have made the greatest effort to develop contacts with those of similar ideological leanings. A search of the Brisbane home of the leader of the RFU by the security services revealed, among other items, a postcard from the British fascist G.E. Thomas. The postcard, in the form of a photograph of Thomas addressing a rally in Britain, was signed "In Comradeship". For Christmas 1939, the Russian fascist leader received cards from the New Zealander A.N. Field, author *inter alia* of The World Conundrum, a work that said to expose "the full Jew plan to enslave the world", and from E.J. Jones, the Sydney-based leader of the fascist Australian Unity League. Jones sent "Pan-Aryan Greetings".[20]

What stands out about the interaction between the various fascist groups in Australia is its fleeting, unsystematic and largely individual basis. There was no real attempt to find common ground, to forge an organised interconnection. Apart from language as a barrier to communication, most of the foreign fascist organisations operating in Australia adopted a deliberate policy of concentrating their efforts upon the ethnic group to which they belonged and limiting contacts with outsiders. Even here their approach was cautious. The NSDAP, for example, excluded Australian citizens of German descent from meetings where 'political' issues were discussed and admitted them only to those of a 'cultural character', such as where films from Germany were shown.[21] This stemmed from the concern that otherwise they would be proscribed by the Australian authorities: a concern that the latter began to encourage from late 1935. However, there were other barriers to the emergence of a common fascist identification among those with the same political leanings.

The extreme nationalism of fascist movements in the 1930s was clearly an obstacle to collaboration between them, similar as their ideological leanings were. This was accentuated by adherence to national stereotypes derived from various sources. Former German servicemen who were prominent in the

[20] AA Brisbane, BP242/1, Q27301; AA ACT, A6122/1, 115. Jones also sent a complementary copy of his anti-Semitic pamphlet *Hitler, the Jews and Communists* to the leader of the NSDAP in Australia. (AA Adelaide, D1915/0, SA6106).

[21] AA Canberra, A6122/1, Item 115; AA Melbourne, MP729/6, File No. 29/401/138.

NSDAP in Australia generally despised 'perfidious Italy', which had not fulfilled its obligations under the Triple Alliance in 1914 to support Germany and, in 1915, had entered the war on the Allied side. They also tended to emphasise a perceived lack of 'fighting qualities' among Italian soldiers. As the future leader of the Sydney 'stronghold' of the NSDAP informed the future 'State Leader' of the Party in 1930, his only doubt about Hitler was that: "he sympathises with Mussolini too much for me. The Italian only fights well from behind. I think nothing of these traitors".[22]

Anti-Semitism provided common ground between some fascist groups but alienated them from others. Belief in a 'Jewish World conspiracy', in the Jews as the principal enemy, was especially pronounced among Australian fascists, in the *Russian Fascist Union* (as the White Russian party with the largest membership in Australia styled itself from 1938) and of course in the NSDAP. The significance these groups attached to anti-Semitism, however, was generally incomprehensible to Italian fascists and alienated the Australian representatives of the *Russian National Revolutionary Party*.

Before the rapprochement between Mussolini and Hitler in 1936, Italian fascists, including Il Duce, attacked National Socialism for its 'pagan racism'. This aspect of the ideology of the German movement also alienated many Russian fascists, who were attached to the Orthodox Church as a living expression of the Russian spirit in exile. Many Italian fascists, including Mussolini himself before the Rome-Berlin Axis of 1936, felt put out by Hitler's rise to power in 1933, which tended to diminish the world stature of IL Duce. Even afterwards the alliance of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany remained a highly personal union between two dictators rather than a step in the road to a fascist international.[23]

Within Australia socio-occupational differentiation and socio-geographical variation of residence among ethnic groups tended to form barriers to closer collaboration between the fascists of different national origins. Members of the NSDAP, especially those who joined the Party from 1933 onwards, were mostly middle-class. In South Australia the relatively small Italian community, among which a *Fascia* existed, was predominantly working class and located in the city of Adelaide; whereas the majority of German settlement was in the rural areas.[24] A large proportion were woolbuyers who tended to live on Sydney's North Shore, especially in Turramurra (a suburb known as 'Hunamurra' during the First

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[22] AA Canberra, A373/1, Item 11104, J.H. Becker to R. Asmis, n.d.

[23] AA Sydney, ST1233/1, N38570.

[24] AA Adelaide, D1915/0, SA20419, Part 1.

World War) or in the equally prosperous Eastern Suburbs. Italian residents of the New South Wales capital, on the other hand, were mainly unskilled labourers or small shopkeepers residing in the predominantly working-class Western Suburbs of Sydney, or market gardeners on the urban fringes - this being an activity in which they increasingly replaced Chinese over the course of the interwar years. Otherwise, concentrations of Italians in the state were to be found at Tuncurry and Port Stephens north of Sydney and on the South Coast, where they were mainly engaged in the fishing industry.[25]

Socio-occupational differences between Germans and Italians living in Australia reinforced the Nazis' feeling of racial superiority towards Italians, to limit contacts even in areas where they both resided. In north Queensland, where persons from both ethnic groups were involved in the sugar industry - Germans generally as cane-growers and Italians mostly as cane-cutters - security services investigation of the late 1930s into possible connections between fascists of each community concluded that: "On the whole, there is a marked feeling of superiority on the part of the Germans in Queensland in any dealings they have with Italians".

The Germans attitude towards Italians was shared by many Australians of Anglo-Saxon origin. In the mid-1930s public attention was drawn to the 'quality' of Italian immigrants arriving here following complaints by Australian fellow, but not 'steerage' passengers on a liner Otranto after its arrived at Fremantle in August 1937.[26] In the internment camps during the Second World War, German Jews along with German Nazis objected to working with Italian internees. According to a report from Tatura Internment Camp in Victoria: "The German Jews of 'B' Compound state that they do not mind working with the Germans [i.e. Nazis] of 'A' Compound, but draw the line with Italians, on worker projects".[27]

Hitler's NSDAP appears to have been the only foreign fascist movement to have made an organised effort to establish connections with like-minded individuals within the wider Australian community; and then essentially in pursuit of Nazi foreign policy objectives. The organisation was *The Link*, an offshoot of the more exclusive Anglo-German Union, both originating in Britain. *The Link* was formed in 1937, with a council that included such figures as Admiral Sir

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[25] See M.A. Ledeen, *Universal Fascism* (New York, 1972), pp. 101-2.

[26] AA Sydney, C414.

[27] South Australia, *Parliamentary Debates*, Session 1937 (Adelaide, 1938), Vol. I, 18 Aug. 1937.

Barry Domville and Lord Redesdale, the latter best known to posterity as the father of the Mitford sisters. One daughter, Nancy, achieved fame as a novelist and immortalised his lordship as the model for Uncle Matthew in the novel *The Pursuit of Love*. Another, Unity, became infatuated with Hitler. She subsequently attempted suicide and lived on as an invalid.[28] An interesting parallel to the Unity Mitford case is the daughter of a prominent South Australian family, of German descent, who similarly became infatuated with Hitler, after meeting the *Führer*.[29]

Branches of *The Link* are known to have been formed in Melbourne, Adelaide and Perth. In the latter city the organiser was an Austrian-born woman, the wife of an Irish nationalist, who was in regular correspondence with Arnold von Skerst, 'Propaganda Leader' of the NSDAP in Australia, editor of the Nazi weekly *Die Brücke* ("The Bridge") published in Sydney and, apparently "the representative directly appointed from Berlin of the Link in Australia". The same woman also corresponded regularly with W.J. Miles, the editor of pro-fascist weekly *The Publicist*. The latter appears to have been the intermediary between *The Link* in Britain and its Australian membership.[30]

Miles was the wealthy collaborator of the literary personality P. R. Stephensen, who shared most of his anti-British and anti-Semitic views. In 1937 Miles founded *The Publicist* to propagate their ideas. Two years earlier, at the instigation of and with material supplied by the German Consul-General, Stephensen produced a pamphlet entitled *Trade Without Money*! The work was published to support Nazi efforts to conclude a commercial treaty with Australia on the basis of a bilateral trade balance. From 1938 *The Publicist* began to reproduce Hitler's speeches in translation.[31]

The roots of whatever support the views of Miles and Stephensen enjoyed in Australia lay in the Catholic-Irish and German-Australian traditions, created in the former case by British rule in Ireland and in the latter by the experience of

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[28] The Anglo-German Fellowship/The Link is discussed in a British context in R. Griffiths, *Fellow Travellers on the Right: British Enthusiasts for Nazi German 1933-3* (Oxford, 1983), esp. pp. 183-6.

[29] The young woman and her father were evidently well-acquainted with Sir Oswald Mosley, who they referred to as 'Ossie' in correspondence with each other. (AA Melbourne, MP70/1, File No. 37-101-185, Part 3.

[30] AA Adelaide, AP538/1, SA20496; AA Canberra, AA1984/605 [2].

[31] On Miles and Stephensen, see B. Muirden, *The Puzzled Patriots* (Melbourne, 1968) and C. Munro, *Wild Man of Letters* (Melbourne, 1984).

anti-German hysteria of the First World War.[32] Among those within the Catholic-Irish tradition, a number became pro-Nazi in the 1930s, as an extension of their anglophobia and in sympathy with General Duffy's fascist *Blue Shirts* in Eire. They included a customs official, a man said to have been 'fanatical in his Irish anti-Imperial outlook', who informed the Sydney branch of the NSDAP that he was ready to assist in bringing anything they required into Australia.[33]

The pronounced anti-Semitism in Irish nationalism tended to promote empathy for the Hitler within sections of Irish Australia. Among intellectuals the pro-fascist publications of the Anglo-Irish writers Hilaire Belloc and G.K. Chesterton, as well as the leanings of George Bernard Shaw toward Mussollini in his later years, were not without influence. The Spanish Civil War engendered some support among Roman Catholics for Franco's clerico-fascism. Franco was, according to the Catholic Archbishop of Sydney, "a man who seemed to be raised up by Almighty God - a military genius the like of which has rarely been seen in the history of the world".[34]

III

The *Social Credit* message of Major Douglas, which in essence attributed the economic ills of the world to the banks - and by more than implication to the Jews who were presumed to represent 'finance capital' - possessed considerable appeal in rural Australia of the 1930s. Many farmers were forced off the land by the catastrophic fall in primary produce prices that was a hallmark of the Great Depression; a step that in many, many cases was initiated by a bank foreclosing on a mortgage or demanding repayment of an overdraft. Others struggled on with seemingly insurmountable bank debts.

Initially doubts were entertained about *Social Credit* in rightwing Australian circles. A leading banker was convinced it was a Communist 'front organisation' and enlisted Eric Campbell, the leader of the fascist New Guard to investigate and report on the organisation.[35] The Australian Labor Party also examined *Social Credit* with a view to determining whether it offered a preferable alter-

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[32] See J. Perkins, "Germans in Australia during the First World War", in J. Jupp (ed.) *The Australian People* (Sydney, 1988) pp. 488-9.

[33] AA Canberra, A367/1, C67248.

[34] Cited in E.M. Andrews, *Isolationism and Appeasement in Australia* (Canberra, 1970) p. 78.

[35] Westpac Archives (Sydney), GM 201/208. See also Mitchell Library (Sydney), De Groot Papers, MSS A4952, p. 308.

native to its bank nationalisation policy.[36] However, the *Social Credit* movement quickly acquired extreme right-wing credentials, with its organs purveying the pro-fascist and anti-Semitic message.

The world's first candidate to be elected to a legislature on a *Social Credit* platform was G.S. Carruthers, who entered the Tasmanian House of Assembly in 1934. The appeal of *Social Credit* was nowhere more pronounced than in the Riverlands of South Australia and the Riverina along the New South Wales-Victoria border. In these districts numerous former military officers, a group that was in general attracted by fascist ideologies, had taken up farming under soldier settlement schemes inaugurated after the First World War, only to be devastated by the collapse of commodity prices from late 1928. In the Riverlands of South Australia they overlapped spatially with the core of German settlement in the state. A Douglas *Social Credit Association of South Australia* existed from at least 1934, with one of its founders being of German descent.[37] By the mid-1930s, even quite small settlements in the Riverlands, such as Kingston and Barmera, possessed Social Credit Study Circles.

For many individuals attraction to *Social Credit* was a step on the road via empathy for fascist ideas to their espousal. Some members of the Newcastle, N.S.W., branch of the *Social Credit Party* were "said to be Nazi sympathisers". One of them, the accountant Graham Bland, was acquainted with Johannes Frerck, the leader of the Sydney 'Stronghold' of the NSDAP until 1936. In September 1937 he wrote to the 'State Leader' of the Nazi Party requesting information from German sources for pamphlets he intended to produce. Probably suspecting an agent provocateur at work, the NSDAP leader passed the letter on to a representative of the Australian security services.[38]

A graduate of London University, Bland completed his magnus opus, which he gave the title Jesus, Jews or Japs, shortly before the outbreak of war in September 1939. Messrs Angus and Robertson, the Sydney publishers he submitted it to, took the view that the time was not opportune to publish the work.

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[36] Battye Library (Perth), Somerville Papers, M467A, Box 9.

[37] AA Adelaide, AP501/2, Outward Letters, 18101-18700. The other founder, a lighthouse keeper on Kangaroo Island, probably had limited opportunities to spread the Douglas message.

[38] AA Sydney, SP1714/1, N60084. Bland's pro-Nazi views may in part have been derived from his close association with Max Stemler, a naturalized subject of Austrian birth who was also a member of the *Social Credit Party*. Stemler, a herbalist, "came into conflict with medical authorities at Newcastle as a result of his opposition to diphtheria immunization and other accepted medical principles". (*Ibid*).

Otherwise, Bland was a prolific writer of letters to the Newcastle press outlining *Social Credit* solutions to the nation's financial problems. The answer to his own, and the means of supporting his 'addiction to drink', he found "in begging, under the guise of borrowing, numerous sums of one and two shillings from street acquaintances".[39]

The cross-fertilization between *Social Credit* ideology and the Nazi propaganda among the German-Australians in the Barossa Valley is illustrated by a security service report of August 1943. According to that report:

> ... among those residents who have retained the use of the German language and have remained under the influence of German culture, there is a widespread and rooted conviction that the war is the result of the machinations of financiers; many people are convinced that Mr Churchill, Mr Roosevelt and Mr Anthony Eden are all Jews - Social Credit propaganda has influenced many of these people in their financial ideas, and Nazi propaganda, which reached the home of almost every persons of German descent, took a strong effect on many.[40]

Social Credit, fascist and anti-Semitic views were propagated by a number of regional newspapers and specialist periodicals during the 1930s. In South Australia they included the *Murray Pioneer*, the *Barossa News*, *The Farmer* and *The Wheatgrower*. The latter, organ of the South Australian Wheatgrowers' Association, had evident *Social Credit* leanings. It also published a number of specifically anti-Semitic pieces, including one in 1938 by E.A. Staude, entitled simply "The Jew". Staude, of German descent, had close connections with a number of active NSDAP members in the state. J.E. Laycock, the secretary of the Association, was a close associate of L.S. Norman. the anti-Semite leader of the Guild of Watchmen of Australia. The latter was described by the security services as 'a British Israelite anti-Semitic society'. Laycock was also friendly with E.H. Hergstrom, the local leader of the fascist and anti-Semitic *New World Order Reconstruction Movement*.[41]

The weekly *Murray Pioneer*, serving the Riverlands, published several pro-Nazi articles by a schoolmaster of German descent, a member of Mosley's *British Union of Fascists* who completed a doctorate at the University of Leipzig in 1935. To attempt to give the gist of these essays: in Nazi Germany, according to the author:

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[39] *Ibid.*

[40] AA Sydney, C414, Security Service Report for S.A., 27 Aug. 1904.

[41] AA Adelaide, D1915/0, SA6016.

> Concentration camps were founded for political prisoners, not for the purpose of maltreating them, but to instruct them in National Socialist ideals and to teach them to become good citizens. For aliens, such as Communists, etc., the concentration camps served as a means of segregation, to prevent further damage being done.

Jews had apparently exercised excessive influence in Germany before Hitler's Machtergreifung; in particular in the legal and medical professions, in the ownership of real estate (mostly it seems acquired during the hyperinflation of the early 1920s) and in the ownership of the press. Appealing to sentiments expressed in the 'White Australia' policy of the time, the author was of the view as regards 'Aryans' and Jews that "an intermingling of the two races is highly undesirable, on the same grounds as the mixing of Aryans and, say, Mongolians is undesirable".[42]

The *Barossa News*, a weekly serving an area with a particularly large concentration of residents of German descent, was initially quite critical of the Hitler regime: as in an editorial published in May 1933. This brought a lengthy rejoinder from a local Lutheran divine, the founder of the main Lutheran mission in New Guinea, who had clearly read Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. The response was a hagiography of Hitler combined with an anti-Semitic diatribe. The Führer, apparently, "advances no empty phrases and nebulous theories. His speeches are pregnant and weighty by virtue of the power of facts. He has common-sense, sound principles and a burning love for his suffering people". By contrast to this 'German Messiah':

> The Jews of the New Testament have sunk again into idolatry. They are the servants of wealth, the God of Mammon, red gold. They dance around the golden calf. They endeavour to get rich by all means in order to control the Gojim, as they call all people not belonging to the Jewish race. They employ all means of deception to demoralise these so that they may control them. No methods are too low or too dirty for them to gain their ends, even stooping to trafficking in girls for houses of ill-fame.[43]

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[42] *Murray Pioneer*, 18-25 June, 2 July 1936. The author also gave a number of talks in the locality on the "pro-farmer" policies of the Nazi Government.

[43] *Barossa News*, 11-25 May 1933. Subsequently, the divine gave a report in the same vein to a Lutheran assembly, under the title "The Jewish Question". The only question raised was whether the lecturer's belief in the authenticity of *The Protocols of the Meetings of the Learned Elders of Zion* was justified. The reply was: "If not, then the Russian translator of these protocols must have been a prophet, for he has foreseen what has happened decades later". (AA Adelaide, D1915/0, SA6106).

After the Lutheran divine's contribution, the *Barossa News* - sensing the consensus among its readership - avoided as far as possible the subject of Hitler's Germany in its editorials and opened its columns to the expression of pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic views. In 1936, for example, the newspaper reprinted the Riverland schoolmaster's rationalisations of the policies pursued by the Hitler government that had appeared earlier in the year in the *Murray Pioneer*.[44]

IV

The only explicitly fascist movement to emerge in Australia, the *New Guard*, originated in volunteer state organisations established during the Great Depression ostensibly for assisting the police in the event of a 'communist in-surrection'. They were the *League of National Security* (Victoria), the *Z Force* (South Australia), the *Kharki Legion* (Western Australia) and the *Old Guard* (New South Wales). The most important of these was the *Old Guard* in Australia's most populous state, where recruitment was especially stimulated by actions of J.T. Lang, the populist Australian Labor Party premier who, somewhat paradoxically, railed again British 'Money Power' in explicitly anti-Semitic terms.[45] Lang was widely believed to be controlled by the Communist movement; although his publicity proclaimed "Lang is Greater than Lenin". It was largely directed from the offices of Australia's largest corporation, the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, by its general manager. Within the organisation a nucleus soon emerged, centred around a group of younger former officers, who agitated for a more militant approach. In February 1931 this group broke away to form the *New Guard*, under the leadership of a Sydney solicitor, Colonel Eric Campbell.[46]

In early 1932 the *New Guard* received considerable publicity when a mounted member, Captain de Groot, intervened ahead of the NSW Labor premier to cut the ribbon for the opening of the Sydney Harbour Bridge.[47] The

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[44] *Barossa News*, 13-17-20 Aug. 1936.

[45] See P. Love, *Labour and the Money Power* (Melbourne, 1983) pp. 128-32.

[46] See A. Moore, *The Secret Army and the Premier* (Sydney, 1989).

[47] The horse de Groot used on that occasion was borrowed from a member of a German wool-buyer's family. It was subsequently acquired by another German wool-buyer who was a member of the NSDAP. (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 April 1992) A New Guard leader residing at Katoomba near Sydney had reportedly participated in Mussolini's 'March on Rome' in 1922. (Archives Office of New South Wales (Sydney), Police Dept., Special Bundle, 10/1829).

New Guard, under Campbell's direction, adopted a fascist programme, a fascist form of party organisation and fascist tactics in the pursuit of power. Frequent rallies were held to publicise the anti-democracy message of the organisation, its opposition to 'machine' or party politics. Members were organised to disrupt Communist Party and Australian Labor Party meetings - in which physical violence was often employed - as a means of gaining publicity for the *New Guard*. Instructions on 'street fighting' techniques were issued. After obtaining access to the weapons in the police armoury, elaborate plans were devised to stage a putsch to overthrow the Lang state government. At this time the New Guard leadership apparently saw the movement as being at a stage of development analogous to the early 1920s 'heroic' phase of Mussolini's fascist and Hitler's National Socialist movement.

Much of the 'thunder' of the *New Guard* was stolen by dismissal of the New South Wales Lang government by the Governor on 13 May 1932. In response, the movement began to develop organisational forms and tactics designed to capture power through the parliamentary process. Connections were developed with like-minded groups in other states, including the *League of National Security* in Victoria. The *All for Australia League*, which claimed a membership of 100,000, was formed as early as February 1931. In December 1933 Campbell launched the 'Centre Party' to contest all forthcoming federal and state elections.[48] In the meantime, after a visit to Europe in 1933, during which he met Mosley and leading Italian and German fascists, Campbell introduced the outward manifestations of European fascism into the Australian movement, with the adoption of a uniform and a salute.[49] In 1934, a decade after the appearance of Hitler's Mein Kampf, the would-be Australian *Führer* launched his manifesto, entitled *The New Road*. This was an attempt to adapt European fascism to Australian conditions; for Campbell was convinced that "a serious and sane application of fascist doctrines is the only hope if Australia is to preserve its freedom and take material advantage of exploiting this veritable land of Canaan".[50]

The *New Guard/Centre Party* was distinctly anti-democracy. According to Campbell, in a statement of party policy sent to the German Consul-General in 1935, "the 'One man one vote' system is a sorry farce" and "Elections on the

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[48] See K. Richmond, "The New Road to Salvation: Eric Campbell and the Center Party", *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. LXVI, Part 3, 1980, pp. 184-98.

[49] E. Campbell, *The Rallying Point* (Melbourne, 1965) pp. 131-7.

[50] *The New Road* (Sydney, 1934) p. 57.

popular franchise are at best concessions to the vanity of the people, and delude them into thinking that they are having a part in the government of the country". In fact, "the political machine ... is the tool of the vested interests of Capital and Labour". Reflecting Social Credit ideology, "our credit system under the control of the Associated Banks in (sic) effects dominates the Government, instead of the Government dominating credit". The political solution was "the reorganization of Parliamentary institutions on the Corporative plan". In the sphere of industrial relations, the movement was "determined that co-operation must be substituted for class strife".[51] Although clearly influenced by the programme of Hitler's NSDAP, anti-Semitism was not an integral element of *New Guard* ideology. In the 15 May 1932 issue of *New Guard*, the movement's periodical, *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* was described as showing 'crudity that appeals to the ignorant'.

By the mid-1930s many politically-active middle-class Australians saw the future in terms of a choice between fascism or communism, with the preference generally being for the former. A prominent candidate for the position of Australian dictator was Sir John Monash: the distinguished Australian soldier of the Great War, who was of Jewish descent. Monash, however, rejected all approaches to lead Australian fascism.[52]

V

As it happened, a native Australian fascism failed to emerge beyond a plethora of individual groups, many minute in membership, which had little political impact. For this we perhaps have to thank the inertia implanted by the widespread acceptance of parliamentary democracy as the institutional basis of Australian politics; just as free enterprise, with the assistance of a considerable propaganda effort by interested parties, became part of 'the Australian way of life' in the post-1945 era. After the defeat of the Federal Labor government at the 1931 election, and the dismissal of the seemingly more radical New South Wales state Labor government in 1932, power in the country was to remain firmly in the hands of the conservative forces for the remainder of the 1930s. Supine as those governments were - in particular in the face of mass employment (and the growing threat from Nazi Germany and Militarist Japan) - they were actively opposed to communism. As a consequence, only the most para-

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[51] AA Canberra, A1533, 53/777.

[52] G. Serle, *John Monash* (Melbourne, 1982) pp. 518-20.

noiac Australian bourgeois could seriously entertain the prospect of the established order being overthrown by a communist revolution or communist permeation of existing organs exercising political power and authority.

By the time fascist movements of any significance at all began to emerge in Australia, the worst of the Great Depression was over. The level of unemployment continued to be high, and increased somewhat in the recession of 1937-38. However, it was considerably below the peak of the early 1930s. Moreover, as in the current 'recession', with the passage of time a high level of unemployment became to an extent an 'accepted fact of life'.

The progress of fascism in Australia was also impeded by its failure to produce a leader capable of creating a mass basis of support for the idea. As the plethora of fascist organisations indicates, their was a surfeit of would-be *Führers*, none possessing real charisma. Eric Campbell, the leader of the largest movement to emerge, was a 'silver tail', a member - or at least aspirant - of the ruling class, who also lacked ability as a demagogue. That combination faced the insurmountable barriers of the myth of egalitarianism and the reality of widespread political apathy in Australia.

For most Australians there was something intrinsically alien about the outward manifestations of fascism. The uniforms appealed to many whose seminal life experience had been service with the military during the Great War. For the great majority of the population, however, they were symbols of generally despised authority, in particular the police, or they were simply dismissed as 'fancy dress'. The 'discipline' demanded by fascist movements, the call for 'sacrifices' on the part of the individuals, and for 'enthusiasm' beyond that displayed at the racecourse, or cricket and football grounds, were all alien to the Australian *psyche*. This was reinforced in the later 1930s by the emerging conflict between Britain and Nazi Germany.

There was a significant minority of the population, particularly but not exclusively among persons of Irish or German extraction, who questioned the wisdom of the prevailing dogma of subsuming Australia's interests within those of the British Empire. They perceived themselves to be the Australian nationalists. To an extent on the basis of analogy with the American Revolution of 1776, they believed that Australia could only realise its full potential, materially and spiritually, by severing the links that tied the country to Britain. Many were attracted to fascism by the antithesis it represented to parliamentary democracy (as well as to communism), as well as by its recent emergence emerging with that of the search for an Australian national identity, involving new institutions and images. Apart from the 'contemporary' nature of fascism, its dynamism seemed for some appropriate to a 'new country' that seemingly had more of a

future than a past. Fortunately, the traditions established during the colonial 19th century, the 'alien nature' of European fascist movements in the eyes of most Australians and the conservatism - perhaps apathy would be more appropriate - of the public generally - was sufficient to tide democracy in Australia over the two most difficult decades in its history.

10

JOHN PERKINS

THE SWASTIKA AMONG THE COCONUTS: NAZISM IN NEW GUINEA IN THE 1930'S

"We close our ranks together.
For Leader, People and Land
And scatter the good seed.
For our Fatherland".

(Translation of the opening verse of the song of the NSDAP branch at the Lutheran Mission based on Finschhafen, New Guinea).

A West German scholar has recently advanced the view that only in rare instances did German Lutheran missionaries come to adhere to the ideology of National Socialism during the era of the Third Reich. Apparently, 'the religious objectives' of the missions 'took precedence over everything else'. He argues that the 'German Christian' movement, the *Glaubensbewegung Deutsche Christen* who were so closely allied to the Nazi Party, "scarcely found any followers among the missionaries". Rather the all-pervading religious ideology was apparently pietism: a concentration upon spiritual matters and obedience to secular authority.[1]

A similar view was expressed in the mid-1930s by the founder of the Lutheran Neuendettelsau mission based on Finschhafen in New Guinea, in the then German colony that, from 1920, became an Australian mandate under the League of Nations. As he observed of that mission:

> ... A spiritual organization of this kind will never be a source of danger to any government. On the contrary, it will be of material assistance in peace and goodwill. As Christians they are loyal subjects of the Government, under whose

[1] E. Dammen, "Die deutsche Kolonialmission in den ehemaligen deutschen Kolonien zwischen den beiden Weltkriege", in K.J. Bade (ed), *Imperialismus und Kolonialmission* (2nd edn., Wiesbaden, 1984), p. 283.

> protection they pray that they might be permitted to follow the dictates of their consciences in accordance with the Gospel of the New Testament.[2]

More recently, Dr. H.N. Nelson has presented an analysis of the treatment of the German Lutheran missionaries of New Guinea after the outbreak of the Second World War, in which the extensive arrests and deportations to Australia are ascribed essentially to prejudice.[3]

Admittedly, there were members of the Territory administration who were biased against missions in general and against the Lutheran ones in particular. A number of the Australian and British residents of New Guinea continued in the 1930s to hold and express anti-German feelings inherited from the First World War. From the outbreak of war in 1939, local branches of the RSL, on no other basis than prejudice, called for the immediate internment of all German citizens.[4] The authorities, however, did not blindly respond to such calls. Rather they acted on the basis of a more realistic assessment of the situation than Dr Nelson gives them credit for.

The reality is that a number of missionaries and lay personnel attached to the Finschhafen Mission became active members of the Nazi party over the course of the 1930s and that Nazi ideology came to have a pervasive influence on the Mission as a whole. Contrary to Dr Nelson's view that "it is impossible to tell whether those who expressed enthusiasm for Hitler did so to protect relatives", such enthusiasm was genuine and explicable. The protection of relatives did not require published expression of support for the Nazi regime or membership of the NSDAP. Acquiescence and inaction were sufficient: as the outcome of the stance adopted by many German citizens living abroad indicates.

Swastika flags and other Nazi regalia displayed at the mission stations cannot be simply dismissed as "no more than signs of national identity that British or American missionaries might have possessed".[5] The swastika was the symbol of a political party that only came into being in 1919 (many years after the older missionaries had left Germany) and a fringe political party until 1930. For the

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[2] J. Flierl, *Is the New Guinea Primitive Race destined to perish at the Hands of European Civilization?* (Tanunda, 1936) p. 8.

[3] H.N. Nelson, "Loyalties at Sword-point: The Lutheran Missionaries in Wartime New Guinea, 1939-45", *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. XXIV, No. 2, 1978, pp. 199-217.

[4] See, for example, *Rabaul Times*, 31 May 1940.

[5] Nelson, 'Loyalties at Sword-point', pp. 202, 205.

Bavarians who comprised most of the Neuendettelsau personnel in New Guinea, a photograph of Ludwig II's fairy-tale castle *Neuschwannstein* and a pair of Lederhosen would have been more fitting reminders of 'home'.

Membership of the NSDAP cannot be equated with that, say, of the contemporary ALP, or of the United Australia Party of Prime Minister Lyons, which operated in a multi-party democracy. The clearly expressed program of the Nazis was racist in the extreme and aggressively expansionist. In a party organized on the basis of the 'leadership principle' (*Führerprinzip*), membership committed the individual to unquestioning obedience to the Will of Hitler. By 1937, when the Finschhafen 'Stronghold' or branch of the Nazi Party was formed, the anti-Semitic actions of the Hitler regime had become far-reaching. At the same time, it was clear to even the least observant that Hitler's expansionist policies, at the expense of Germany's eastern European neighbours and the colonial powers, ran at least a high risk of unleashing a world war.

II

Organized German Lutheran missionary activity in New Guinea commenced in 1886, shortly after Germany had proclaimed a protectorate over the territory. In July of that year Pastor Johann Flierl of the Neuendettelsau Mission Society of Bavaria arrived in the colony to commence activities at Finschhafen. The following year the Rhenish Mission Society, of Barmen in the Rhineland, established a mission at what became the port of Madang.[6]

From the mid-1880s to September 1914, when Australian troops landed to take over the German colony, the Lutheran missions had achieved very limited results for their effort among the indigenous peoples. It was 13 years before the Neuendettelsau Mission could record the baptism of its first convert. The procedure adopted in spreading the Gospel, of attracting individuals to embrace the faith, produced converts who faced a life of spiritual and social isolation from their own people or, more commonly, soon relapsed to their original beliefs.

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[6] On the early, pre-1914 years of the Neuendettelsau and Rheinish missions, see H. Wagner, "Beginnings at Finschhafen", in Wagner and Reiner (eds.) *Lutheran Church in New Guinea*, pp. 31-83; J. Richter, *Die evangelische Mission in Fern- und Südost-Asien, Australien und Amerika* (Gutersloh, 1932), pp. 278-87). For information in English-language sources see P. Lawrence, "Lutheran Mission Influence on Madang Societies", *Oceania*, VI. XXVII, No. 2, 1956, pp. 73-89; P.J. Hempenstall, "The Reception of European Missions in the German Pacific Empire: the New Guinea Experience", *Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. X, No. 1, 1975, pp. 46-64. The official history of the Neuendettelsau Mission in New Guinea is G. Pilhofer, *Die Geschichte der Neuendettelsauer Mission in Neu Guinea*, 2 vols. (Neuendettelsau, 1963).

Shortly before the outbreak of war in 1914, however, an approach by Christian Keysser began to show promising results. Keysser had been a missionary in New Guinea since 1899. His method consisted of 'mass evangelization', which sought to convert entire communities to Christianity, on the basis of retaining as much of indigenous culture as was compatible with the Christian faith. For this purpose converts among the indigenous, known as 'helpers' or 'evangelists', were sent out to targeted communities. There they paved the way for the missionaries by quietly living according to their faith and providing an example for the people around them to follow.[7]

The discovery of the potential of the Keysser approach, so shortly before external events removed the backing of the expansionary German colonial regime, must have been particularly galling for the Lutheran missionaries of New Guinea. The more so because of the degree of success achieved, in difficult circumstances, when the approach was adopted more generally after the war. By late 1928 the Mission claimed to have baptised over 22.000 of the 150.000 or so New Guineans with whom it was in contact.[8]

The existence in New Guinea of Christian missions from Germany presented the Australian government with something of a problem when its forces occupied the territory in 1914. The property of lay German settlers, plantation owners and traders, was expropriated in 1920 in accordance with Article 297 of the Treaty of Versailles. This step could be rationalised as justified by Germany's assumed responsibility for the war and its consequent obligation to furnish reparations for the financial and other sacrifices of the Australian government and people. (Article 297 also obliged the German government to recompense its own nationals for property confiscated in what became mandates of the League of Nations.) The same treatment, however, could hardly be applied by a government of what considered itself a 'Christian nation' when the property concerned was that of Christian organisations devoted to bringing the Gospel to the unenlightened.

Under Article 438 of the Treaty of Versailles, German missionaries were to be expelled from former German colonies taken over by the Allied powers. Initially, missionaries in New Guinea were allowed to continue their activities

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[7] Lawrence, "Lutheran Mission Influence", pp. 76-80. See also C. Keysser, "Mission Work among Primitive Peoples in New Guinea", *International Review of Missions*, Vol. XIII, 1924; *Eine Papuergemeinde* (Kassel, 1929); "Group Conversion among the Papuans", *International review of Missions*, Vol. XXVII, 1938, pp. 403-14; *Gottes Weg ins Hubeland* (2nd edn., Neuendettelsau, 1949); Pilhofer, *Neuendettelsauer Mission*, I, 182ff.

[8] *Neuendettelsauer Missionsblatt*, Vol. XVII, No. II, 1928.

pending repatriation to Germany and their replacement by Australian and American Lutherans. In May 1921 the United Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Australia formally took over responsibility for both the Neuendettelsau mission at Finschhafen and the Rhenish Mission at Madang. At the time it was believed that the services of German missionaries could be dispensed with inside two years. This was subsequently extended to four years and then to seven, as a consequence of difficulties experienced in finding replacements in Australia and the U.S.A. From 1926, when Germany joined the League of Nations, the original prohibition on German missionaries was rescinded and it became possible for new appointments to be made from Neuendettelsau and Barmen. Eventually, in 1933, the former mission society regained complete control over its activities in New Guinea, while the American Lutheran Church took over the smaller Rhenish Mission at Madang. This demarcation was decided on at a conference held in Columbus, Ohio, in May 1932.[9]

III

One factor promoting enthusiasm for the 'New Germany' among Lutheran missionaries in New Guinea was local threats to their activities. Lay traders with the indigenous population were concerned at the business competition of the Lutheran missions.[10] The discoveries of gold from the mid-1920s onwards in the area covered by the Finschhafen Mission handicapped missionary activities severely. The miners, avid worshippers of mammon, were 'often rough and thoughtless' in their treatment of the indigenous people who crossed their path. The result was 'bad blood', feelings which the indigenous people expressed towards all Europeans, including missionaries. The legal indenturing of tribesmen to work in the mining camps, or serve as bearers on the hazardous trail from the Morobe goldfield to the port of Salamaua, resulted in many deaths and considerable disruption of tribal life in the Finschhafen Mission area. (So did illegal pressganging, a practice that occasionally occurred with the connivance of officials).[11]

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[9] Australian Archives (hereafter AA) ACT, A6122, Item 11104; *Neuendettelsauer Missionsblatt*, Vol. XXII, No. 8, 1932; F.O. Theile, "Die Geschichte der Neuguinea-Mission vom Ausbruch des Weltkrieges 1914 bis zum Gegenwart", *Ibid.* Vol. XCIII (XXVI) No. 7, 1936; AA Sydney, SP1714/1, N39016.

[10] See, for example, *Pacific Islands Monthly*, 19 Sept. 1934.

[11] On the Lutheran missionary response to the development of the gold industry see, for example, "Neues Goldfield - Neues Not", *Neuendettelsauer Missionsblatt*, Vol. XXI, No. 1, 1931, and W. Flierl, "Viele Widersacher", *Ibid.* No. 12, 1931. In 1926 only 943 males from the Finschhafen Mission area were employed as indentured workers in connection with the

Under Australian rule urban settlements grew up along the coast and at Wau in the interior within the Finschhafen Mission's area of operations. This was perceived by missionaries as posing a serious threat to their endeavours. The towns were described by one Finschhafen missionary as 'swamps', which attracted large numbers of New Guineans who witnessed "the way of life of Whites, their injustices, their senseless grasping for wealth, their never-satiated search for pleasures". With the opening of cinemas in Salamaua and Wau in the Finschhafen Mission area, the posters displayed to advertise films were considered by the puritanical Lutheran missionaries as tending to lead the indigenous people astray. Many of the missionaries were determinedly opposed to 'the modern spirit' of the interwar era. It penetrated New Guinea through Australian agencies and, therefore, came to be associated in the eyes of many at Finschhafen with Australian rule.[12]

From the German Lutheran perspective the desire of New Guineans, especially the young, to emulate contemporary 'White' culture was deliberately encouraged by the Australian authorities. The taxes imposed by the Administration were intended as a mechanism to extract contract labour rather than to draw peasant producers into a cash economy. In the process single men from the tribes were exposed to the temptations offered by Salamaua and Wau and tribal life was considerably disrupted. In addition, the withdrawal of the young from the villages forced the closure of some mission upper schools that had provided the 'helpers'.[13]

Resentment was also felt among the German Lutheran missionaries at efforts by the Administration to encourage the use of English as the medium of instruction in mission schools. Under German rule the education of the indigenous people had been the exclusive preserve of the missions. Through experience the Lutheran missions had come to the conclusion that the language of the particular tribe was the most suitable means for achieving their educational and religious objectives. Employing the tribal language meant that the pupil was not required

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Morobe goldfield. By 1936 the number was 11.695 (as compared with only 1051 from the Catholic mission area that had a similar population). The 11.695 from the Finschhafen Mission area represented about a quarter of the entire male population. (G. Pilhofer, "Das Volksleben und die Anwerbung in Neuguinea", *Ibid.* Vol. XCIV (XXVII) No. 8, 1937.

[12] J. Herrlinger, "Säkularismus in Neuguinea", *Ibid.* Vol. XXII, No. 2, 1932; F. Bayer, "Eine Gemeinde Not und Arbeit", *Ibid.* Vol. XXII, No. 10, 1932; S. Lechner, "Die moderne Geist", *Ibid.* Vol. XXI, No. 8, 1931.

[13] J. Herrlinger, "Säkularismus in Neuguinea", *Ibid.* Vol. XXII, No. 2, 1932; K. Wacke, "Schuld und Gefahr", *Ibid.* Vol. XXI, No. 8, 1931.

to adjust to a different pattern of thinking. The education of some members of a tribe through a European language tended to alienate them from their fellows rather than to produce effective evangelists. A few years of instruction in English was not considered adequate to provide the ability to read a book in that language with profit or without 'the greatest danger of misunderstandings'. Equally important, from the Lutheran perspective a facility in English enabled the convert to gain access to the undesirable literature of Anglo-Saxon sects.[14] Finally, asked by the Administration in 1932 to explain the non-usage of English, the Finschhafen Mission observed in its reply that:

> ... On account of the unsettled political situation changes could easily occur. For example, if we had earlier introduced German as the language in schools then that would have been a mistake. Our work will be less disturbed if we remain with the indigenous languages.[15]

A matter of particular concern to the Finschhafen Mission in the 1930s was the increasing Catholic and American non-Lutheran Protestant competition in the region of New Guinea it had come to regard as its preserve. At the beginning of the decade there was a tacit agreement between the Lutherans and the Roman Catholics, the largest group of whom were German, that the 5th parallel marked the border between their spheres of influence. North of that latitude was a Catholic preserve. South of it was the area of activity of the Lutherans. This agreement was not strictly adhered to. The Lutherans had missionaries stationed north of the line, including at Karkar Island and in the Brunabun district. Catholic missionaries were to be found in the Lutherans' territory, around Madang and especially in the interior. Broadly speaking however, the 'gentlemen's agreement' was adhered to until the mid-1930s.[16]

This relatively amicable arrangement was upset in 1934 with the opening up of a new area of missionary endeavour in the Central Highlands. A joint government-private expedition to Mount Hagen in search of signs of gold achieved limited success in its mission but did report the discovery of a relatively densely-populated area, between Onelunka and Mount Hagen, with an estimated 150.000 to 200.000 inhabitants. The Roman Catholic Mission of the Holy Ghost or Divine Word Mission, based at Sek near Madang, immediately sent a party to

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[14] *Ibid.* Vol. XXII, Nos. 1 and 5, 1932.

[15] *Ibid.* Vol. XXII, 1932, No. 5, 1932.

[16] AA Sydney, SP1714/1, N39016.

establish bases in the Central Highlands. According to a Lutheran source, "Priests hurried inland and had grass-huts erected to represent future mission stations". This posed a serious threat to the more considered approach adopted by the Lutheran, which involved a lengthy period of groundwork by 'helpers' before serious efforts were made at conversion. In addition, a party of Seventh Day Adventists arrived at Rabaul, the capital of the Mandate, with the aim of establishing a presence in what the Lutherans considered their territory. The Finschhafen mission hurriedly pressed forward with the dispatch of 'helpers' to take up residence in Highlands villages. The Adventists, however, were able to establish themselves in the Upper Ramu area.[17]

The intense Lutheran-Catholic rivalry in the Highlands resulted in a court case in 1936, involving a Catholic missionary. On Sunday, 15 December 1935, Father Anthony Cranssen of Guyebi, a settlement in the Iwan district north of the Bismarck Range, took drastic action to remove Lutheran 'helpers' from villages he considered to be within his domain. He dispatched six 'mission natives', four of them armed, with orders to set fire to the 'helpers' huts and 'to shoot anyone resisting them'. The assignment resulted in the destruction of three huts in the village of Gegeru, a severe beating for two of the 'helpers' and a charge of arson being laid against the Catholic priest. Lutheran satisfaction at the arsonist being sentenced to five years imprisonment with hard labour by the New Guinea Supreme Court was to be short-lived. On appeal to the High Court in Australia the sentence was reduced to six months.[18]

The trial, sentence and result of the appeal coincided with another case, the outcome of which served to intensify doubts as to the justice dispensed by Australian courts. After an incident in the Highlands in early January 1936, a Lutheran missionary was charged with "unlawfully depriving a native of his liberty". Apparently in retaliation for an attack by villagers on Lutheran 'helpers', during which four pigs were stolen, a party organised by the missionary seized a villager and held him hostage until the pigs were returned. For this a sentence of two years imprisonment with hard labour was imposed on the missionary and, on account of a legal technicality, the sentence was confirmed by the Australian High Court.[19]

The rather unseemly race to save souls in the interior, the 'bitter rivalry' between the Lutheran and Catholic missions, and especially the murder of two

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[17] Pilhofer, *Neuendettelsauer Mission*, pp. 228-31; AA Sydney, SP1714/1, N39016.

[18] *Rabaul Times*, 15 May 1936; 21 Aug. 1936.

[19] *Ibid.* 5, 11 and 19 June, 14 Aug. and 11 Sept. 1936.

Catholic missionaries by tribesmen of the Mount Hagen district in early 1935, forced the Administration to intervene. The 'uncontrolled area' was declared a prohibited district for 'helpers' who were not directly under the supervision of European missionaries.[20] The 'helper stations' therefore had to be closed and the 'helpers' withdrawn. The Neuendettelsau Mission was particularly affected by this measure. In one area alone 13 'helper stations' had to be abandoned, along with several others in the Mount Hagen and Kerowagi districts. According to the retired Senior of the mission:

> ... Our brethren write that their hearts bleed at the thought of those helpers and their families being forced to leave their stations .... We are forcibly reminded of the persecution of the Lutherans by Bishop Firmian at the time of the Reformation ... The helpers are at a loss to understand it all. Neither do we.[21]

IV

In view of the power that the 'German Christians' led by Pastor J. Hossenfelder, and their *Imperial Bishop* (*Reichsbischoff*) Müller, came to exercise in the Lutheran Church in Germany, it is stretching credulity to argue that Lutheran missionaries were somehow or other not influenced by Nazism. With almost 90 per cent voting NSDAP by 1930, Lutheran theology students, including future missionaries, were even more attracted to support Hitler's movement than would be medical practitioners of non-Jewish extraction. The 'German Christian' movement, which was organised along Nazi Party lines - with *Gauleiters* and an Imperial Leader (*Reichsleiter*) - and which saw itself as the '*Sturmabteilung* [Stormtroop] Jesus Christ', collected 30 per cent of the votes in the synodal election of the Prussian state church in 1932.[22] Without at least the acquiescence

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[20] Mrossko, "Missionary Advance to the Highlands", pp. 199-200.

[21] Flierl, *Is the New Guinea Primitive Race*, p. 22. The exclusion of unsupervised 'helpers' from the 'uncontrolled area' was progressively relaxed from early 1937. (*Rabaul Times*, 10 Feb. 1937); W. Flierl, "Zur gegenwärtigen Lage auf unsrem Missionsfeld", *Neuendettelsauer Missionsblatt*, Vol. XCV (XXVIII) No. 7, 1938).

[22] H. Immenkötter, "Die christlichen Kirchen und die Machtergreifung", in J. Becker (ed). *1933-Fünfzig Jahre danach* (Munich, 1983), p. 172; S. Baranowski, "The 1933 German Protestant Church Elections: *Machtpolitik* or Accommodation", *Church History*, XLIX, No. 3, 1980, p. 307. Subsequently, in the parochial council elections of June 1933 the 'German Christians' achieved a 'Stunning victory', with up to 75 per cent of the vote in northern and eastern Germany. (*Ibid.* p. 298). See also, G. Denzler and V. Fabricius, *Die Kirchen in dem Dritten Reich*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt, 1984) I, 32ff.

of the churches, the *Machtergreifung* of 30 January 1933 would not have been possible. In practice, "the majority of German churchmen welcomed the advent to power in 1933 of Adolf Hitler".[23]

The headquarters of the Finschhafen Mission was located at the village of Neuendettelsau in the Protestant region of Franconia in Bavaria, where the 'German Christian' movement acquired a particularly strong following. The missionaries and most of the lay workers based at Finschhafen received their training at Neuendettelsau.[24] Virtually all of them, like their wives, and many of the lay personnel employed by the Mission in New Guinea, originated from Franconia, a region noted for political anti-Semitism and the extent of support for the Nazi party in the elections of the early 1930s. Neuendettelsau itself is located about 20 kilometres from Nuremberg, the city selected by the NSDAP for the party's annual rallies because, following the pogroms of the Middle Ages, it had been 'Jew-free' (*Judenfrei*) for centuries.[25] It was also the place of residence of Julius Streicher, publisher of the virulently anti-Semitic newspaper *Der Stürmer* and the Nazi *Gauleiter* of Franconia. The fostering of a specific 'German Christianity', in which Christianity was reconciled with *völkisch* anti-Semitism, was one of Streicher's favourite causes.[26]

One basis of the broad sympathy of a majority within the Lutheran Church for the Nazi movement was the anti-Semitism they shared, which for Lutherans had its roots especially in the expressed views of Luther himself.[27] Some church members did not accept the racial anti-Semitism of the 'German Christians'. They endeavoured "to maintain the orthodox Lutheran attitude that a Christian Jew must be accepted as a brother". Those who opposed the intervention of the Nazi regime in church affairs from 1933 also opposed discrimination against Jewish converts. However, at least initially, even they did not protest against the increasingly anti-Semitic policy of the Third Reich.[28] Religious anti-Semitism

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[23] J.S. Conway, "National Socialism and the Christian Churches during the Weimar Republic", in P.D. Stachura (ed), *The Nazi Machtergreifung* (London, 1983), p. 124.

[24] *Rabaul Times*. 12 Aug. 1938.

[25] As late as the 1830s Jews were not permitted to reside in the city of Nuremberg.

[26] H. Neuburger, *Freimauerei und Nationalsozialismus*, 2 vols. (Hamburg, 1980), I, 79.

[27] On the extent of anti-Semitism in the Lutheran Church of Germany, see R. Gutteridge, *Open thy Mouth for the Dumb: The German Evangelical Church and the Jews 1879-1950* (Oxford, 1976) *passim*.

[28] F.O. Bonkovsky, "The German State and the Protestant Elites", in F.H. Littell and H.G. Locke (eds.) *The German Church Struggle and the Holocaust* (Detroit, 1974) p. 137.

helped to create an environment which nurtured the more virulent, racial variety of the Nazis. At the very least many Lutherans came to believe that Jews who retained their faith 'brought their misfortune on themselves'.[29]

Other attitudes the Lutheran Church shared with Nazism included a pronounced antipathy towards freemasonry and communism and a perception that the Weimar Republic had fostered widespread decadence and laxity of morals. Like the Nazis, Lutherans tended to attribute all these 'evils' to the pernicious influence of Jews. These views are reflected in the reactions of the Lutheran press in Australia to Hitler's coming to power. On 24 April 1933, the *Lutheran Herald* commented:

> ... That there is a certain antagonism towards Judaism in Germany is apparent. Hitler believes in keeping the Germans a pure Nordic people and regards mixing with other nations, especially with Orientals, as a contamination. We are afraid that the principle of racial purity, although there is much to be said for it, is becoming a fetish. At the same time we can well understand that, judging from the deteriorating influences in the political and moral life of the nation that can be traced back to Jews, it is in the interests of the Germans to compel the leaders of Germany to put a stop to such influences.[30]

A month later an editorial writer for the same periodical was of the view that:

> ... Whatever one may think of Hitlerism two things ought to be conceded: It is waging a serious and effective war against moral and political corruption in every sphere of public life; and it has built a strong wall against the bolshevisation of Europe and the world .... Really, we ought to thank God on our knees that through the victory of Hitler the world has been spared what seemed an inevitable collapse.[31]

The German-language organ of the United Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Australia (VELKA), the synod that maintained close ties with the Neuendettelsau mission in New Guinea, responded to Hitler's appointment as Chancellor in the following vein:

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[29] AA Sydney, C414.

[30] *Lutheran Herald*, Vol. XIII, 1933, pp. 130-1.

[31] *Ibid.*, 22 May 1933, p. 163.

> ... It cannot be denied that Hitler's fight against filth, corruption, the power of the press, his awakening and consolidation of the healthy forces among the people, his emphasis upon religion and Christianity, are the bases for a restoration of the life of the people.[32]

Such views, which brought many Lutherans to actively support the Hitler regime, were reinforced by other factors in the case of the missions. The deepening economic depression in the last years of the Weimar Republic brought them to the verge of bankruptcy. From the beginning of 1932, the income from collections for the Neuendettelsau Mission plummeted below the amount required to support activities in New Guinea, at the very moment that the organization had taken sole responsibility for Finschhafen. Not only were potential contributors in the straitened financial circumstances, but collections were adversely affected by a growing feeling, in the face of massive unemployment and poverty in Germany, that perhaps "charity ought to begin at home".[33] By late 1932, the Neuendettelsau Mission was deeply in debt and facing a very uncertain future. It was desperately ready to welcome a secular saviour.

As the nadir of the Great Depression approached, in 1931-32, attacks by *völkisch* groups upon the missions became particularly vehement, on account of the latter's perceived attitude being akin to that of Mrs. Jellyby in Dickens' *Bleak House*, with her devotion to 'educating the natives of Borriboola-Gha, on the left bank of the Niger', while her own household was entirely neglected. Christian Keysser of Neuendettelsau responded with an essay in which he attempted to integrate missionary with *völkisch* objectives. *Volkstum* was, he argued, 'something created and therefore God given', that stemmed from a '*volk* soul' awakened in many peoples by missions. Therefore missionaries treasured *Volkstum*, especially their own. In particular, the experience gained by Neuendettelsau in the conversion of entire tribes in New Guinea provided a model for a *Volk* mission to the German people that had basically lost its Christian beliefs.[34]

After Hitler's accession to power on 30 January 1933, the fortunes of the Mission began to improve rapidly, as the German economy recovered. However, a problem the Mission faced during the Third Reich stemmed from the regime's emphasis upon the German 'race' as the central ideal and object of attention. This led to a ban on collections for foreign missions that was imposed

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[32] *Kirchenblatt der V.E.L.K.A.*, Vol. IX, 1933, p. 9).

[33] *Neuendettelsau Missionsblatt*, Vol. XXII, Nos. 1 & 10, 1932.

[34] C. Keysser, "Die völkische Frage im Lichte der Heidenmission", *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, Nos. 7/8, 12/19 Feb 1932.

temporarily in 1934. The Neuendettelsau response was to employ the Nazis' own reasoning in defence of the mission ideal. The universality of Christian love was contrasted with that of the Jews, which was viewed as confined to those of the Jewish faith. This latter was described as a "false conception of the nature of love" and "one of the main reasons why the Jews finally crucified Jesus Christ, their Messiah". Reflecting the Nazis' conception of themselves as being engaged in a titanic struggle against an almost omnipotent 'World Jewry', the Mission considered it to be:

> ... a significant question, which is also faced by German Christianity in our day, whether 'The Jew' will achieve victory over German Christianity, in that the latter betrays our boundless Christian love and thereby, like the Jews with their love, calls a halt at the frontier of the racial and ethnic community.[35]

In 1937 Christian Keysser, a missionary who had been deported from New Guinea in 1929 and an extremely influential teacher at the Mission's seminary, expressed the view that: "The first sworn enemies of the mission to heathens are the Jews".[36]

From September 1934 the so-called 'New Plan' established a system of strict rationing of foreign-exchange allocations according to a 'National Socialist scale of priorities'. The latter did not include those of the missions. The Neuendettelsau response was not criticism of the policies adopted by the Nazi government that had produced the foreign-exchange crisis. In the opinion of the Mission such a view was disseminated by 'irresponsible agitators', "one of the lies spread by opponents of National Socialism, especially those abroad". The situation was seen as the result of the 'liberal credit policy' of previous governments that had permitted the accumulation of an excessive level of foreign debt.[37]

Nazi intervention in church affairs provoked early opposition among conservative elements in the church. However, for the Neuendettelsau missionaries in the field in New Guinea it had little immediate relevance. They were witnesses

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[35] *Ibid.* Vol. XCIII (XXVI) No. 2, 1936. *cf.* K.-D. Mrossko, "Missionary Advance to the Highlands", in H. Wagner and H. Reiner (eds.) *The Lutheran Church in New Guinea* (Adelaide, 1986) p. 215n. According to Mrossko, from 1933 "The Mission in Germany was becoming increasingly isolated", on account of the ideology of the Nazis being 'diametrically opposed to the aims of the Mission'.

[36] C. Keysser, "Die Mission und ihre Gegner", *Ibid.* Vol. XCIV (XXVII) No. 11, 1937. On Keysser see below.

[37] *Ibid.* Special Number, 1933.

to the destructive impact of European influences on the native peoples and, in response, many were attracted by the Nazi insistence upon strict racial segregation, seeing it as the means of preserving native culture within a framework of adherence to Christianity. In the words of Christian Keysser: "Precisely with us, mission peoples racial differences are more emphasised than by others".[38]

A powerful state prepared to energetically promote perceived national interests, must have appealed to many of those engaged in missionary work in isolated and often dangerous situations. Missionaries were obviously drawn from amongst the most evangelical of Lutherans. In places like New Guinea, they competed directly and openly for souls with the Roman Catholic Church. In their struggle with the latter, 'the mighty church' with its universalist claims, the answer for many German Lutheran missionaries was an intense nationalism, and identification with a strong state, which brought them openly to espouse Nazism.[39] In the 16th century Luther had come to accept that the survival of his church depended on an alliance with the princes of Germany, who were striving to end subjection to the Holy Roman Emperor and his ally the Pope. In the 1930s, the struggle for the salvation of pagan souls in competition with Roman Catholicism contributed to the emergence of a similar view among the Lutheran missionaries in New Guinea. In part as a legacy of Bismarck's *Kulturkampf* against the Catholic Church in the 1870s, it was assumed that aggressive German nationalism was anti-Rome.

Before 1914 the relationship between the German Lutheran missions and the German colonial authorities had not always been harmonious. On occasions missionaries felt compelled to protest against actions taken by the authorities that they deemed to be inimical to the interests and well-being of the indigenous peoples among whom they worked.[40] In the context of the Mandate of New Guinea, and as memory of German rule faded, Lutheran missionaries tended to see deficiencies in colonial rule, with respect to the indigenous peoples, as due to the nature of the alien Australian administration.

Finally, it would have been difficult for the minority anti-Nazi views of the 'Confessing Church' (*Bekennende Kirche*) to have been publicly uttered in such

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[38] *Ibid.* Col. XCIII (XXVI) No. 7, 1936.

[39] Flierl, *Is the New Guinea Primitive Race*, p. 22.

[40] W.D. Smith, "Anthropology and German Colonialism", in A.J. Knoll and L.H. Gann (eds.) *Germans in the Tropics* (New York, 1987) pp. 50-1. See also R. Tetzlaff, "Die Mission im Spannungsfeld zwischen kolonialer Herrschaftssicherung und Zivilisierungsanspruch in Deutsch-Ostafrika", in Bade (ed.) *Imperialismus und Kolonialmission*, pp. 189-204.

a tightly-knit community as the Neuendettelsau Mission. Its opposition to the Nazis was limited in any case to an effort to preserve the church's traditional degree of autonomy in relation to the state. This stance had little appeal among missionaries in New Guinea who wanted the support of a strong German state.[41] In the sermon that served as a leading article in the November 1933 issue of the Neuendettelsau Mission's journal, it was observed that:

> God in His mercy has brought it to be, that through His agent, through our *Führer* Adolf Hitler, the disunity among Germans has been overcome and from now on over (sic) 40 million Germans are united as one man behind their government.[42]

In the context of increased missionary competition, it is perhaps understandable that the Neuendettelsau missionaries appealed to the German government for support and became enthusiastic for a regime that was concerned to defend 'German' interests abroad. In 1935, a Junker aircraft was acquired to support the mission's penetration of the interior. The duty alone on the aircraft amounted to £700. Efforts were also made to obtain the services of an experienced German pilot on a long-term basis. Initial inquiries in Germany elicited the response that, in view of the German rearmament program, the mission's request could not be acceded to. The following year, after the Australian director of the mission visited Germany and held talks with von Neurath, Hitler's Foreign Minister, a German pilot and a mechanic were permitted to depart for New Guinea.

The importance of the Finschhafen mission in the eyes of the Nazi authorities is indicated by their willingness to permit Neuendettelsau to furnish a subsidy of £6000 a year, mainly in the form of deliveries of German goods. By contrast, in 1935 the Liebenzell Mission Society was ordered to cease subsidizing its missionaries in the Japanese mandates north of the equator.[43] While the Liebenzell Mission in New Guinea was able to increase its staff from 8 to 19 Europeans between 1935 and 1940, the Neuendettelsau Mission added an additional 90 to its numbers to expand from 244 to 308.[44]

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[41] Baranowski, 'The 1933 German Protestant Church Elections', p. 315.

[42] *Neuendettelsauer Missionsblatt*, Vol. XC (XXIII), No. II, 1933. The actual population of Germany was over 60 million but the nominally Protestant proportion was around the 40 million stated. The occasion for the *Missionblatt*'s eulogy was the 'election' of 12 November 1933, which left Hitler's NSDAP as the sole party represented in the *Reichstag*.

[43] AA Sydney, SP1714/1, N39016; W. Price, *Rip Tide in the South Seas* (London, 1936), p. 167.

[44] *Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea*, 2 vols. (Melbourne, 1972) II, 778.

V

In the early 1930s individual members of the Nazi Party were to be found among the personnel of the Finschhafen mission and among German settlers in the Mandate. They formed part of the Hong Kong 'Stronghold' (*Stützpunkt*) or Party branch, with liaison being provided by an officer of one of the two German vessels engaged in collecting copra at New Guinea ports for transhipment at the British Crown Colony.[45] However, membership only became significant from 1936, when the increase was connected to a large extent with Hitler's decision to adopt colonial revisionism - the restoration of Germany's former colonies - as official policy. During 1936 particular excitement was created among Lutheran missionaries in New Guinea by rumours of the Mandate's impending return to German rule. The German-Australian mission director contacted the German Consul-General to inform him that "he could hardly curb his young missionaries any longer". He had recently received a delegation "asking him to telegraph immediately when New Guinea was taken over by Germany".[46]

When Dr. Hellenthal, a Sydney-based German consular official and Nazi party member, visited the Territory in 1936, he was pleased to find that: "The Lutheran Mission at Finschhafen, over which reigns an excellent national-socialist spirit, had decorated all the stations I visited with Swastika flags". He was greeted on landing at Finschhafen by the native band of the mission playing the Horst Wessel Lied, the anthem of the Nazi movement.[47]

On his return to Sydney Consul Hellenthal wrote to the 'State Leader' (*Landeskreisleiter*) of the NSDAP for Australia, Dr. Johannes Becker of Tanunda, that Party membership in the Mandate merited the formation of three 'Strongholds': at Rabaul, on the Morobe goldfields and at the Finschhafen Mission. As leader of the latter NSDAP branch he recommended Hubert Stürzenhofecker, the manager of the plantations operated by the Finschhafen Mission. A 'Stronghold' was formed at Finschhafen in January 1937. By early 1939 it had 30 members, with an additional nine candidate members.[48]

By 1935 the Neuendettelsau Mission possessed its own Nazi Storm Troop comprising all the trainees at the seminary. In August 1939 the leader of the Finschhafen branch of the Nazi Party could write:

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[45] AA Sydney, SP1714/1, N39593, P. Nechritz to R. Koehler, 3 Dec. 1935.

[46] AA ACT, A153; 53/777.

[47] AA ACT, A373, Item 1104.

[48] AA ACT, A981/1, Nazism 1, Part 2

> There can be no question of any recruiting of German missionaries in New Guinea in opposition to the Third Reich. This is shown by the Swastika flag in almost every German house and the pictures of the *Führer*.[49]

VI

German Lutheran missionaries were allowed considerable liberty to foster anti-Australian and pro-German attitudes amongst the indigenous and part-European populations of the areas in which they operated. By contrast, the Japanese authorities in the island mandates north of the equator took strict care to ensure that no such activities were conducted by the Liebenzell Mission. As the brother of a missionary on the Palau islands informed the German Foreign Office in 1933:

> ... From his last letter I gather that the Japanese seem very tolerant in religious matters. However, if a missionary were to utter a single word about Germany to the natives he would be immediately expelled. My brother has already been interrogated several times by the Japanese Governor on account of suspected espionage. The Japanese preach that 'Germany is only a village'.[50]

The influence of Nazis on the part-German population of New Guinean is clearly indicated by the following letter sent to Consul Hellenthal, of the German Consulate-General in Sydney, after his visit to Vunavulung plantation in August 1936:

> Dear Sir,
> Please receive our heartiest farewell greetings and best wishes, which I send to you in the name of my colleagues and half-caste Germans. It has been a great pleasure to have seen and met you in person. Many thanks for your evening reception, which some had the pleasure and the honour to attend yesterday. Even if we half-caste Germans have not been granted much in life, one treasure remains for us, a 'German thinking' and a 'German feeling' heart, which we shall

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[49] AA Sydney, SP 1714/1, N39016, H. Stürzenhofecker to Consulate-General Sydney, 10 Aug. 1939.

[50] Political Archives of the German Foreign Office (Bonn), Geheimakten Abteilung IV: Ostasien, *Akten betr. ehemals deutschen Kolonien*, H. Siemer to Foreign Office, 28 February 1933.

> maintain to the end. God grant that this colony may once again become German
> Herewith once more our best wishes for a good trip, a cheer for the fatherland and hail to our leader, Adolf Hitler.
> Yours faithfully,
> Your devoted half-caste Germans
> per Carl Schneider.[51]

Another piece of evidence of the propagation of Nazism among the part-German population of the Mandate is worthy of mention. In March 1939 the Inspector of Police at Rabaul had occasion to call at the home of Otto Wolff, whose father had been a German. As he later reported to his superior:

> ... I spoke to Mrs. Wolff (a half caste) in the presence of her baby daughter, Marie and Tina Reinhardt (a half caste) who resides at Mrs. Wolff's house. I said to Mrs. Wolff, 'Does your daughter speak English?' She replied, 'She understands it all right but does not speak it too well.' I said 'She is speaking German now,' and laughingly added, 'All you people (i.e. half castes of German extraction) learn German first.' She said, 'Yes. I am a Nazi. Nearly all of us are. I have a Nazi flag'. I said 'Where?' She replied, 'In here.' She went inside a room and came out with a Nazi flag. It was made of bunting and was about 6' x 3'6". The flag was supplied by a local German.[52]

The part-Germans of the Territory, many of them educated at the Finschhafen Mission, provided one channel for the dissemination of anti-Australian and pro-Nazi views among the indigenous people. On 4 June 1940 Robert Kraus, the son of a German police officer in pre-World War One New Guinea who had been educated at the Finschhafen Mission, pleaded guilty to contravening the National Security Regulations, "in that he endeavoured orally to influence public opinion in the Mandated Territory in a manner prejudicial to the Commonwealth and the effective prosecution of the war". Apparently, among other 'subversive remarks', Kraus had informed a New Guinean named Nassa "that the Germans would be here soon and would round up the English". The defendant agreed that he was a 'Nazi sympathiser'.[53]

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[51] AA ACT, A373, Item 1104.

[52] AA ACT, A981/1, Nazism 1, Part 2, J. Wastab to Administrator, 22 Mar. 1939.

[53] *Rabaul Times*, 7 June 1940.

VII

From their inception the German Lutheran missions in New Guinea had followed the flag: being established in the wake of the German government's decision to declare the territory a protectorate. By the 1930s, having regained autonomy as a missionary organisation from Australian Lutheran control, the Neuendettelsau mission at Finschhafen was keenly interested in restoring authority of the German state over the mandate.

In the opinion of the Australian authorities in the mandate, 'the younger Germans' among the Lutheran missionaries were 'bitten deep with the views of Hitlerism'. In the circumstances it seems to have been a wise move by the Australian authorities to arrest known Nazi Party members in the Mandate and deport them to internment camps in Australia. On the outbreak of war in September 1939, when the 16 known Nazi Party members in the territory were arrested for internment in Australia, the authorities expressed "some surprise at the number of older men among them". They included Karl Wacke, the translator of the New Testament into the Jabin language, who had arrived in New Guinea in 1903, and Georg Pilhofer, another pre-1914 arrival in the Territory, the translator of the New Testament into the Kotte language and the Acting Superintendent of the Finschhafen mission in the late 1930s. Pilhofer was subsequently to become the member of the Nazi 'Honour Court' in the internment camp at Tatura in Victoria.[54] In the 1960s, he was to produce the official history of the Finschhafen Mission. Not surprisingly, this work contains no reference to Nazi activities at the Mission in the 1930s. Instead, emphasis is placed on the general failings of the Australian Administration of the Territory and the anti-missionary attitudes of some of its members.[55] Of the initial internees, 10 weremissionaries, one was the bookkeeper of the Mission, two were managers of its copra plantations and one was a carpenter who was also a Luftwaffe-trained pilot.

During searches of the homes of Lutheran missionaries conducted in connection with arrests for interment, both on the outbreak of war and subsequently, the Australian authorities uncovered considerable amounts of Nazi regalia and propaganda material. Much of the regalia, the Swastika flags and armbands in particular, was made locally from whatever material was to hand. The rest, which included the Adolf Hitler portraits that adorned most German missionary homes, the Nazi badges and tie-pins, and copies of *Mein Kampf* and other Nazi

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[54] AA Sydney, SP1714/1, N39016.

[55] See Pilhofer, *Neuendettelsauer Mission*, *passim*.

propaganda material, came from Germany.[56] A former Australian soldier who served in New Guinea recalls finding in 1944 at the Mumeng mission station "copies of *Der Stürmer*, a particularly vile anti-Semitic newspaper, and books and pamphlets on Herrenvolk racism".[57] One channel of entry to New Guinea for this Nazi propaganda was the North German Lloyd ships *Bremerhaven* and *Friderun*, which plied between the ports of the mandate to collect copra for shipment to Hong Kong. Another was the post office, through which missionary subscribers obtained their copies of *Der Stürmer* direct from Nuremberg.

The wives of interned Lutheran missionaries were billeted with German-Australian families in the Nuriootpa and Tanunda districts of South Australia. By late 1942 their presence was a cause of 'much uneasiness and resentment' on account of the pro-Nazi views they held and expressed. Eventually, the young Lutheran pastor at Lights Pass requested Military intelligence to do something about the situation. To representatives of the latter organisation he stated that "ever since they arrived there has been nothing but trouble, as my parishioners, who are their hosts, have complained that all these women are 'fanatical Nazis' who are arrogant and bitter against anything British. They "Heil Hitler', give the Nazi salute and sing 'Deutschland Uber Alles'". The young clergyman was "disgusted to think that these people from New Guinea Missions which our Church supported morally and financially, have proved such arrant Nazis".[58]

Gathered together by the representatives of Military Intelligence, the women were asked the questions: "Do you hope Germany will win the war?"; "Are you Nazi sympathisers and do you admire and love Hitler?"; "Do you wish to return to Germany after the war?". The response, with 'a unanimous show of hands', was positive. It was therefore decided to intern them, a decision which drew from their spokeswoman the statement that it was "the best Christmas present they had ever had".[59] Admittedly, through their answers to the questions they

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[56] AA Sydney, SP1714/1, N39016. *cf* Nelson, "Loyalties at Sword-point", p. 205, where these objects are described as 'no more than signs of a national identity that British and American missionaries might have possessed'.

[57] Personal communication from H.H. Jackman.

[58] AA ACT, A6119/1, 25. *cf* Nelson, "Loyalties at Sword-point", p. 205. According to Nelson, "in their reports the security officers overestimated the extent to which the women had been sympathetic to the Nazis". However, 16 of the 30 members of the Finschhafen 'Stronghold' of the Nazi party were women, as were three of the nine candidate members. (AA ACT, A981/1, Nazism 1, Part 2). This was a far higher proportion of female members than in the NSDAP generally and in the branches in Australia.

[59] AA Sydney, C414.

achieved reunification with their husbands in the family camp at Tatura in Victoria. Nevertheless, a number of these women were members of the Nazi Party. They had also proudly and defiantly given the Nazi salute as the ship carrying them to Australia drew away from the wharf at Lae in late 1941.[60]

In the circumstances, after Pearl Harbour and the Japanese advance into the South Pacific, the Australian authorities were understandably concerned at the possible consequences of German Lutheran influence on the indigenous population of the districts where the missionaries had operated. An Australian soldier, who spent over six months in 1942 on an intelligence mission in the River Busu area, later recorded the apprehension that was felt with regard to the attitude of the natives in the area of the Boana station of the Neuendettelsau Mission, two days march from Lae along the River Busu.[61] He also recalls finding "a substantial quantity of Nazi journals, propaganda and 'icons' (ceramic tiles with swastika motif, etc.)" at a missionary's former home.[62]

How far German Lutheran missionaries propagated Nazi and anti-Australian views among the native peoples of New Guinea is a matter of debate. In May 1939 the Assistant District Officer stationed at Wau investigated "rumours current among the native population concerning the return of the German government and references to Lutheran missionaries". The officer could find no evidence of the missionaries being the source of the rumours. His superior officer at Salamaua, however, did not entirely agree.[63] According to a report by the latter in early 1940:

> Lutheran Missionaries now interned had told the natives if war came they [*i.e.* the missionaries] would be taken away, but would be back in six months when the Germans would return, & they must not sign on to Europeans (English-Government) or the Germans would shoot them on their return.[64]

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[60] Private communication from Mr. J.C. Goad. *Cf* Nelson, "Loyalties at Sword Point", p. 205

[61] P. Ryan, *Fear Drive My Feet* (Sydney, 1959) p. 44.

[62] Personal communication from Mr. P. Ryan.

[63] AA ACT, A981/1, Nazism 1, Part 2, D.H. Vertigan to District Officer (Salamaua) 15 May 1939.

[64] D. Wetherell (ed.) *The New Guinea Diaries of Philip Strong 1936-1945* (Melbourne, 1981) p. 15.

It was thought in some quarters that the indigenous population in the Finschhafen Mission area might be hostile towards Allied forces engaged in the reconquest of New Guinea, but these prognostications proved to be groundless.[65] This, however, does not show that the suspicions were without basis, nor that the action taken by the authorities was unwarranted, nor that anti-Australian propaganda was not carried out among the indigenous by German Lutheran missionaries.

A few of the remaining missionaries managed to avoid arrest and shipment to Australia before the Japanese landings in New Guinea in 1942. Some of these are known to have welcomed the Japanese and became collaborators, at least to begin with. In the case of a missionary from the outstation at Heldsbach, "following a report that he refused to refrain from assisting the enemy an order was issued for him to be shot on sight".[66] Another Lutheran missionary, who stayed behind at Hopoi, was said to have established friendly relations with the Japanese when they occupied the place in May 1942.[67]

Collaboration with the Japanese was not an exclusively Lutheran phenomenon. It was claimed that the German bishop who headed the Roman Catholic mission at Alexishafen was "outspokenly pro-Japanese at the early stages of the Japanese occupation of New Guinea". The Axis honeymoon in the South Pacific, however, was short-lived. The Japanese soon began to maltreat, and even execute, the local representatives of their allies in the same manner as their enemies.[68] Nevertheless, the additional presence in the mandate of a number of Nazi Party members, who were Lutheran missionaries, could have made the defence of the territory an even more difficult problem for the Allied forces.

All in all, especially with the development of the alliance between Germany and Japan from the Anti-Comintern Pact of 1936 and the growing threat of Japanese expansionism towards the South Pacific, the Finschhafen Mission in the later 1930s became very much 'a source of danger' to Australia. In the circumstances, the internment of Nazi Party members among the German missionaries on the outbreak of war in Europe in September 1939 was absolutely justified. Moreover, given the extent to which Nazi influence had pervaded the

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[65] See, for example, A. Dawes, *Soldier Superb* (Sydney, 1943) p. 48.

[66] The missionary in question, Adolf Wagner, subsequently assisted Allied airmen stranded behind enemy lines and was eventually executed by the Japanese.

[67] AA Sydney, SP1714/1, N390126.

[68] *Ibid.* 1.

Lutheran mission at Finschhafen, the subsequent removal of the remaining personnel to Australia was a very reasonable course of action for the authorities to take. It was more than conceivable that the Japanese, given the forces available to oppose them, could have occupied the whole of New Guinea in early 1942. To leave behind enemy lines a number of Axis citizens, including individuals with considerable influence among the indigenous population, had the potential to be a serious impediment to the reconquest of the Territory.

THE INFLUENCE OF FASCISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST

11

FIKRET ADANİR

KEMALIST AUTHORITARIANISM AND FASCIST TRENDS IN TURKEY DURING THE INTER-WAR PERIOD

Introduction

The foundation of the Turkish Republic in the twentieth century, the last stage in the dissolution of the multinational Ottoman empire, represents at the same time the first revision of the system of Versailles. Enemies of Versailles and - prominent among them - future fascist leaders hailed the Turkish success as an encouraging sign for their cause.[1] The new regime in Anatolia developed soon a rigid single-party rule under the charismatic national leader Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk). In what ways, if at all, was the Kemalist regime of the 1920s and 30s comparable to fascist dictatorships in Europe? This question occupied the minds of many contemporary observers and has been (at least implicitly) asked by students of Turkish republican history ever since.

That Kemalism was not fascist has been virtually the unanimous opinion of the Turkish academic community. The prevailing interpretation stresses that Mustafa Kemal wished to create a westernized, 'civilized' society on the basis of parliamentary democracy, but that because his reform program encountered considerable resistance by an apathetic, backward, and sometimes even outright reactionary society, he was obliged to apply authoritarian

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[1] Ernst Nolte, *Der Faschismus in seiner Epoche. Die Action Française, der italienische Faschismus, der Nationalsozialismus* (Munich-Zurich, Special Ed., 1979), p. 37. In 1939, Hitler told a delegation from Ankara that "Turkey was our model". See Gotthard Jäschke, *Die Türkei in den Jahren 1935-1941. Geschichtskalender* (Leipzig, 1943), p. 73, and Falih Rifki Atay, *Çankaya. Atatürk'ün doğumundan ölümüne kadar* (Çankaya: Atatürk from his Birth to his Death) (Istanbul, 2. ed., 1980), p. 319, 451.

methods. The period of single-party rule during the inter-war years is seen merely as a necessary transitional step on the way to a pluralistic democracy after 1945.[2]

Scholarship in Western languages confirms this picture to a large extent. The dominant modernisation paradigm in the early post-war period viewed Kemalism primarily as "a large-scale, deliberate attempt to take a whole nation across the frontier from one civilization to another."[3] The Kemalist regime had been since 1919 "engaged in a systematic and persistent attempt to modernize the country's social and political structure, attitudes, and behaviour."[4] In the climate of the Cold War friendly authors were inclined to play down the undemocratic features of the Turkish Republic, less criticism appeared as playing the Soviet game; some authors seem to have been more concerned with exculpating Kemalism of "any political or ideological leaning to the Soviet Union or to Communism", especially in the field of étatist economic policies, than with reflecting on its possible fascist content.[5]

In the literature of more recent decades there is a growing tendency to emphasize the autocratic aspects of the Kemalist regime. Thus it is generally recognized that Turkey's government in the inter-war period was an "authoritarian one-party regime", "a dictatorship", showing even "totalitarian tendencies".[6] In this connection also the model character of Italian fascism for the Kemalist concept has been frequently discussed, the most elaborate analysis stemming from Çaýlar Keyder.[7] However, authors tend to attribute

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[2] See the critical analysis of İsmail Beşikçi, *Cumhuriyet Halk Fïrkasï'nïn tüzüğü (1927) ve Kürt sorunu* (The Statute of the Republican People's Party (1927) and the Kurdish Question) (Ankara, 2. ed., 1991), pp. 13-66.

[3] Bernard Lewis, "Turkey: Westernization", in Gustave E. von Grunebaum (ed.), *Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization* (Chicago, 1955), pp. 311-331, here p. 315.

[4] Dankwart A. Rustow and Robert E. Ward, "Introduction", in R. E. Ward and D. A. Rustow (eds.), *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey* (Princeton, 1964), pp. 3-13, here p. 9f.

[5] Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London-New York-Toronto, 1961), pp. 279-280.

[6] Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History* (London-New York, 1993), pp. 184, 187-189. See also Roger Owen, *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East* (London, 1992), p. 27.

[7] Çaýlar Keyder, *State and Class in Turkey. A Study in Capitalist Development* (London-New York, 1987), pp. 98-100, 107-109.

the "fascist traits" of the Turkish regime to some sort of imitative, in contrast to structural, fascism.[8] Perhaps unwittingly it is implied that not so much Turkey's own historical development accounted for the emergence of the Kemalist single-party regime but rather the circumstantial attractiveness of the fascist alternative, 'liberalism and democracy' having been, "largely due to the instability in Western Europe", already "discredited in the eyes of many Kemalists".[9] In support of this view there is a common reference to the fact that Kemalism lacked "a coherent, all-embracing ideology".[10] It has even been pointed out that "there was very little ideological indoctrination and little attempt was made to build a personality cult around Kemal Atatürk".[11] Furthermore, some argue, as Keyder does, that "fascism is born out of a particular class base" and that "Turkish social, economic and political development had not yet reached a level where fascism in the Southern European sense" could be "considered desirable by the ruling coalition".[12]

It is not the intention of the present chapter to question the basic validity of the above arguments. In other words, it is not being proposed that the Kemalist single-party state *was* a fascist regime. It is intended, however, to effect a shift of emphasis. On the basis of a survey of the ideological developments during the Young Turk period, as well as of textual analyses of the key documents of Kemalist era, it will be shown that the republican regime in Turkey developed from the outset in an authoritarian, if not a totalitarian, direction.[13] This suggests that the single-party state in Turkey was subject to

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[8] For this differentiation see Stuart J. Woolf (ed.) *The Nature of Fascism* (London, 1968), p. 6.

[9] Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey* (London, 1992), p. 61. See also Keyder, *State and Class*, p. 89, and Ümit Cizre-Sakallïoğlu, "Kemalism, Hyper-Nationalism and Islam in Turkey", *History of European Ideas* 18 (1994), pp. 255-70.

[10] Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, p. 189.

[11] Clement H. Dodd, "Revolution in the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey", in N. O'Sullivan (ed.), *Revolutionary Theory and Political Reality* (Brighton, 1983), p. 183.

[12] Keyder, *State and Class*, p. 108, 109.

[13] "Authoritarian regimes, by definition, have a concentration of power and therefore cannot tolerate contending centres of power, as do pluralist systems. Yet, unlike the more 'totalitarian' systems that also concentrate power, the authoritarian type basically lacks the practical ideology and organization needed to atomize potentially rival groups and to create new ones under its control." Clement H. Moore, "Authoritarian Politics in Unincorporated Society", *Comparative Politics* 6 (1973/74), pp. 193-218, here p. 193.

its own logic of historical continuity and that, consequently, assumptions as to its 'imitative' character vis-à-vis a triumphant fascism in Europe should be reconsidered.

Young Turk Legacy

The political system of the early Turkish Republic answered in the first place the needs of a war-stricken country that was heir to a demised imperial structure. At the same time it reflected an ancient state tradition, represented at the beginning of the twentieth century by a modern bureaucratic élite. Today, the importance of this tradition is readily admitted, albeit its specific imprint upon the political culture of the country remains controversial. As far as the period before the nineteenth century is concerned, two opposing principles, a Weberian patrimonialism (sultanism) on the one hand and the "supremacy of the objective rules which place limits and guide the ruler in making decisions and determining policies" on the other, seem to have characterized the Ottoman system.[14] But in recent years a growing number of scholars began to challenge the conventional European view of the Ottoman state of the early modern period as a despotic rule. In this regard, "additional focus on non-western state-society relations" has been pleaded which would provide "a significant case of the state as bargainer, negotiating and embracing individuals, social classes, and especially groups such as bandits, in order to control them and to establish its centralized rule over vast territory."[15]

In respect to the nineteenth century the question becomes even more complex. In the face of the deteriorating international position of the Empire during the first half of the nineteenth century the compartmentalization of society along confessional lines (the so-called *millet* system) seemed to be the major hindrance in front of a general modernization thrust that was perceived by sections of the ruling class as a precondition for 'saving the state'. Since the emergence of an independent Greece, European intervention in favour of Christian populations was thought to be the most serious threat to Ottoman territorial integrity. Introduction of equality before the law, irrespective of religious affiliation, became therefore the political issue of the day. Henceforth, Muslims and non-Muslims had to pay the same amount of taxes, could bring their lawsuits before confessionally mixed tribunals, were

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[14] Halil İnalcïk, "Decision Making in the Ottoman State", in Caesar E. Farah (ed.), *Decision Making in the Ottoman Empire* (Kirksville, MO, 1993), pp. 9-18, here p. 15.

[15] Karen Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Peculiar Route of Ottoman State Centralization* (Ithaca, NY, 1994), p. 230.

equally subject to military service and had equal opportunity to enter state schools or the civil service. In the words of a specialist of this period:

> the ultimate implication was that *millet* barriers would be broken down, that the creation of a multinational brotherhood of all Ottoman subjects was the official aim, and, therefore, that the concepts of state and citizenship would become increasingly western and secularized.[16]

However, such reforms had to be pushed through not only against the opposition of Muslim public opinion which associated westernization with increasing cultural and religious alienation in society, but also against the non-Muslim communal establishments which were loath to renouncing their age-old privileges; nor did the European powers, which regularly pressed for egalitarian principles, show any inclination to relinquish the system of 'capitulations' that assured to their subjects an extra-territorial status in the Near East coupled with wide-ranging commercial advantages. In these circumstances, westernizing reforms remained patchwork and fell far short of attaining Ottomanist objectives. At the same time, however, they seemed responsible for the negative effects of European economic penetration that occurred under the banner of free trade: For the intensification of relations with the West had led to a more pronounced ethnic division of labour, non-Muslim commercial groups proving themselves in a better position to assume the role of the mediator for foreign interests, whereas the Muslims felt threatened by socio-economic marginalization. The emerging Ottoman middle classes were thus predominantly non-Muslim, a fact that from the bureaucratic standpoint did not bode well for the future. The survival of the empire depended on the success of the reforms, and this success in turn depended on the continuing loyalty of the economically active strata of society. But the upsurge of secessionist nationalism within the individual non-Muslim communities, aggravated also by Ottoman failure to secure a viable position for the indigenous entrepreneurial groups vis-à-vis privileged foreign interests, left little room for the acceptance of an ideology geared to superimpose an Ottoman political solidarity over the existing multi-ethnic structures. Even the promulgation of the constitutional regime in 1876 could not reverse the tendencies of disintegration. Financial insolvency (1875) followed by a cata-

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[16] Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876* (Princeton, repr. 1973), p. 40.

strophic military defeat (1877/78), bringing with it heavy losses in lives and territory, were severe blows to the prestige of westernizing policies and the idea of equality in the Ottoman state.

The ensuing reign of Abdulhamid II (1876-1909) differed from the reform era *Tanzimat* significantly. With the influx of hundreds of thousands of refugees from the lost territories, Asia Minor was becoming more Muslim in character. European interference, too, had assumed in the meanwhile more concrete forms; Art. 23 of the Treaty of Berlin (1878) stipulated regional autonomy under European supervision for certain parts of the empire. Not only Crete, Eastern Rumelia and Macedonia were soon to become scenes of fierce nationality struggles, but also an Armenian national movement pursuing the goal of an autonomous or independent Armenian state in Asia Minor began to menace Ottoman imperial unity seriously. Ottomanism as the official ideology of a secularized multi-ethnic empire seemed thoroughly discredited.

The neo-absolutist regime utilized the deteriorated domestic and international conditions for its own legitimation. Liberal reform as a political option appearing out of question and the threat from European imperialism having assumed new dimensions, it became easier for the sultan to appeal to Islamic solidarity. Emphasizing his role as the caliph of Islam, he was able to reconcile at least the non-Turkish Muslim ethnic groups, such as the Kurds, the Albanians, and the Arabs, who had been disaffected by the reform bureaucrats of the previous era. The result was an impressive closing of ranks between the sultan and the Muslim public opinion, which on the other hand accentuated the estrangement of westernized intellectuals.[17]

The Young Turk opposition that developed after the 1890s was an expression of the deep frustration and embitterment felt by Ottoman intellectuals. Politically, it was a desperate effort to halt the dissolution of the Ottoman state by means of a reconciliation of disparate nationalist strivings within the framework of a bureaucratically controlled constitutional system. With such a program the Young Turks appeared as heirs to *Tanzimat* liberalism. Yet an analysis of their political ideas reveals, hardly concealed beneath the liberal surface, a remarkable affinity with 'proto-fascist' currents in Europe. Thus most Young Turks were influenced by the positivism of Auguste Comte, the founder of the counter-revolutionary philosophic school

[17] Şerif Mardin, "L'Aliénation des Jeunes Turcs: Essai d'explication partielle d'une 'conscience révolutionnaire'", in L. Bacqué-Grammont and P. Dumont (eds.), *Economie et société dans l'Empire ottomane* (Paris, 1983), pp. 157-165.

of the nineteenth century,[18] as well as with social Darwinist ideas of the period. Through Ahmed Rïza (1859-1930), the best-known Young Turk at the turn of the century, the positivist motto *l'ordre et progrès* found its way even into the title of the leading Young Turk organization, the 'Committee of Union and Progress' (CUP). In the manner of the positivists, the Young Turks had a mechanical concept of society, each element of which constituting a part of the whole and having therefore a set of rights and duties vis-à-vis the rest. The solution of the basic problem of the Ottoman state, its backwardness and seemingly imminent dissolution, was to be sought in the establishment of a scientific form of government, the religious conservatism of the masses appearing as a serious obstacle to such a development.[19]

A complementary influence on the Young Turk thinking emanated from Gustave Le Bon who offered a solution to the delicate problem of the relationship between a dominant élite and the masses in the grip of "collective hallucinations".[20] Progress could be expected only from the guidance of a select few, even though it could be expeditious to appeal to religion in order to mobilize the masses against the autocracy. It was Abdullah Cevdet (1869-1932), the representative of the most secularist and westernist faction of the Young Turks, who translated the ideas of Le Bon into an Ottoman-Turkish context.[21] After him the élitist worldview was to remain an idiosyncrasy of a whole generation of Young Turks well into the twentieth century.

The 'revolution'[22] of 1908 brought at first a resurgence of Ottomanist policies, and the prospect of a pluralist parliamentary democracy was greeted

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[18] Nolte, *Der Faschismus in seiner Epoche*, p. 62.

[19] Şerif Mardin, *Jön türklerin siyasi fikirleri 1895-1908* (The Political Ideas of the Young Turks 1895-1908) (Istanbul, 2nd ed., 1983), pp. 129-162. On the specific mentality and political ideas of the Young Turks see also M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *Bir siyasal örgüt olarak "Osmanlï İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti" ve "Jön Türklük", I: (1889-1902)* (The 'Ottoman Society of Union and Progress' as a Political Organization and the 'Young Turkism', I: 1889-1902) (Istanbul, 1986), pp. 9-72, 604-644, and *idem*, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (New York-Oxford, 1995), pp. 200-212.

[20] A. James Gregor, *The Ideology of Fascism* (New York, 1969), p. 51.

[21] Mardin, *Jön türklerin siyasi fikirleri*, p. 176f; M. Şükrü Hanioýlu, *Bir siyasal düşünür olarak Doktor Abdullah Cevdet ve dönemi* (Doctor Abdullah Cevdet as a Political Thinker and His Time) (Istanbul, 1981), pp. 165-67.

[22] The term *inkilâb* which the Young Turks themselves applied to their action in 1908 should correctly be rendered with 'transformation' instead of 'revolution'. See Taha Parla, *The Social and Political Thought of Ziya Gökalp, 1876-1924* (Leiden, 1985), p. 83.

euphorically by Muslims and non-Muslims alike. But soon secessionist aspirations of various national parties began once again to determine the course of political events. The government, under the influence of the CUP, resorted to authoritarian measures such as suppression of civic liberties, manipulation of elections and martial law. The Ottomanist hopes finally collapsed in the Balkan War of 1912 which brought a humiliating defeat and the loss for the Empire of practically all of 'European Turkey'. This development facilitated in early 1913 a CUP staged *coup d'état*, resulting in a single-party dictatorship that was to last until the end of the First World War.

The most seminal 'ideologue' during this period of transition from the multi-ethnic empire to the national state of Turkey was Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924). On the basis of his knowledge of the French sociologists Gabriel Tarde, Gustave Le Bon, Alfred Fouillée, and especially Emile Durkheim, he was appointed in 1912 the first professor of sociology in Istanbul and is considered as the man who introduced the Durkheimian corporatist thinking in the Ottoman Empire.[23] It has been rightly pointed out that:

> Gökalp's corporatist thinking has provided the paradigmatic worldwiew for the several dominant political ideologies and public philosophies in Turkey; and that, more specifically, Unionism (1908-1918) and Kemalism (1923-1950) as singular official ideologies, as well as contemporary Kemalism(s) (1960-1980), are but programmatic and, in the narrow sense, ideological variations of his inclusive system.[24]

As an idealistic positivist and adherent of the solidaristic corporatist school *à la Durkheim*, Gökalp regarded liberal market economy and representative parliamentary democracy as anachronistic institutions and pleaded in 1914 for a populist approach to social questions, a restructuring of the political system according to the principle of occupational representation, and a 'national economy' in the interest of small-producers. Once the First World War broke out, Gökalp assumed the task of theoretically reconciling European

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[23] Zafer Toprak, "Türkiye'de korporatizmin doğuşu" (The Emergence of Corporatism in Turkey), *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 12, Winter 1980, pp. 41-49.

[24] Parla, *The Social and Political Thought of Ziya Gökalp*, p. 7.

corporatism, Islamic tradition, and incipient cultural Turkism in an ideological synthesis with the manifest goal of creating the 'new citizen' disciplined under the control of social conscience.[25]

By distinguishing between 'civilization' and 'culture', Gökalp opened a new perspective to the question as to the elements and aspects the Islamic Ottoman society could adopt from western civilization without impairing or abandoning its own traditions.[26] 'Civilization' meant for him the sum of the material accomplishments of technology and science. Once 'civilization' was accepted as a universal category, it was not possible, in Gökalp's view, to equate neither Islam with civilization, nor western civilization with Christianity. 'Culture', on the other hand, was conceived as referring to the manners and customs, the ethical and moral norms and values of a given nation and was thus unique. Nation finally, which was the bearer of culture, represented in this perspective the most developed level of society. But nation could only exist on the basis of a common national language, race and religion being counted as secondary factors. Yet Islam and the Turkish nation were not antagonistic concepts, for religion served as an important component of national culture. However, the origins of this culture were to be sought in the first place in the everyday life of the common people as well as in the pre-Islamic history of the Turks, and this was the primary task of Turkism.

Education assumed particular importance in Gökalp's concept; it was considered the motor of social change. In accordance with his interpretation of civilization and culture as two different categories, Gökalp distinguished between 'instruction' and 'education'. The purpose of instruction was to convey the knowledge of the methods and findings of science and technology; the object of education, on the other hand, was the implantation of the values of the national culture. Gökalp criticized the contemporary Ottoman school system for reflecting western utilitarian principles. It merely familiarized the youth with the rules and techniques of civilization, which amounted to a mechanical imitation of the West. But the crisis the Ottoman society was experiencing was a moral one. The real task was, therefore, not so much the

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[25] Parla, *The Social and Political Thought of Ziya Gökalp*, p. 26f.

[26] For the writings of Gökalp on this question see Niyazi Berkes (ed. and transl.), *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization. Selected Essays of Ziya Gökalp* (New York, 1959); Ziya Gökalp, *The Principles of Turkism*, transl. by R. Devereux (Leiden, 1968); Richard Hartmann, "Ziya Gök Alp's Grundlagen des türkischen Nationalismus", *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 28 (1925), pp. 578-610; Uriel Heyd, *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism. The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökalp* (London, 1950).

improvement of the methods of instruction in public schools but rather a re-orientation from 'instruction' to 'education' on the basis of a new ethics that was to be derived from the national culture. By national culture was meant, of course, the Turkish national culture, and the reference itself, apart from furnishing an evidence of the dwindling importance of Ottomanism, had both populist and Turkist implications.[27]

Both concepts, Turkism and populism, were imports from Tsarist Russia, where since the 1880s a Muslim (Tatar) middle class had developed a modern school system with Turkish as the medium of instruction. The Tatar bourgeois modernism (*Djadidism*), articulated at first in purely cultural terms, developed eventually into a pan-Turkish ideology, stressing the need for the union of all Turkey-Muslim peoples under the leadership of the Ottoman state.[28] Through the activities of men like Ismail Bey Gaspirinsky (1851-1914) and Yusuf Akçura (1878-1935) close links with the Young Turk movement inside and outside the Ottoman Empire were established.[29] In 1904, Akçura's famous pamphlet on the "Three Kinds of Policy" appeared where it was argued that Ottomanism as a viable policy had failed and that the future would belong to nationalism based on ethnic identity. In the Ottoman context, this meant relinquishing the Ottomanist imperial concept in favour of a Pan-Turkish ethnic nationalism. Of special interest is Akçura's Darwinist perception of society which reveals his affinity with the mainstream Young Turk thinking:

> Every society, in the expectation of securing its own interests, is in a process of continuous change ... In the course of this continuous change, the interest which is brought to fulfilment is survival. Since life is strongly continuing, its existence necessitates the existence of power. This means that every society finds

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[27] On the coincidence of Turkish and populist components of the Young Turk thinking during this period see İlhan Tekeli and Gencay Şaylan, "Türkiye'de halkçilik ideolojisinin evrimi" (The Evolution of the Ideology of Populism in Turkey), *Toplum ve Bilim* 6-7 (Summer-Fall 1978), p. 62.

[28] Edward J. Lazzerini, "Ethnicity and the Uses of History: The Case of the Volga Tatars and Jadidism", *Central Asian Survey* 1 (1982/83), pp. 61-69.

[29] On Gaspirinsky see Edward J. Lazzerini, *Ismail Bey Gasprinskii and Muslim Modernism in Russia, 1878-1914*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Washington, 1973, and Hakan Kirimli, *National Movements and National Identity among the Crimean Tatars (1850-1916)* (Leiden-New York-Cologne, 1996), pp. 32-55; on Akçura see François Georgeon, *Aux origins du nationalisme turc: Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935)* (Paris, 1980).

> its own interest in survival, that is in acquiring and increasing its power. Hence, as among all living species struggling for survival, we witness a ceaseless conflict among societies. We are obliged to accept this condition. The interest of each society is in its existence, consequently in being powerful.[30]

After 1908, Akçura pursued his Turkist political goals in the Ottoman capital. The foundation of *Türk Derneýi* (Turkish Society, 1908) was followed by that of *Türk Ocaği* (Turkish Hearth, 1912), the foremost Turkish association until the 1930s.[31] In 1911 Akçura began to publish the principal Turkish organ, *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Homeland), which boasted among its contributors Ziya Gökalp.[32] Akçura and Gökalp collaborated closely both regarding populism and on the issue of 'national economy'. But in *Halka Doğru* (Towards the People), which appeared since 1912 as a supplement to Akçura's *Türk Yurdu*, both men propagated rather different concepts of populism. Whereas Gökalp expected the cosmopolitan élite to go 'towards the people' in order to learn the national culture, Akçura's concern was of a practical nature: he demanded an intellectual commitment to raise the socio-economic level of the impoverished rural and urban artisanal masses in order to elevate the Turkish nation.[33] His preoccupation with the idea of creating a national bourgeoisie found an outlet in long-drawn polemics with the adherents of economic liberalism. With the theoretical support of Alexander

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[30] "Yusuf Akçura's *Üç tarz-i siyaset* ('Three Kinds of Policy')", introduced and translated by Ismail Fehmi, *Oriente Moderno* 61 (1981), p. 11. F. Georgeon warns against assuming that Akçura's Darwinism was an isolated case. See *Aux origines du nationalisme turc*, p. 21.

[31] François Georgeon, "Les Foyers Turcs à l'époque kémaliste", in J. L. Bacqué-Grammont and Paul Dumont (eds.), *La Turquie et la France à l'époque d'Atatürk* (Paris, 1982), pp. 199-214, *idem*, "Nationalisme et populisme en Turquie: L'experience des 'Foyers Turcs' (1912-1931)", *Cahiers du Groupe d'études sur la Turquie contemporaine* 1 (Winter 1984-1985), pp. 19-29; Kenan Akyüz, "Türk Ocakları" (The Turkish Hearths), *Belleten*, No. 196 (April 1986), pp. 201-228.

[32] Paul Dumont, "La revue *Türk Yurdu* et les musulmans de l'Empire russe", *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique* 15 (1974), pp. 315-331; Hüseyin Tuncer, *Türk Yurdu (1911-1931) üzerine bir inceleme* (A Study on "Türk Yurdu" (1911-1931)), (Ankara, 1990); Madami Arai, "Between State and Nation: A New Light on the Journal *Türk Yurdu*", *Turcica* 24 (1992), pp. 277-95.

[33] Compare Parla, *The Social and Political Thought of Ziya Gökalp*, pp. 69-74, and Georgeon, *Aux origins du nationalisme turc*, pp. 66-88. On the review *Halka Doýru*, see Zafer Toprak, "Osmanlı Narodnikleri: 'Halka Doýru' gidenler" (Ottoman Narodniks: Those who went 'Towards the People'), *Toplum ve Bilim* 24 (Winter 1984), pp. 69-81.

Helphand (Parvus), who contributed to *Türk Yurdu* regularly, *laissez-faire* policies of the government were taken under attack, Akçura propagating in their stead a state-controlled economy with the view of supplanting the foreign and non-Turkish indigenous merchants and entrepreneurs by a national Turkish bourgeoisie.

This unrelenting engagement began to bear fruit as soon as the Great War broke out. The unilateral abolition of the 'Capitulation's' in 1914 was followed by numerous economic and political measures which amounted to a combined effort to nationalize economic life. Throughout the war, the CUP consciously emphasized the ethnic dimensions of the socio-economic problems of the country, favouring Muslim commercial groups against non-Muslim Ottoman subjects.[34] Compulsory use of Turkish as the language of business also by franchised foreign companies, a successful co-operative movement that fostered the interests of Muslim producers and consumers as against the non-Muslim merchant class, state intervention in foreign trade, in currency transactions, in banking - all contributed directly or indirectly to the attainment of the same nationalist objective. The deportation of Armenians since 1915, which amounted to an 'ethnic cleansing', had in this regard special significance; the socio-economic vacuum that resulted could only be filled by Muslim commercial elements.[35] Thus Akçura emphasized in 1916 that:

> just as the Jews and Germans constituted the bourgeoisie in Poland, in Turkey it was the native Jews, Greeks, and Armenians who were the agents and middlemen of European capitalism ... If the Turks fail to produce among themselves a bourgeois class ..., the chances of survival of a Turkish society composed only of peasants and officials will be very slim.[36]

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[34] Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye'de "Milli İktisat" (1908-1918)* (The 'National Economy' in Turkey, 1908-1918) (Ankara, 1982), p 21.

[35] For an evaluation of the literature on the Armenian genocide in this light see Fikret Adanir, "Die Armenische Frage und der Völkermord an den Armeniern im Osmanischen Reich. Betroffenheit im Reflex nationalistischer Geschichtsschreibung", in: Ernst Karpf (ed.), *Erlebnis - Gedächtnis - Sinn. Authentische und konstruierte Erinnerung* (forthcoming).

[36] Yusuf Akçura, *Türk Yurdu*, no. 140, Aug. 12, 1333/Aug. 25, 1916, p. 2521f., quoted in Berkes, *Secularism*, p. 426.

Authors like Akçura, Gökalp and Tekin Alp[37] propagated the 'German Way', that is the *Nationalökonomie* à la Friedrich List, as the method of development suitable to Turkey. As the number of 'national' joint stock companies increased, the corporatist concept too received a fresh impulse; Gökalp declared that the state's active role in economy was a 'moral service' to the country[38] and demanded that artisans' corporations, which had been active until then on an urban level only, be given a national scope so that the age of occupational organization replaced the class society.[39]

Ascent of Mustafa Kemal to Leadership

With the defeat of 1918 the Ottoman imperial idea became irrelevant, the leading CUP politicians went into exile, and their liberal opponents who had sympathized with the Entente established themselves in power. The country was weary of war and held the Young Turks responsible for the catastrophe. But when it became known that the victor states intended to partition even Anatolia, social forces that had been fostered by the CUP policies – the emerging 'national bourgeoisie' – could not help but resist, since otherwise the Christian Armenians and Greeks would become masters over a predominantly Muslim populace. For the latter, Anatolia represented the last area of retreat; and the circumstance that the sultan's government accepted the Entente scheme of partition meant that the incipient Muslim resistance had to look elsewhere for political leadership.

This brought the old provincial élites: the sheiks, the notables and – not least – the local politicians and bureaucrats who used to form the lower echelons of the CUP once more to the fore. [40] Since late 1918 societies for the 'Defense of Rights' were founded in various parts of Anatolia and Thrace

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[37] Tekin Alp (1883-1961), alias Moise Cohen, author also of Pan-Turkist publications (*Türkismus und Pantürkism*, Weimar 1915), was an 'authority' of the CUP in economic matters. See Jacob M. Landau, *Tekinalp: Turkish Patriot 1883-1961* (Istanbul and Leiden, 1984); *idem*, "Munis Tekinalp's Economic Views Regarding the Ottoman Empire and Turkey", in Hans Georg Majer (ed.), *Osmanistische Studien zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte. In memoriam Vančo Boškov* (Wiesbaden, 1986), pp. 94-103.

[38] Parla, *The Social and Political Thought of Ziya Gökalp*, p. 108.

[39] See Toprak, *Türkiye'de "Millî İktisat"*, p. 35.

[40] The contribution of the CUP to the organization of the Turkish national movement is emphasized by Erik Jan Zürcher, *The Unionist Factor. The Rôle of the Committee of Union and Progress in the Turkish National Movement 1905-1926* (Leiden, 1984), pp. 68-105.

with the manifest purpose of mobilizing the population against the territorial claims of the Christian minorities. The appointment of Mustafa Kemal, one of the few generals who still enjoyed prestige, to an army command in Anatolia in May 1919 brought a new dynamism and a potential of co-ordination and unification into this movement.

Who was Mustafa Kemal? Born in 1881 in Salonika, Mustafa Kemal was a member of the Young Turk opposition since 1907. However, after 1908 he had been pushed to the backbenches in the course of internal rivalries within the CUP. In Tripolis in 1911/12 and subsequently in Thrace in 1912/13 he served under Enver Bey, the future generalissimo of World War I. The relationship between them was from the start rather cool. During the battles at the Dardanelles in the spring of 1915 Mustafa Kemal acquired a reputation as a courageous soldier and intelligent officer, which enabled him in the following years to assume a critical stance towards the policies of the commander-in-chief. At the end of the war, when the leading politicians of the CUP were discredited, many saw in Mustafa Kemal Enver's successor.

These relations should be kept in mind when analyzing the intricate balance of power within the national resistance movement in Anatolia in the period of 1919-1923 from which Mustafa Kemal eventually emerged as the undisputed leader of the new Turkey. The CUP leaders in exile had not given up entirely their claim to have a say in matters related to the future of Turkey; Enver Pasha and his associates continued to influence the developments from their new base in Bolshevik Russia.[41] Muslim but pro-Bolshevik groups within the cadres of the old CUP in Anatolia represented therefore a challenge to Mustafa Kemal's leadership, necessitating him along with other considerations to enter upon a virtual *Realpolitik* vis-à-vis the communist neighbour. Mustafa Kemal seems to have promised already in May 1919 the establishment of a kind of 'state socialism' in Anatolia. In return he hoped to receive military and financial aid which was deemed essential for the success of his movement. In this framework, Bolshevik sympathizers within the nationalist camp were tolerated; Mustafa Kemal even arranged the establishment of an official Communist Party of Turkey by his associates in October

[41] See Paul Dumont, "La Fascination du Bolchévisme: Enver Pacha et le Parti des Soviets Populaires, 1919-1922", *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique* 16 (1975), pp. 141-166; Kâzım Karabekir, *İstiklâl harbimizde Enver Paşa ve İttihat ve Terakki erkânı* (Enver Pasha and the CUP Leaders in our War of Independence), (Istanbul, 1990); Masayuki Yamauchi, *The Green Crescent under the Red Star. Enver Pasha in Soviet Russia 1919-1922* (Tokyo, 1991).

1920.[42] However, in his dealings with representatives of Western powers, he was careful to point out that the cultural traditions of the Turks left no room for a Bolshevik experiment in Anatolia.[43]

Despite Bolshevik influences and pressures (also from the adherents of Enver) the nationalists around Mustafa Kemal in Ankara did not favour an institutionalization of a peasant militia as the power basis of the new regime but insisted on revitalizing the traditional regular army. With the first military successes in late 1920 and early 1921, Ankara changed its attitude towards left-wing groups in the country; not only was the official Turkish Communist Party dissolved, but also the leaders of the 'authentic' Turkish Communist Party, founded by Mustafa Subhi and recognized by the III. International, were mysteriously liquidated on their way to Ankara in January 1921.[44] This indicated a significant consolidation of control by Mustafa Kemal over the developments in Anatolia, the main determinants of which should be sought in the field of populist, religious and ethnic politics.

Although the 'ideologues' of the Kemalist movement were the same familiar names from the CUP era such as Ziya Gökalp, Yusuf Akçura and other intellectuals, the basis of ideological mobilization could hardly be the Turkish of the closing phase of World War I. In view of the patchwork of Anatolian ethnic structure and the fact that not a Turkish identity but the interests of the Muslim population as a whole were being threatened, it seemed expedient to accentuate the common Islamic heritage. Thus in March 1920 Mustafa Kemal asked the representatives of the Anatolian press "to be always circumspect and appreciative when writing about religious matters and to use a language likely to exalt the idea of inviolability of the Caliphate".[45]

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[42] Paul Dumont, "La révolution impossible. Les courants d'opposition en Anatolie 1920-1921", *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique* 19 (1978), pp. 143-74; Mete Tunçay, *Türkiye'de sol akımlar I (1908-1925)* (Leftist Currents in Turkey I: 1908-1925), 4th ed., Vol. 1-2 (Istanbul, 1991), Vol. 1, pp. 92-94; Vol. 2, pp. 215-51 (documents).

[43] Paul Dumont, "L'Axe Moscou-Ankara: Les relations turco-soviétiques de 1919 à 1922", *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique* 18 (1977), pp. 165-193, here 167-69.

[44] On relations between the Kemalist movement and the Turkish Communist Party of Mustafa Suphi see Paul Dumont, "Bolchevisme et Orient. Le parti communiste turc de Mustafa Suphi, 1918-1921", in: *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique* 18 (1977), pp. 377-409, and Tunçay, *Türkiye'de Sol akımlar* I, Vol. 1, pp. 98-103, Vol. 2, pp. 258-380 (documents).

[45] Quotation in Taha Parla, *Kemalist tek parti ideolojisi ve CHP'nin Altı Ok'u* (The Ideology of the Kemalist Single-Party Regime and the 'Six Arrows' of the Republican People's Party) (Istanbul, 1992), p. 177. See further Paul Dumont, "Hojas for the Revolution: the Religious

And in matters of education a new curriculum prepared in May 1920 highlighted the importance of religious instruction for the attainment of national goals.[46] In a noteworthy speech before the Grand National Assembly, again in early 1920, Mustafa Kemal reminded the deputies that they were not just Turks or Circassians or Kurds, but rather representatives of Muslim populations which formed a community of solidarity, and the unity which the national movement was determined to accomplish was going to be an Islamic one encompassing all ethnic elements.[47] This political platform left the nature of the relations between the Ankara government and the Sultan-Caliph in Istanbul deliberately ambiguous. On the one hand, these relations were utterly tense, even inimical; on the other hand, Mustafa Kemal and his circle reiterated consistently that the national struggle was being waged also with the aim of emancipating the Sultan-Caliph from subservience to foreigners, his authority being formally recognized by the nationalists in Ankara.[48]

Along with appeals to Islamic solidarity populism served as the principal instrument of national mobilization. Especially the adherents of the old CUP in Ankara elaborated a new populist program the chief propositions of which were (a) that sovereignty belonged to the people, (b) that there were no social classes in Turkey, the main contradiction being the one between the ruling bureaucracy and the populace, and (c) that some sort of occupational representation would be the right thing for the country.[49] Mustafa Kemal's

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Strategy of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk", *Journal of the American Institute for the Study of Middle Eastern Civilization* I/3-4, 1980-81, pp. 17-32.

[46] See İlhan Başgöz and Howard E. Wilson, *Educational Problems in Turkey 1920-1940* (Bloomington-The Hague, 1968), pp. 31-44.

[47] *Atatürk'ün söylev ve demeçleri, I: 1919-1938* (Atatürk's Speeches and Statements), ed. Nimet Arsan (Ankara, 2nd ed., 1961), pp. 73-74.

[48] See İhsan Güneş, *Birinci Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nin düşünsel yapisi (1920-1923)* (The Intellectual Structure of the First Grand National Assembly of Turkey, 1920-1923) (Eskişehir, 1985), p. 158.

[49] See İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, "(Kör) Ali İhsan (İloğlu) Bey ve temsili-mesleki programı" ((Blind) Ali İhsan (İloğlu) Bey and His Program of Occupational Representation), in: *Atatürk döneminin ekonomik ve toplumsal sorunlari* (Istanbul, 1977), pp. 283-363; Zafer Toprak, "Halkçilik ideolojisinin oluşumu" (The Development of Populist Ideology), in: *Atatürk döneminin ekonomik ve toplumsal sorunlari* (Istanbul, 1977), 13-38, here 18-19; Tekeli and Eaylan, "Türkiye'de halkçilik ideolojisinin evrimi", p. 67 f.; Baskin Oran, *Atatürk milliyetçiliyi* (The Atatürk Nationalism), 2nd ed. (Ankara, 1990), pp. 135-39; Tunçay, *Türkiye'de sol akimlar I (1908-1925)*, Vol. 1, pp. 90 f.; Vol. 2, pp. 167-71.

version of populism in this period made no allowance for a professional representation, probably because Mustafa Kemal and his circle remained suspicious of the CUP influences.[50] On the other hand, populism was at the core also of the Kemalist program which he submitted to discussion in September 1920. This program stressed popular sovereignty as the first axiom, implying in the long run the elimination of all reference to an Islamic legitimacy in the constitution. Another important aspect was the espousal of the unity of powers which meant the concentration of the legislative, executive and judicial prerogatives in the body corporate of the Assembly.[51] Both concepts found their way into the new constitution of January 20, 1921, the relevant passage of which designated the chairman of the Assembly as the natural president of the council of ministers.[52]

However, the Kemalist program was challenged from the start by an articulate opposition. It was especially the concentration of all powers in the legal entity of the Assembly that caused the most debate. In the process, a radical group of young deputies emerged as ardent supporters of the Kemalist concepts. For example, Mahmud Esat, a future minister of justice, went so far as to characterize the separation of powers as a defunct liberal system totally unsuitable for Turkey. In December 1921 Mustafa Kemal himself asserted that the principle of separation of powers was something to be observed neither in real life nor in nature and that those in the world who wished a better form of government would one day come out in favour of the form of government implemented by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.[53]

Small wonder in the light of these discussions that the country found itself, despite the impressive military victory attained in the late summer of 1922, confronted with profound political problems. There was unanimity in the Assembly that the reigning Sultan Mehmed VI was no longer tenable, although a substantial majority, including close collaborators of Mustafa Kemal, favoured retaining the Ottoman dynasty. Mustafa Kemal, on the other

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[50] Toprak, "Türkiye'de korporatizmin doğuşu", p. 49; Tekeli and Ėaylan, "Türkiye'de halkçilik ideolojisinin evrimi", p. 69.

[51] Güneş, *Birinci Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nin düşünsel yapïsï*, p. 157 f.

[52] Güneş, *Birinci Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nin düşünsel yapïsï*, p. 193.

[53] Güneş, *Birinci Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nin düşünsel yapïsï*, p. 198 f.

hand, was absolutely determined to abolish the Sultanat, while the Caliphate with a new status resembling that of the Roman Catholic Papacy might continue to exist.[54] Notwithstanding his immense prestige as the saviour of the country, however, Mustafa Kemal was able to enforce his will only after he had insinuated the eventuality of a *coup d'état* (November 1922).[55]

After the conclusion of the peace treaty of Lausanne in July, 1923, personal rivalries within the leadership came into the open. The critics were unhappy with Mustafa Kemal's autocratic style of government which became increasingly manifest when he dissolved the Assembly in April, followed by an election campaign in June and July, in which free opinion and eligibility for nomination were severely limited (among others by a revised Law on High Treason), and when he saw to it that practically no former opponent entered the new assembly which convened in August 1923.[56] In September, Mustafa Kemal converted the parliamentary Group of the Defense of Rights into a political party under the name of 'People's Party' (*Halk Fırkası*). He assumed the chairmanship of the new party, retaining at the same time the presidency of the National Assembly. As a further blow to the liberal opposition, which had its main support in Istanbul, the small Anatolian town of Ankara was proclaimed the new capital of the country on October 13, 1923, and about two weeks later, Mustafa Kemal succeeded in having the constitution revised, Turkey declared a republic and he himself elected its first president.

Consolidation of Single-Party Regime

Former comrades of Mustafa Kemal began to fear the erection of a dictatorship. Some of them hoped to instrumentalize the Caliphate as a counterbalance against such a strong leader. The latter, fully aware of the potential the Caliphate represented for a political opposition, staged a virtual *fait*

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[54] Halil İnalcık, "The Caliphate and Atatürk's *inkılâb*", *Belleten* 46 (1982), pp. 353-365.

[55] See Feridun Fazıl Tülbentçi, *Cumhuriyet nasıl kuruldu?* (How was the Republic Founded?) (Istanbul, 1955), p. 27.

[56] Ahmet Demirel, "1923 Seçimleri" (The Elections of 1923), *Tarih ve Toplum* 144 (December 1995), pp. 23-31. On the opposition to Kemalist policies in this period see further Ahmet Demirel, *Birinci Meclis'te muhalefet: İkinci Grup* (The Opposition in the First Parliament: The Second Group) (Istanbul 1994), and Kâzım Karabekir, *Paşaların kavgası: Atatürk-Karabekir* (The Quarrel of Generals: Atatürk vs. Karabekir), ed. İsmet Bozdağ (Istanbul, 1991).

accompli: in the absence from Ankara of some distinguished politicians and generals such as Hüseyin Rauf (Orbay), Ali Fuad (Cebesoy), Refet (Bele) and Kâzïm (Karabekir), the Assembly passed a law on March 3, 1924, abolishing the Caliphate.[57] At the same time, the Ministry of Religious Foundations was dissolved. A special law introduced the principle of 'unification of education' (*tevhid-i tedrisat*) which meant the complete secularization of the school system, entailing among others the immediate closure of several hundred Muslim theological colleges (*medrese*), while the religious affairs of the population were placed under the direction of a special governmental department. Although Islam according to the new constitution of April 20, 1924, was still the state religion, the government introduced a new policy which declared an 'enlightened Islam' as the proper faith for the Turks.[58]

These swift and sweeping changes formed the background to rising political tensions in the early Republic. In November 1924 a group of prominent military figures of the War of Independence including two of the three army inspectors resigned from their military posts as well as from the People's Party. Under the leadership of ex-General Kâzïm Karabekir the 'Progressive Republican Party' was established in the same month, the program of which upheld such liberal principles as the separation of powers, the inviolability of civic liberties, free trade and a greater respect for 'religious beliefs and convictions'.[59] This turn of events was rather embarrassing for the Kemalist leadership, although it was temporarily obliged to tolerate the parliamentary opposition. But when in February 1925 a Kurdish rebellion broke out in south-eastern Anatolia, which had both Kurdish-nationalist and Ottoman-restorative aims, the Kemalist regime reacted promptly and with draconian methods not only against the rebels in the East but also against the political opposition and the critical press in the rest of the country.[60] Despite

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[57] For an overview of these developments see Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti yönetimi'nin kurulmasï*, pp. 68-86;

[58] Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti*, pp. 87-90.

[59] Manifesto and program in Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti*, pp. 370-71 and 376-81; English translations of these texts in Zürcher, *Political Opposition in the Early Turkish Republic*, 136-38 and 138-55. For an analysis of the program see *ibid.*, pp. 95-109.

[60] On the Kurdish uprising of 1925 see Robert W. Olson, "The Sheik Sait Rebellion in Turkey (1925): A Study in the Consolidation of a Developed Uninstitutionalized Nationalism and the Rise of an Incipient (Kurdish) Nationalism", *Die Welt des Islams* 18 (1978), no. 3-4, pp. 195-211, and Martin van Bruinessen, "Popular Islam, Kurdish Nationalism and Rural

the fact that the uprising was suppressed by the end of May, the government introduced a Law on the Maintenance of Order along with commissioning extraordinary courts, the so-called Independence Tribunals, with ensuing liquidation of political enemies. On June 3, 1925 – only six months after its foundation – the Progressive Republican Party was banned.[61]

As the Independence Tribunals persecuted the opponents of the Republic – on June 29, 1925, 47 persons were executed in Diyarbakir in connection with the Kurdish uprising[62] – Mustafa Kemal initiated his westernizing reforms. In a tour through provincial Anatolia in August 1925 he exhibited a Panama hat as a 'symbol of civilization', characterizing civilization thereby as "such a fire that burns and liquidates those who remain indifferent to it."[63] A special law passed in November 1925 made wearing a hat or cap instead of the fez, the traditional form of headgear, obligatory; those who ignored this rule were to be brought before an Independence Tribunal. Indeed, there was no pardon for citizens who protested against this queer imposition: about 50 persons were condemned to death between November 1925 and February 1926.[64]

Revolt: the Rebellion of Shaikh Said in Turkey (1925)", in Janos M. Bak and Gerhard Benecke (eds.), *Religion and Rural Revolt* (Manchester, 1984), pp. 281-295.

[61] In a speech made in 1927, Prime Minister İsmet İnönü (1884-1973) conceded that the dangerous situation in 1925 "did not stem from the Kurdish uprising of Sheikh Said alone; actually, the real danger was represented by the widespread confusion and disorder in the political life of the country." This latter factor was "a serious hindrance before progress"; it was due to the activities of "degenerate intellectuals and of politicians who view the freedom of religion as an instrument to attack the freedom of conscience of other people." *İsmet İnönü'nün TBMM'deki konuşmaları 1920-1973* (İsmet İnönü's Speeches in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey), Vol. 1: (1920-1938) (Ankara, 1992), p. 250. The most authoritative synthesis in Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti*, pp. 127-49. See also Zürcher, *Political Opposition in the Early Turkish Republic*, pp. 83-94. For general histories of the 'Independence Tribunals' see Ergun Aybars, *İstiklal Mahkemeleri* (Independence Tribunals), Vol. 1-2 (Izmir, 1988), and A. Turan Alkan, *İstiklal Mahkemeleri* (Independence Tribunals) (Istanbul, 1993).

[62] Alkan, *İstiklal Mahkemeleri*, p. 70 f.

[63] Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Tek Adam: Mustafa Kemal* (The Sole Man: Mustafa Kemal), Vol. 3, 10th impr. (Istanbul 1988), p. 240.

[64] See Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti*, pp. 149-159, and Alkan, *İstiklal Mahkemeleri*, pp. 77-83.

A virtual atmosphere of terror enveloped the political class of Turkey when in June 1926 a conspiracy against the life of Mustafa Kemal was uncovered in Izmir. Although the persons involved – including the ring-leader, a former deputy with CUP affiliations – were arrested, the Independence Tribunal began to proceed, obviously on political grounds, also against third party persons. Apart from several adherents of the CUP, the founders of the already dissolved Progressive Republican Party – former generals, ministers and even a prime minister, all comrades of Mustafa Kemal until 1923 – had to account for their past deeds, the allegations being in no way connected with the plot against the life of the president. Dozens of politicians were condemned to death. Those who were lucky enough to get acquitted – all ex-generals – remained outside of public life as long as Mustafa Kemal lived.[65]

After these purges the conditions were ripe for the establishment in Turkey of a single-party regime. Mustafa Kemal utilized for this purpose the new elections for the National Assembly which were due in 1927. Already the fact that Mustafa Kemal himself hand-picked each candidate was a major change. At the end of August 1927 he made the list of all candidates public, with the supplementary wish that the citizens should take note of these persons with whom he, Mustafa Kemal, had thought it suitable to collaborate. The respective constituencies of these candidates would be announced later on.[66] The candidates thus selected were 'elected' on September 2, 1927, and on October 15 they came together at the Second Congress of the People's Party (since 1924 Republican People's Party, hereafter abbreviated as RPP) to hear Mustafa Kemal's famous speech which lasted more than 36 hours.[67]

As Tunçay has observed, this speech was a reckoning with contemporary rivals rather than a rendering of account of the policies executed since 1919.[68] Mustafa Kemal justified the oppressive methods applied under the

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[65] Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti*, pp. 161-68.

[66] Beşikçi, *Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası'nın tüzüğü*, p. 73.

[67] Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), *Nutuk*, I: *1919-1920*, II: *1920-1927*, III: *Vesikalar* (A Speech, I: 1919-20, II: 1920-27, III: Documents) (Istanbul, 1960-1963). See also *Die neue Türkei 1919-1927. Rede gehalten von Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pascha in Angora vom 15.-20. Oktober 1927 vor den Abgeordneten und Delegierten der Republikanischen Volkspartei*, Vol. 1-3 (Leipzig, 1928).

[68] Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti*, p. 179.

Law on Maintenance of Order as necessary in order to secure for the Turkish nation an honourable place in the civilized world and to strengthen the fundaments of the Republic.[69] A more detailed analysis of the text, as undertaken by Parla, reveals the basic traits of Mustafa Kemal's view of himself and of his country and helps us to grasp better the true nature of his regime.[70] The 'saviour' of Turkey was apparently convinced that history was made by great men and that he surely was one such man receiving his legitimacy not from concrete political bodies, but from the nation conceived in abstract. Consequently, he saw his decisions outside the reach of institutions, laws or assemblies. Additionally, his style of rule was paternalistic, patriarchalist, autocratic and élitist. In other words, Mustafa Kemal was a charismatic leader in the Weberian sense of the term, a person who believed in heroic deeds and that heroes deserved to be adored and worshipped.

Evidently, Mustafa Kemal did not have much confidence in democratic, pluralistic, consultative or collective politics. The RPP and the National Assembly in Ankara were merely needed as instances of formal confirmation. All other institutions and even the nation did not possess authority or legitimacy of their own. It was especially important that no person or institution intervened as mediator between the leader and the nation. The leader would tolerate criticism neither within his own nor from an opposition party. His own person and his party alone guaranteed the national unity, rendering opposition to them almost equivalent to high treason.

What was the ultimate goal of this man? His main concern was, obviously, how to create an independent nation-state and a new political regime, how to substitute the multinational Ottoman empire by a secular republic of the Turks. In this context, he considered a republic the opposite of a monarchy, a form of government based on the principle of popular sovereignty; and his nationalism as reflected in the 'Speech' is cultural, emotional and territorial, geared to increase self-confidence and to create a stronger identity with the purpose of setting into motion a dynamic process of modernization.[71]

Another indication of profound change after the purges can be seen in the statutes of the RPP which were adopted by the Second Congress in 1927.

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[69] *Ibid.*, p. 182 f.

[70] Taha Parla, *Türkiye'de siyasal kültürün resmî kaynakları*, Vol. 1: *Atatürk'ün Nutuk'u* (Official Sources of Political Culture in Turkey, I: The Speech of Atatürk) (Istanbul, 1991).

[71] This is a rough paraphrase of Parla's conclusions, see *Atatürk'ün Nutuk'u*, pp. 167-70.

This document merely legalized the until then *de facto* state of affairs. "To guard the republican form of government, which has been raising the Turkish nation continuously to a higher level of prestige and affluence, against every kind of danger" was amongst the principal political goals (Art. 2). To emancipate beliefs and consciences "from diverse intermingling of politics" was another important aim, and all laws, organizations and similar needs of the nation would be realized "according to the principles and forms of the modern positive sciences, that is to say, in matters related to the state and nation, worldly and religious concerns would be kept separate" (Art. 3). The populist precept "by the people, for the people" was an important issue for the Party, whereby people was defined as a collectivity of citizens who did not recognize any family, class, community or individual privileges (Art. 4). The strongest bond between these citizens was the unity of language, feeling and thinking, and the Party had the duty to spread the Turkish language and culture in every sphere of public life (Art. 5). Finally, Art. 6 designated Mustafa Kemal, the founder of the Party, as its general chairman, and Art. 7 established that the above stipulations could under no circumstances be modified, thus implying that the chairmanship of Mustafa Kemal, too, was permanent.[72]

Solidarist-Corporatist Tendencies

The term 'populism' gained in this period a fundamental importance in Turkish politics, experiencing at the same time a significant shift in content. As has been shown above, during the years 1919-1923 it was understood to mean primarily popular sovereignty. But it was also used in its romantic denotation as belief in the rights, wisdom, or virtues of the common people. For example, we see Mustafa Kemal as late as March, 1923, criticizing the élitism of the educated in the following words:

> Between the class of intellectuals and the mentality and expectations of the people there should be a natural consensus. That is to say, the ideas the intellectuals try to inculcate should originate from the soul and conscience of the common people. However, is this the case in our country? Do the ideas of the intellectuals stem from the depths of the soul of our people? Certainly not.[73]

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[72] Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti*, p. 382; Beşikçi, *Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası'nın tüzüğü (1927)*, pp. 80-81.

[73] *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri* (Atatürk's Speeches and Statements), Vol. II, ed. Nimet Arsan (Ankara, 2nd ed., 1959), p. 140, quoted in Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti*, p. 216.

But by 1923 Mustafa Kemal had already begun to convey a somewhat different populist message, his statements becoming reminiscent of the solidarist-corporatist approach of Ziya Gökalp. His speech in Balikesir on February 8, 1923, in which he dwelt upon the principles of the prospective People's Party, has often been quoted as an indication of this change:

> The party will represent the nation as a whole, not just one social class. We have an agricultural society. Such a society involves the great land owners and the farmers who have large land holdings. How many people possess large land holdings in our country? We learn from investigations that no one has such large holdings. Consequently, these landowners are persons to be protected. Then there are tradesmen and small town merchants. We must protect their rights, too, and provide for their security now and in the future. Apart from these people, there are no big capitalists. How many millionaires do we have? None. We shall not be the enemies of those who have some money. On the contrary, we will try to create millionaires and billionaires in our country. Then, there are the workers. Their number does not exceed twenty thousand. Like the farmers working in the field, they must he protected and their rights defended.[74]

Obviously, this text anticipates the notion of single-party rule that sees its primary mission in accommodating the conflicting social interests within a national framework – a notion which was to become one of the maxims of the Kemalist regime. It also bears testimony to the continuing influence of ideological currents from the previous Young Turk period. Finally, a return to those concepts which burden a select few with the mission of leading the ignorant masses onto the path of progress harmonizes well with the emerging Kemalist authoritarianism that drew legitimacy from its *mission civilisatrice* in an Islamic social context. At any rate, Kemalist populism after 1923 considered the populace more and more as an ignorant mass unable to discern its true interests, and ideologues from the Young Turk era were on the spot to furnish encouragement. Abdullah Cevdet, for example, whose name stood for radical westernization after 1923, not only pictured Islam as the main hindrance to progress in Turkey, but also tried to put the ideas of Gustave Le Bon into reality by suggesting that Mustafa Kemal should behave as a true leader, that is to say, he should not care what the common people thought of his actions. After all, "from a psychological point of view the most distinguished and exalted ability of Mustafa Kemal Pasha" was "to perceive the

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[74] Başgöz and Wilson, *Educational Problems in Turkey*, p. 47. The Turkish version of this passage in Tekeli and Şaylan, "Türkiye'de halkçilik ideolojisinin evrimi", p. 73 f.

unconscious inclinations and needs of the people and to satisfy these inclinations and needs with a great thrust of conviction and decisiveness".[75] In a similar vein, Ziya Gökalp, too, justified and encouraged the autocratic tendencies of the new leader of Turkey:

> Whereas individual ideas are the personal ideas of individuals, collective representations are the mental patterns that are common to all individuals of a society, or more accurately, that exist consciously in the collective consciousness. Individual ideas exercise no real influence in society, but they become an important factor in social life when they are based on a social force and acquire the nature of a collective representation. Thus, the ideas of a saviour who enjoys a great moral influence soon become part of the common thoughts of the whole people. Individual ideas of a similar nature also have an influence in social life. When a nation possesses a great personality who has proved by great victories his genius, self-sacrifice, and heroism, he can easily effect all sorts of reforms through his ability to create collective representations. Today we have such a genius. A personality of this nature who is recognized as a saviour and genius by the public consciousness can achieve by a word or speech or state-ment reforms and advances that ordinary persons could never achieve, regard-less of the degree of their scientific knowledge, physical strength, and activity.[76]

Under the impression of radical change since 1923, many intellectuals saw themselves in a historically privileged position of being burdened with the creation of an entirely new order which would supplant a morally bankrupt imperial system and its decadent culture. The feeling of starting from zero was especially strong in the field of demography and settlement, since deportations, massacres and compulsory exchange of populations between 1912 and 1923 had depopulated large areas in Anatolia and Thrace. How was the vacuum left behind by the departure of non-Muslims capital, manpower and know-how to be filled? How were the hundreds of thousands of Muslim immigrants, a substantial part of whom spoke no Turkish, to be integrated into the emerging Turkish nation?[77] The creation of a Turkish

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[75] Hanioğlu, *Bir siyasal düşünür olarak Doktor Abdullah Cevdet*, p. 391.

[76] Ziya Gökalp, *The Principles of Turkism*, transl. by Robert Devereux (Leiden, 1968), p. 52, as quoted in Akural, *Ziya Gökalp. The Influence of His Thought on Kemalist Reforms*, p. 102 f.

[77] Cevat Geray, *Türkiye'den ve Türkiye'ye göçler ve göçmenlerin iskânı (1923-1961)* (Emigrations from and Immigrations to Turkey and the Settlement of Immigrants, 1923-1961) (Ankara, 1962); İlhan Tekeli, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan günümüze nüfusun zorunlu yer değiştirmesi ve iskan sorunu" (From Ottoman Empire to the Present the Problem of Com-

national identity – along with bringing the country onto the path of sustained economic development – was indeed the toughest task of the Kemalist élite.

The Turkish Hearths of the Young Turk period, which were reactivated after 1923, were expected to increase their cultural activities and thus to contribute to the process of nation-building. But who was a Turk? Could a Muslim Bosnian, a Circassion, an Arab or a Kurd become a member of the Turkish Hearths? After the Kurdish rebellion of 1925, this question was answered by an integrative definition of Turkishness; the decisive criterion was accordingly not ethnic origin but the subjective opting of the individual for the Turkish cultural and national identity. Behind such a conceptualization lay the aim of national homogenization, the attainment of the unity of language, culture and thinking, as required by the 1927 statutes of the RPP. Already at the Turkish Hearths' congress in April, 1925, Prime Minister Ismet Pasha had declared that nationalism was the only cohesive force and that it was the intent of the republican regime to turkify all citizens of Turkey.[78]

However, national assimilation was only one dimension of the complex transformation process; as important was the tenacity with which the regime tried to bring about a rupture with the cultural heritage of the Ottoman centuries. The replacement of the Islamic with the Christian-Gregorian calendar in 1925 and especially the adoption of the Swiss civil code in 1926 were measures of considerable practical value and represented at the same, especially in the latter case, a fulfilment of an old Young Turk project.[79]

In 1928 Mustafa Kemal initiated further reforms which were to attain the significance of a real break in the cultural and religious life of the population: In April, an amendment to the constitution removed the article that designated Islam as the religion of the state. In May the Arabic numerals were replaced by the Western symbols for numbers. In June the substitution of Arabic by Turkish as the language of religious services in the mosques was

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pulsory Migration of Population and Resettlement), *Toplum ve Bilim* 50 (Summer 1990), pp. 49-71; Justin McCarthy, "Muslim Refugees in Turkey: the Balkan Wars, World War I, and the Turkish War of Independence", in *Essays in Honor of Andreas Tietze*, ed. by Heath W. Lowry and Donald Quataert (Istanbul-Washington D.C., 1993), pp. 87-111.

[78] Georgeon, "Nationalisme et populisme en Turquie: L'experience des "Foyers Turcs" (1912-1931)", pp. 21 f.

[79] See Gotthard Jäschke, "Die Form der Eheschließung nach türkischem Recht. Ein Beitrag zum internationalen Privatrecht", *Welt des Islams* 22 (1940), pp. 1-66.

announced. And in November by a special law the new Turkish alphabet (developed on the basis of Latin characters) was introduced. Practically overnight generations of educated adults were reduced to illiterates, while the younger generations were severed from their cultural heritage.

The new script was just a beginning; it anticipated on the one hand a still more comprehensive language reform that bore testimony to:

> the fervent belief in the omnipotence of the human will and in the creative élan of the revolution [which] gave rise to the [Kemalist] conviction that language, like any other social institution, could be reshaped according to a preconceived plan.[80]

On the other hand, it made necessary an extensive alphabetization campaign reaching into the remotest parts of the country and intended simultaneously as a means of political mobilization.[81] As a result of these reforms there appeared to be emerging, on the eve of the Great Depression, a fascinating 'New Turkey' and a 'New Turk', both the work of a single man: "Il est incontestable que le type d'homme représenté par le nouveau Turc est une création spéciale d'Atatürk."[82]

Totality of Party, State, Nation

The world economic crisis of the Thirties hit Turkey as hard as any other country. Because the grain prices fell, especially the peasantry, the overwhelming majority of the population, suffered. The central government could hardly help them, since the meagre resources were allocated either for an ambitious program of nationalization of foreign companies still operating in the country or for the construction of new railroads, if not already ear-

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[80] Uriel Heyd, *Language Reform in Modern Turkey* (Jerusalem, 1954), p. 21.

[81] As a result of this campaign, the rate of literacy rose from 10.5 per cent in 1927 to 20.4 per cent in 1935. See Mustafa Albayrak, "Millet mekteplerinin yapïsï ve çalïşmalarï" (Structure and Activities of the Nation Schools), *Atatürk Araştïrma Merkezi Dergisi* 10 (1994), pp. 471-83, here p. 482.

[82] Tekin Alp, *Le Kemalisme* (Paris, 1937), p. 62. A good contemporary description of the Turkish transformation can be found in Donald E. Webster, *The Turkey of Ataturk: Social Process in the Turkish Reformation* (Philadelphia, 1939). See further Norbert von Bischoff, *Ankara - Eine Deutung des neuen Werdens in der Türkei* (Vienna-Munich, 1935); Stephan Ronart, *Die Türkei von heute* (Amsterdam, 1936); Edmund Schopen, *Die neue Türkei* (Leipzig, 1938).

marked for the modernization of Ankara to make it a worthy capital of the nation.[83] The leadership was compelled to take notice of the popular discontent, the economic crisis being "plainly visible to even the most ardent admirers of the regime".[84]

Its response was comprehensive enough and occurred on three different planes: the economical, the political and the ideological. In the economic field, the relatively liberal policies followed since 1923 were abandoned in favour of a course geared to accomplish economic autarky.[85] In the field of internal politics a daring experiment was undertaken: Perhaps as an outlet to help vent the accumulated dissatisfaction in the country, Mustafa Kemal engineered in early August 1930 the establishment of an oppositional party under the chairmanship of Fethi Okyar, one his close associates and a former prime minister.[86] He is reported to have encouraged Fethi Okyar with the following words:

> The spectacle we offer today is more or less one of a *dictature* ... However, I have not created the republic for my personal benefit. We are all transitory in this world. If I would die today, the institution that I would leave behind would be despotism. But as my legacy to the nation, I do not wish to leave despotism and thus enter history as a despot.[87]

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[83] Yorgaki Effimiadis, *Cihan iktisad buhranï önünde Türkiye* (Turkey in Face of the World Economic Crisis), Vol. 1-2 (Istanbul, 1935-36); Şevket Raşit Hatipoğlu, *Die Agrarkrise in der Türkei/Türkiyede Ziraî Buhran* (Ankara, 1936); Oya Köymen, "Charakter und Dynamik des Wandels in der türkischen Landwirtschaft zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen", in Linda Schatkowski Schilcher and Claus Scharf (eds.), *Der Nahe Osten in der Zwischenkriegszeit 1919-1939. Die Interdependenz von Politik, Wirtschaft und Ideologie* (Stuttgart, 1989), pp. 203-221.

[84] Walter F. Weiker, *Political Tutelage and Democracy in Turkey. The Free Party and Its Aftermath* (Leiden, 1973), p. 59.

[85] Feroz Ahmad, "The Political Economy of Kemalism", in Ali Kazancïgil and Ergun Özbudun (eds.), *Atatürk. Founder of a Modern State* (London, 1981), pp. 145-63, and Korkut Boratav, "Kemalist Economic Policies and Etatism", *ibid.*, pp. 165-90.

[86] Fethi Okyar, *Serbest Cumhuriyet Fïrkasï - Nasïl doğdu, nasïl feshedildi?* (The Free Republican Party - How It Was Born, How Abolished) (Istanbul, 1987), pp. 7-83; Ahmet Ağaoğlu, *Serbest Fïrka hatïralarï* (Memoirs on the Free Republican Party) (Istanbul, 2nd ed., 1969).

[87] Fethi Okyar, *Üç devirde bir adam* (A Man in Three Periods), ed. Cemal Kutay (Istanbul, 1980), quoted in Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti*, p. 252.

The 'Free Republican Party' demanded in its program the abolishment of state monopolies, a reduction of taxes, a friendlier climate for foreign capital and a larger share for free enterprise in the economy.[88] This venture in democracy turned out to be a spectacular success and was at the same time a bitter disappointment for Mustafa Kemal, who apparently hoped that public opinion at least out of respect for him would not abandon the RPP so quickly. For everywhere the new party was greeted so enthusiastically that one could speak of a political landslide. The leaders of the opposition were themselves rather embarrassed, and a sign from the 'Great Leader' (Ulu Önder) Mustafa Kemal was enough for them to dissolve their party – barely three months after its foundation – on November 17, 1930.

This experiment in democracy shocked the leadership profoundly. On the same day the Free Republican Party was dissolved, Mustafa Kemal set out on a tour of the provinces that was to last three months. He was accompanied by younger RPP politicians such as Recep (Peker), Reşit Galip and Ahmet Hamdi (Başar) who were known for their corporatist and anti-liberal views.[89] They all were keen on ascertaining the causes of the discontent and working out remedial proposals. The direction the development would take was intimated in a speech Mustafa Kemal held in Konya at the end of February 1931. He expressed the wish to have all citizens including the youth as members of his party. Even those under 18 years of age should be affiliated with the RPP as 'designated' members.[90]

Obviously, the intention was to achieve a totalitarian system which left no room for any civil, cultural or political activity outside the control of the party-state. The cessation of the activities of the Turkish Hearths, the most important independent association in the service of Turkism and nationalism since 1912, was telling in this regard. In early April 1931 the Central Committee of the Hearths announced the dissolution of their organization and the transfer of its property to the Republican People's Party. The explanation given was the need felt by the Great Leader to co-ordinate all nationalist and

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[88] Muzaffer Sencer, *Türkiye'de siyasal partilerin sosyal temelleri* (Social Fundaments of the Political Parties in Turkey), Istanbul 1974, 142-153.

[89] Ahmet Hamdi Başar, *Atatürk'le üç ay ve 1930'dan sonra Türkiye* (Three Months with Atatürk and Turkey after 1930) (Istanbul, 1945).

[90] *Atatürk'ün söylev ve demeçleri, II*, p. 270.

revolutionary forces under the roof of a single organization.[91] Soon the Freemason Lodges of Turkey, too, had to suspend their activities, since they were told that the ideals they adhered to – nationalism, populism and republicanism – were championed now by the Party. Other organizations such as the Press Association of Turkey, the Association of Reserve Officers, the Women's Union of Turkey, etc., followed suit.[92]

But the RPP, too, needed a reshuffle. In March 1931 Mustafa Kemal asked for new 'elections', even though he was convinced that his party had 'the full support of the nation'. In order to prove that the Party had such support and, further, "in order to assess the degree to which the nation will approve of the new measures which will be taken in the near future", he deemed it suitable that "our deputies renew their mandates. Once the confidence of the nation, the source of inspiration and power in all our enterprises, becomes manifest, it will be seen how unshakeable the basis of our national ideal is."[93] Already at the beginning of May, the new legislative period of the Parliament could be opened, with Mustafa Kemal being elected President of the Republic unanimously for the third time. A few days later the Third Congress of the RPP convened. On top of the agenda was the sanctioning of the new program and regulations of the Party that had been prepared, after careful study of contemporary European models, by the new Secretary-General Recep (Peker).[94]

These documents[95] mark the beginning of a new period in the history of Turkey which was to last into the post-World War II era. For the first time, the RPP claimed to represent the whole nation which was conceived as a classless, solidaristic and united social formation, and the chief characteristics (*ana vasiflar*) of the single-party were proclaimed to be Republicanism, Nationalism, Populism, Etatism, Laicism and Revolutionism as symbolized by the 'Six Arrows' of the new party emblem. What was the in-

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[91] See *Türk Yurdu* 39-233 (March 1931), p. 61, quoted in Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti*, pp. 297 f., fn. 19.

[92] Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti*, p. 297, fn. 18.

[93] Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 5 March 1931, quoted in Beşikçi, *Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası'nın tüzüğü*, pp. 125-6.

[94] On translated foreign party programs see Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti*, p. 312, fn. 35.

[95] Full texts of the documents in Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti*, pp. 429-54.

tention? Evidently, the leadership had reached the conclusion that oppressive methods were unavoidable if the reforms were going to be implemented at all. And these reforms were believed to be absolutely necessary. For example, the Party had felt compelled to pursue an etatist policy of industrialization, because only in that way could it hope to attain economic self-sufficiency. Moreover, the leadership saw itself not only in "full conformity with the most modern currents of thought in the world", but also believed it was ushering in "a mentality that best suited the specific conditions of our country."[96] This meant decreeing reforms from above, and any opposition to it would be classified automatically as 'counterrevolutionary'.[97]

This shift in policy necessitated a coherent ideology and simultaneously a comprehensive educational effort accompanied by systematized propaganda in order to diffuse the official worldview among the masses. The RPP program and regulations of 1931 created the indispensable framework: Henceforth, the primary task of public education was to enable the citizens to acquire republican, nationalist and secular convictions. Along with intellectual the physical development of the youth, too, should be promoted, not least with a view to elevating the "character to the high level inspired by our great national history". History teaching was therefore of particular importance. All citizens were to be given the opportunity to become familiar with "the profound history of the Turks", for only historical knowledge was conducive to strengthening the self-esteem of the people, to heightening its resistance to foreign ideas which threatened national existence.

Already in 1930, a group of historians was commissioned with writing a work to be titled "Outlines of Turkish History".[98] In the same year it appeared in a limited edition for the assessment of specialists.[99] The reason

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[96] Recep (Peker), *C.H.F. programının izahı* (Commentary on the Program of the Republican People's Party) (Ankara, 1931), p. 9.

[97] Tekeli and Şaylan, "Türkiye'de halkçılık ideolojisinin evrimi", p. 80 f.

[98] Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti*, pp. 300-303. For the following see also Fikret Adanır, "Zum Geschichtsbild der nationalen Erziehung in der Türkei", *Internationale Schulbuchforschung* 10 (1988), pp. 7-40, and *idem*, "Turkey", in Karl Pellens, Siegfried Quandt and Hans Süssmuth (eds.), *Historical Culture - Historical Communication. International Bibliography* (Frankfurt am Main, 1994), pp. 367-93.

[99] Büşrâ Ersanlı Behar, *İktidar ve tarih: Türkiye'de 'resmi tarih' tezinin oluşumu, 1929-1937* (Political Power and History: The Development of the 'Official History' Thesis in Turkey 1929-1937) (Istanbul, 1992), pp. 102-107.

why such a book was deemed necessary is explained by the fact that the historical role of the Turks had been consciously or unconsciously underestimated, if not entirely distorted in the historiography. Consequently, people acquired false ideas about their past. The time had come to interpret history from a national standpoint, so that the creative talents of the people could realize their true potentials.[100] The new concept of national history was immediately incorporated into the curricula. The four-volume "History", a textbook for secondary schools that appeared in 1931, closely followed the principles set down in the "Outlines ...". The first volume was devoted to Pre- and Early History, the emphasis being on the Turks and their contribution to the development of ancient civilizations. Volume II described the place of the Turks in the medieval Islamic world. The six Ottoman centuries were treated in a most cursory fashion in one half of Volume III, while the other half was reserved for the history of national liberation movements. The history of the Turkish Republic, however, which was not even a decade old, was given the most extensive treatment, filling the whole Volume IV, the thickest of the series. In short, school education clearly emphasized the pre-Islamic and Kemalist periods of Turkish history.[101]

The new concept of history-teaching needed scholarly underpinnings. To that end a "Society for Research on Turkish History" (*Türk Tarihi Tetkik Cemiyeti*) was founded in 1931, which developed later into the Turkish Historical Society (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*).[102] The first congress of Turkish historians met in the summer of 1932 in Ankara in order to discuss the problems of the new interpretation.[103] As a result, the 'Turkish History Thesis' crystallized around the following notions: The Turks were a white, Aryan people. Their original homeland was Central Asia, the cradle of civilization. Due to climatic changes (desiccation), the Turks swarmed out already in prehistoric times in all directions, carrying civilization into other parts of the

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[100] Afet *et al.*, *Türk tarihinin anahatları* (The Outlines of Turkish History) (Istanbul, 1930), introduction, quoted in Behar, *İktidar ve tarih*, pp. 104 f.

[101] See Behar, *İktidar ve tarih*, pp. 108-118.

[102] See the voluminous study by Fahri Çoker, *Türk Tarih Kurumu: Kuruluş amacı ve çalışmaları* (Turkish Historical Society: The Purpose of its Foundation and its Activities) (Ankara, 1983).

[103] Maarif Vekâleti and Türk Tarihi Tetkik Cemiyeti, *Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi (Ankara, 2-11 Temmuz 1932). Konferanslar, müzakere zabıtları* (The First Turkish History Congress (Ankara, 2-11 July 1932). Proceedings) (Istanbul, (1932)).

world. The ancient civilizations of China, India, Egypt or Italy were all indebted to the Turkish heritage. The Sumerians and the Hittites were unquestionably Turkish peoples. Thus, especially Asia Minor had been since time immemorial – and not just since the arrival of the Seljuk Turks in the eleventh century – a Turkish homeland.[104]

Some academicians of the University of Istanbul remained rather unconvinced of this new thesis.[105] Therefore, when Reşit Galip, who as Secretary-General of the Society for the Study of Turkish History was a co-author of the new historical myth, became Minister of National Education in late 1932, he seemed eager to punish the University of Istanbul, the last liberal institution in the country: In the summer of 1933, academic autonomy was abrogated and 92 professors and assistants were dismissed at once.[106] The result was the 'reformed' university under tight ministerial control, at which the teaching was entrusted more and more to German academicians (mostly of Jewish origin) who were happy to have found refuge in Istanbul and thus were understandably loath to get involved in political issues of the host country.[107] Another (and equally important) aim of the Ministry was "to

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[104] A selection of titles from the published volume of the proceedings of the First Turkish History Congress are revealing: Afet (İnan), "Tarihten evvel and tarih fecrinde" (Before and at the Dawn of History), in *Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi (Ankara, 2-11 Temmuz 1932). Konferanslar, müzakere zabıtları* (Istanbul, (1932)), pp. 18-41; Reşit Galip, "Türk ırk ve medeniyet tarihine umumî bir bakış" (An Overview of the History of the Turkish Race and Civilization), *ibid.*, pp. 99-161; Hasan Cemil, "Ege Medeniyetinin menşeine umumî bakış" (An Overview of the Origins of the Aegean Civilization), *ibid.*, 199-214; Yusuf Ziya, "Mısır din ve ilâhlarının Türklükle alâkası" (The Relation of Religion and Gods of Egypt with Turkishness), *ibid.*, pp. 243-60. In respect to nationalist and even racist implications İsmail Beşikçi, *Türk Tarih Tezi, Güneş-Dil Teorisi ve Kürt Sorunu* (The Turkish History Thesis, the Theory of Sun Language and the Kurdish Question) (Ankara, 1978). See also Halil Berktay, "Der Aufstieg und die gegenwärtige Krise der nationalistischen Geschichtsschreibung in der Türkei", *Periplus* 1 (1991), pp. 102-125, here 106-108.

[105] On the critical interventions of Zeki Velidi (Togan) see *Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi*, pp. 167-76 and 369-76.

[106] Nurşen Mazıcı, "Öncesi ve sonrasıyla 1933 Üniversite Reformu" (The University Reform of 1933 with its Premises and Consequences), in: Birikim 76 (August 1995), 56-70. On Reşit Galip see also Mete Tunçay and Haldun Özen, "1933 Darülfünun tesviyesi veya bir Tek-Tarti politikacısının önlenemez yükselişi ve düşüşü" (The 1933 University Settlement or the Irresistible Rise and Fall of a Single-Party Politician), *Tarih ve Toplum* 10 (October 1984), pp. 6-20.

[107] Horst Widmann, *Exil und Bildungshilfe. Die deutschsprachige Emigration in die Türkei nach 1933* (Bern-Frankfurt am Main, 1973); Fritz Neumark, *Zuflucht am Bosporus.*

closely relate the university to the revolution".[108] For that purpose, an Institute of the History of the Turkish Revolution (*İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü*) was founded, and as of March 1934 students of all departments had to take the courses offered by that Institute. Interestingly, the first lecturers were prominent politicians of the RPP such as Recep Peker and Mahmut Esat Bozkurt; on March 20, 1934, Prime Minister İsmet İnönü himself lectured in Ankara on the same topic.[109]

The Turkish Thesis of History was bolstered by a 'Sun Theory of Language', developed by the Society for Research on the Turkish Language (*Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti*). This society was set up in Ankara immediately after the History Congress in order to organize the First Language Congress in Istanbul already in late September 1932.[110] Its aim was "to bring out the genuine beauty and richness of the Turkish language and to elevate it to the high rank it deserves among world languages".[111] Behind this goal lay the fantastic notion that since the Turks of Central Asia had taken along their civilization to other parts of the world, so they must have taken along also their language. From here it was just a short step to the inference that Turkish must lie at the bottom of most languages of the world. In order to promote further research on this question, the 'Faculty for Languages, History and Geography' was established in 1936, which was to form the core of the University of Ankara. Simultaneously, the national language, now considered to be one of the oldest and most important languages of the world, began to

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Deutsche Gelehrte, Politiker und Künstler in der Emigration 1933-1953 (Frankfurt am Main, 1980); Ernst E. Hirsch, *Aus des Kaisers Zeiten durch die Weimarer Republik in das Land Atatürks* (Munich, 1982).

[108] Başgöz and Wilson, *Educational Problems in Turkey 1920-1940*, p. 167.

[109] Recep Peker, *İnkılâp dersleri notları* (Notes of the Lectures on the Revolution), (Ankara, 1935-1936); Hakkı Uyar, "Türk İhtilâli'nin Düsturları ve Mahmut Esat Bozkurt" (The Principles of the Turkish Revolution and Mahmut Esat Bozkurt), *Tarih ve Toplum* 99 (March 1992), pp. 18-24; 100 (April 1992), pp. 39-46.18-19; Hakkı Uyar, "Türk Devrimi'ni teorileştirme çabaları: Mahmut Esat Bozkurt örneği" (Efforts at Theorizing the Turkish Revolution: The Example of Mahmut Esat Bozkurt), *Tarih ve Toplum* 119 (November 1993), pp. 9-15; 120 (December 1993), pp. 9-16.

[110] Jacob M. Landau, "The First Turkish Language Congress", in Joshua A. Fishman (ed.), *The Earliest Stage of Language Planning. The 'First Congress' Phenomenon* (Berlin-New York, 1993), pp. 271-92.

[111] Heyd, *Language Reform in Modern Turkey*, pp. 25 f.

be cleansed systematically of foreign - Arabic and Persian - influences and enriched by new Turkish words. The youth, which was learning only the Latin script, was now also cut off linguistically from Ottoman literature and could hardly communicate intellectually with the elder generations.[112]

But in an effort to win over ever larger segments of the population, the leadership was determined to exploit also the possibilities of modern adult education. Mustafa Kemal thought on establishing community centres "which will bring the people of this nation closer together and will help raise the standards of the youth." The buildings should have each a hall large enough to accommodate about 1500 persons, plus providing other installations necessary for general education, such as cinemas, libraries, theatres, etc. From February 1932 on the institution called 'People's House' (*Halk Evi*) became a reality, at first in urban centres only, but after 1939, as 'People's Rooms' (*Halk Odalari*), also in smaller towns. Their activities covered from art, music, theatre, regional historical studies to sports practically every cultural field. In a way they represented the continuation of the former Turkish Hearths movement, but now in a more popular and more politicized vein. Conceived as community centres with the function of political socialization, the Houses were controlled firmly by the RPP.[113] The buildings flew the banner of the Republican People's Party. The façades bore patriotic slogans or mottoes; at the entrance of one house in Eastern Anatolia, for example, one could read "Happy Indeed Is the Turk".[114]

In his opening speech of the Fourth Congress of the RPP in 1935, Mustafa Kemal praised the Party's embracing the nation through the activities of

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[112] Heyd, *Language Reform in Modern Turkey*, p. 109. See also Jean Deny, "La réforme actuelle de la langue turque", *En Terre d'Islam* 10 (1935), pp. 223-47; Ettero Rossi, "La riforma linguistica in Turchia", in: *Oriento Moderno* 15 (1935), pp. 45-57;

[113] Başgöz and Wilson, *Educational Problems in Turkey 1920-1940*, pp. 149-58; Kemal H. Karpat, "The People's Houses in Turkey. Establishment and Growth", *Middle East Journal* 17 (1963), pp. 55-67; *ibid.*, "The Impact of the People's Houses on the Development of Communication in Turkey 1931-1951", *Die Welt des Islams* 15 (1974), pp. 69-84. See also A. A. Kolešnikov, *Narodnye doma v obščestvenno-političeskoj i kul'turnoj žizni Tureckoj respubliki* (The People's Houses in the Sociopolitical and Cultural Life of the Turkish Republic) (Moscow, 1984).

[114] Ehud Houminer, "The People's Houses in Turkey", *Asian and African Studies* 1 (1965), pp. 81-121, here p. 86.

the People's Houses as a "social and cultural revolution".[115] This assertion was accurate at least in respect to the cultural revolution, and laicism was perhaps the most important dimension of that development. In the early years of the Republic many had thought that Mustafa Kemal intended to have a reformation of Islam in Turkey. In 1928 a special commission was set up within the Theological Department of the University of Istanbul to prepare a proposal to that end.[116] But after 1928 a new relation of the state to religion became manifest:

> Islam became the Kemalists' favourite target of contempt. They thought it gloomy, hostile to life, and altogether absurd. The Kemalists regarded formal Islam - and any other religion, for that matter - as superfluous and some of them moved gradually from their initial fragile belief to a belligerent disbelief. In short, they were critical but not constructive.[117]

The Republic had certainly no intention to reform and thus rejuvenate the religion; some Kemalists even justified their dislike of democracy under the pretext that in Turkey it would mean the rule of hedges and reactionaries.[118] Soon the regime was not content with formal secularization in the sense of separating the affairs of state from those of religion. It overtly began to attack religion in a way that from the perspective of the Muslims was blasphemy.[119]

Indeed, the excessive hero cult and the mythicizing of national symbols during the Thirties have been interpreted by some authors as attempts to

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[115] See Taha Parla, *Türkiye'de siyasal kültürün resmî kaynakları*, Vol. 2: *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri* (Official Sources of Political Culture in Turkey, II: Atatürk's Speeches and Statements) (Istanbul, 1991), p. 118.

[116] On Mustafa Kemal's attempts of reform in religion see Osman Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi* (The History of Turkish Education) (Istanbul, new ed., 1977), Vol. 5, pp. 1930-70.

[117] Akural, *Ziya Gökalp: The Influence of His Thought on Kemalist Reforms*, p. 102.

[118] Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti*, pp. 224 f.

[119] It seems that in matters of belief Mustafa Kemal was a naturalist and determinist. History textbooks of his period not only had a special chapter explaining the creation of the world according to Darwin, but God's revelation to Muhammed, a central event in Islam, too, was described in terms of human nature and psychology. See Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi*, Vol. V, pp. 1994-99.

offer alternatives to Islam.[120] The following definition of fatherland in the 1935 program of the RPP seems to corroborate this view: "The Fatherland is the sacred country within our present political boundaries, where the Turkish Nation lives with its ancient and illustrious history, and with its past glories still in the depths of its soil."[121] After the Fourth Congress of the RPP (1935), the ideology of the Party began to be propounded even in quasi-religious terms, as when the Secretary-General Recep Peker expressed the opinion that Kemalism was a cultural and religious communion.[122] Another member of the Party openly referred to it as religion in a book he published.[123]

The 'Great Leader' Mustafa Kemal himself was soon attributed qualities which approximated divineness. Thus in theatre performances in People's Houses he was portrayed virtually as a deity. In a country like Turkey which had a high illiteracy rate and where people were not always able to differentiate between the reality of life and the reality of art, the theatre was recognized by the Party as an important means of propaganda.[124] The plays to be performed in the People's Houses were specially ordered by the Ministry of the Interior from nationalist playwrights. Mustafa Kemal often interfered personally and modified the manuscripts to his own liking. Out of 50 plays produced in 1933, 38 dealt with the Turkish Revolution. In them the ideology of the Republic was being inculcated in the audience explicitly as a new religion. For example, Çankaya, Mustafa Kemal's residence near Ankara, was often referred to as the Kaaba of Turkey. Other striking parallelisms were Allah = Mustafa Kemal, Koran = the 'Speech', Islam = Positivism.

Certainly, rural Turkey lay out of the reach of such cultural and political mobilization. The educational system was not yet developed enough to carry

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[120] Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti*, pp. 214 f.

[121] Suna Kili, *Kemalism* (Istanbul, 1969), p. 77. For the full text of the program see CHP (Republikanische Volkspartei), *Programm (genehmigt vom IV. Großen Parteitag)* (Ankara, Mai 1935), and Webster, *The Turkey of Atatürk*, Appendix E.

[122] Jäschke, *Die Türkei in den Jahren 1935-1941*, p. 8.

[123] Mehmet Şeref Aykut, *Kamâlizm* (Istanbul, 1936), pp. 3, 32. Quoted in Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti*, p. 327.

[124] For this and the following see Levent Boyacioğlu, "Tek Parti Döneminde İnkılâp Temsilleri" (The Representation of the Revolution on the Stage during the Single Party Period), *Tarih ve Toplum* 102 (June 1992), pp. 30-36); 103 (July 1992), pp. 30-35; 104 (August 1992), pp. 26-33; 105 (September 1992), pp. 13-24.

the Kemalist ideas into the villages.[125] By 1936 only a fourth of the peasant children visited primary school. In order to accelerate the process of alphabetization and enlightenment of the rural population, an original approach, better suited to Turkish reality, was taken: the project of 'Village Institutes' (*Köy Enstitüleri*). Young women and men from rural areas should attend for five years the new teachers' training colleges, which were to be erected in rural areas and would be largely self-sufficient. Apart from conveying pedagogical knowledge, training in crafts and teaching agricultural methods should occupy a prominent place in the curriculum. From the graduates one expected that as village teachers they would be able to construct their own school buildings with the help of the peasants, but without any state help. Furthermore, thanks to their knowledge of crafts, farming and hygiene, they should serve as advisors to the rural population in all facets of everyday life.[126]

The youth, urban or rural, was a major focus of attention in the Kemalist endeavour. It was to the youth that Mustafa Kemal entrusted the future of the Republic in the concluding passage of his speech of 1927, where he assigned to it the duty of preserving and defending the Turkish Republic forever. The strength it would need for this was inherent 'in the noble blood' which flowed in its veins.[127] The moral edification and physical induration of the youth as well as the health of future generations remained a constant concern of the leadership. For example, only couples who passed a special blood test were allowed to marry – a regulation that made race-conscious people in other

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[125] Compare Hakkı Uyar and Türkan Çetin, "Tek Parti Yönetimi'nde köylüye yönelik propaganda: Yurt Gazetesi" (Propaganda Aiming at Peasantry during the Single-Party Rule: The Newspaper "Yurt"), *Toplumsal Tarih* 1 (January 1994), pp. 51-58.

[126] On village institutes see İsmail Hakkı Tonguç, *Eğitim yolu ile canlandırılacak köy* (Village Revival through Education) (Istanbul, 2nd ed., 1947); Fay Kirby Berkes, *The Village Institute Movement of Turkey: An Educational Mobilization for Social Change*, PhD thesis, Columbia University, 1960; Regine Erichsen, "Die Dorfinstitute in ausländischen Schriften. Die Rezeption des türkischen Landentwicklungsmodells - Ein Literaturbericht", *Zeitschrift für Türkeistudien* 1990/2, pp. 295-308. On peasantism of the RPP in this period see Füsun Üstel, "Tek Parti Döneminde Köycülük ideolojisi ya da Nusret Kemal Köymen" (The Ideology of Peasantism during the Single Party Period or Nusret Kemal Köymen), *Tarih ve Toplum* 74 (February 1990), pp. 47-51.

[127] *Nutuk*, Vol. II, p. 898.

countries envious.[128] The Physical Education Act of 1937 and additional decrees in 1938 made sports obligatory for men from 12 to 45 years of age and for women from 12 to 30, and young men between 18 and 20 were urged to join youth clubs.[129]

In return, the youth displayed a remarkable conformity in fulfilling official requirements. After 1928, it participated in various campaigns to enforce the usage of Turkish in public, the expulsion of non-Turk employees from state service or the union of the sandjak Alexandrette (under French mandate) with the Turkish fatherland.[130] In 1934 Jewish citizens in towns of Thrace were harassed, their homes broken into, their stores plundered, with the result that many had to flee for their lives.[131] It was occurrences of this kind that prompted a German sympathizer to observe already in 1933 that in Turkey "the idea of race" was much more strongly developed than in any other country and that "the universal significance of the struggle of the Turkish people lay in the survival of its race." Although the Boy Scouts of Mustafa Kemal were perhaps not trained as thoroughly as the *Hitlerjugend* in Germany or the *Ballila* and *Avantguardisti* in Italy, they still represented a promising start towards a bright future, and the Kemalist project in this field was in no way an imitation of European models, but could look back on its own traditions.[132]

As the Thirties progressed, the control of all aspects of the political, economic and cultural life of the nation by Mustafa Kemal and his political

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[128] See Manfred Zapp, "Türkischer Nationalsozialismus", *Preussische Jahrbücher* 233 (July-September 1933), p. 110.

[129] Jäschke, *Die Türkei in den Jahren 1935-1941*, p. 59.

[130] Tevfik Çavdar, "Cumhuriyet döneminde gençlik" (Youth during the Republic), in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 3 (Istanbul, 1983), pp. 801-12, here pp. 808-09. See also Gotthard Jäschke, *Die Türkei in den Jahren 1935-1941. Geschichtskalender mit Personen- und Sachregister* (Leipzig, 1943), p. 75.

[131] See Halûk Karabatak, "1934 Trakya olaylarï ve Yahudiler" (The Events of 1934 in Thrace and the Jews), *Tarih ve Toplum* 146 (February 1996), pp. 4-16, and Avner Levi, "1934 Trakya Yahudi olaylarï ve alïnamayan ders" (The Jewish Events of 1934 in Thrace and the Lesson that Was Not Learnt), *Tarih ve Toplum* 151 (July 1996), pp. 10-17.

[132] Zapp, "Türkischer Nationalsozialismus", pp. 105, 110 f. On the Society of Turkish Strength established in 1913 and similar efforts see Zafer Toprak, "İttihat ve Terakki'nin paramiliter gençlik örgütleri" (The Paramilitary Youth Organizations of the Union and Progress), *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi, Beşeri Bilimler* 7 (1979), pp. 95-113.

instrument, the RPP, became more rigid. In 1936 Prime Minister İnönü announced in his capacity as the Vice-Chairman of the RPP the decision that the Party and the Government would co-operate henceforth still closer, even aiming at unity of action. The Minister of the Interior would function as Secretary-General of the Party and the governors would assume the chairmanships of the RPP branches in the provinces.[133] In February 1937 the 'Six Principles' of the Party were integrated into the Constitution of the Republic in order to perpetuate the nationalist, populist, étatist, and laciest characteristics of the state, and from August 1938 on all public buildings in the country fly the six-arrowed flag of the RPP.[134] When Mustafa Kemal died on November 10, 1938, an extraordinary Congress of the RPP elevated İsmet İnönü to his predecessor's position as the new permanent chairman of the Party; as President of the Republic İnönü was also *Millî Şef*, that is the 'National Leader', Mustafa Kemal being referred to now as the 'Eternal Leader' (*Ebedî Şef*).[135]

Kemalism versus Fascism

The establishment of single-party rule in Turkey during the inter-war period was of considerable interest to contemporary orientalists and political scientists. Mihail Manoilescu, author of some remarkable books on the mastering of the world economic crisis of the Thirties, counted Mustafa Kemal's RPP along with Mussolini's *Partito Nazionale Fascista*, Salazar's *União Nacional* and Hitler's *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* as a particularly successful example of single-party rule in Europe.[136] Italian authors, whose

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[133] Beşikçi, *Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası'nın tüzüğü*, p. 146.

[134] Jäschke, *Die Türkei in den Jahren 1935-1941*, p. 62.

[135] Cemil Koçak, *Türkiye'de Milli Şef dönemi (1938-1945). Dönemin iç ve dış politikası üzerine bir araştırma* (The Period of the National Leader in Turkey. An Study on the Internal and External Policy of the Period), (Ankara, 1986).

[136] Mihail Manoilescu, *Théorie du protectionnisme et de l'échange international* (Paris, 1929); *ibid.*, *Le Siècle du corporatisme* (Paris, 1934); *ibid.*, *Le Parti unique* (Paris, 1936). On Manoilescu's theories regarding single-party rule see Andrew C. Janos, "The One-Party State and Social Mobilization: East Europe between the Wars", in Samuel P. Huntington and Clement H. Moore (eds.), *Authoritarian Politics in Modern Society. The Dynamics of Established One-Party Systems* (New York, 1970), pp. 213 f.; Philippe C. Schmitter, "Reflections on Mihail Manoilescu and the Political Consequences of Delayed-Depended Development on the Periphery of Western Europe", in Kenneth Jowitt (ed.), *Social Change in Ro-*

country had only recently been pursuing imperialistic goals in Asia Minor,[137] also observed the developments in Turkey closely and soon came to believe that the emerging Kemalist system was borrowing heavily from Italian fascism.[138]

Indeed, Turkish nationalists were favourably impressed by Mussolini's early accomplishments. Hamdullah Suphi, the chairman of the Turkish Hearths since 1912, praised Fascism in 1930 as a patriotic movement pursuing economic prosperity and harmony in socio-political life and added that he saw in Fascist nationalism "both our past and future".[139] The Italian model was discussed again in connection with the establishment of the People's Houses, but Kemalists played the issue down by pointing to the Soviet Union's mass education organization as their real inspiration.[140] In the economic field, the para-governmental nature of the Turkish Association for National Economy and Parsimony betrayed Italian influence, especially when one considers that at the 1930 Industrial Congress its members recommended setting up Italian *corporazioni*.[141] The influential politician and journalist Falih Rïfkï [Atay] suggested in 1931 the adoption of communist and fascist party structures. The following year, after he had accompanied Prime Minister İnönü to the Soviet Union and to Italy, he proposed taking over

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mania, 1860-1940 (Berkeley, 1978), pp. 117-139; Stefan Welzk, *Nationalkapitalismus versus Weltmarktintegration? Rumänien 1830-1944* (Saarbrücken, 1982), pp. 138 ff.

[137] Marta Petricioli, *L'Italia in Asia Minore. Equilibrio mediterraneo e ambizioni imperialiste alla vigilia della prima guerra mondiale* (Florence, 1983).

[138] In his "Il programma e il Regolamento del Partito Repubblicano del Popolo", *Oriente Moderno* 11 (1931), pp. 431-37, Ettero Rossi insinuated that the Turks imitated the Italian fascism. See Giacomo E. Carretto, "Polemiche fra kemalismo, fascismo, communismo, negli anni '30", *Storia Contemporanea* 8 (March, 1977), No. 1, pp. 489-530, here p. 496. There is also a Turkish translation of Carretto's article under the title: "1930'larda Kemalizm - Faşizm - Komünizm üzerine polemikler", *Tarih ve Toplum* 17 (May 1985), pp. 56-60, and 18 (June 1985), pp. 62-72.

[139] *Türk Yurdu* (May 1930), pp. 9 f., quoted in Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti*, pp. 296 f., fn. 17.

[140] Başgöz and Wilson, *Educational Problems in Turkey 1920-1940*, pp. 152-53.

[141] See Keyder, *State and Class in Turkey*, p. 98.

communist methods with a view to disciplining the Turkish masses and corporatist fascist methods with a view to fostering the Turkish étatist economy.[142]

But when Kemalists themselves became involved in ideological systematization, they felt the need to stress their differences from fascism. The intellectual movement around the monthly review *Kadro*, which appeared in Ankara from January 1932 until December 1934, played a significant part in this context. Şevket Süreyya [Aydemir], a one-time pan-Turkish who later turned Marxist and received an education in Moscow, published a pamphlet in Ankara in 1931 on the "Ideology of the Revolution". This met with the approval of Mustafa Kemal. On this basis Aydemir and his five associates (after conferring also with the Party Secretary-General) could launch the first issue of the new periodical *Kadro*.[143] The need for such a review at that particular point in time was explained in the first issue with the following words:

> Turkey is involved in a process of profound transformation (*inkılâb*) ... We have experienced a revolution. However, revolution is not the object, but only the means of the transformation ... The will and the interests of that transformation are represented in the will of a small but conscious avantgarde, a small but progressive cadre [hence *Kadro*], which feels and implements the transformation.[144]

The objective of the review was to accomplish a synthesis of the existing theoretical and intellectual components of the Turkish revolution into a cohe-

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[142] Falih Rıfkı (Atay) *Yeni Rusya ve Faşist Roma* (New Russia and Fascist Rom) (Ankara, 1931), p. 171; *ibid.*, *Moskova-Roma* (Ankara, 1932), p. 5; both quoted in Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti*, p. 313, fn. 35.

[143] See Fikret Adanir, "Zur 'Etatismus'-Diskussion in der Türkei in der Weltwirtschaftskrise. Die Zeitschrift *Kadro* 1932-1934", in Linda Schatkowski Schilcher and Claus Scharf (eds.), *Der Nahe Osten in der Zwischenkriegszeit. Die Interdependenz von Politik, Wirtschaft und Ideologie* (Stuttgart, 1989), pp. 355-73. (Originally a paper submitted to a conference on "Southeastern Europe in the Field of Tension of the Great Powers 1919-1939" organized in December, 1979, by the Institut für Europäische Geschichte in Mainz.) See also İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, "Türkiye'de bir aydın hareketi: Kadro" (A Movement of Turkish Intelligentsia: Kadro), *Toplum ve Bilim* 24 (1984), pp. 35-67; Haldun Gülalp, "Nationalism, Statism and the Turkish Revolution: an Early 'Dependency' Theory", *Review of Middle East Studies* 4 (1988), pp. 69-85.

[144] *Kadro* 1 (January 1932), p. 3.

rent system of thought, and the interpretation the *Kadro* authors offered amounted to a theory of a 'Third Way' between capitalism and socialism. The order of the modern world was seen as characterized by two fundamental contradictions: the first between the classes in industrialized countries with a highly developed technology, the second between countries in which technology was concentrated and those which had lost their former industries but which wanted to develop them again according to modern conditions, that is, the colonies and semi-colonies, or to put it differently, the countries delivering raw materials and agrarian products.[145]

The first contradiction could be overcome by class struggle, whereas the second only by wars of national liberation.[146] It was an illusion to believe that the class struggles in the industrialized world would resolve contradictions between the industrialized and the agrarian countries. Even the Soviet system, which was considered by contemporary Western scholarship as the anti-capitalist principle materialized, could only achieve a transformation of one contradiction into another as long as it, too, aimed at capital concentration in certain regions of the globe and thus depriving the non-developed countries of high technology. In these countries no class had control over so much technology or means of production as to necessitate a class struggle. If the national liberation movements would follow strategies of development suited to their objective situations and possibilities, class contradictions would never become socially and politically so dominant. Thus, in order to eliminate the national and economic dependence on the core areas and at the same time to prevent the rise of contradictions between the social interests within one's own country, the national liberation movements must strive for state control over high technology as well as the important sectors of the national economy.[147]

It was evident that national liberation movements started with the Turkish War of Independence in 1919.[148] The Turkish development served as a

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[145] Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *İnkılâp ve Kadro* (The Transformation and the Cadre) (Ankara, 2nd ed., 1968), p. 46.

[146] Şevket Süreyya (Aydemir), "Millî kurtuluş hareketlerinin ana prensipleri" (The Main Principles of National Liberation Movements), *Kadro* 8 (August 1932), pp. 6-12. See also *idem*, *İnkılâp ve Kadro*, pp. 229-40.

[147] Şevket Süreyya (Aydemir), "Millî kurtuluş hareketleri hakkında bizim tezimiz" (Our Thesis Regarding National Liberation Movements), *Kadro* 12 (December 1932), pp. 38-44.

[148] Şevket Süreyya (Aydemir), *İnkılâp ve Kadro*, pp. 131-41.

model for the countries still unliberated.[149] All these countries formed a community of fate, regardless of differences in geography, race, language or other characteristics. China and India would soon follow the Turkish example.[150] The number of countries which would develop along anti-capitalistic and anti-imperialistic lines after the example of Turkey would thus increase steadily.

The transition from a colonial economy to a national one would be achieved – for the first time in history – in Turkey.[151] The *Kadro* authors were convinced that the world economic crisis would not hinder this transition, on the contrary, it would facilitate it. A development policy, however, which aimed at capital accumulation in the 'classical' manner, that is, by way of free competition of individual capitalists in the framework of a liberal economy, was out of question for Turkey.[152] As had been shown by the history of the original accumulation of capital in the West, such a development necessitated colonies or open markets. In any case, the West, which had a lead of 100 years, would certainly know how to prevent such an accumulation. Therefore, the state must consider it its duty to organize the accumulation of capital in the interest of the entire nation.[153]

In face of the conditions in the world, first, economic autarky must be strifed for, not as a final goal but rather as a transitional solution; in the future the national economies would, of course, participate in international trade as autonomous entities.[154] Secondly, development policies must absolutely give priority to industrialization. "For the terms of trade between the

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[149] Vedat Nedim (Tör), "Müstemleke iktisadiyatından millet iktisadiyatına" (From Colonial Economy to National Economy), *Kadro* 1 (January 1932), pp. 8-11.

[150] Burhan Asaf (Belge), "Çin ve Hindistan" (China and India), *Kadro* 1 (January 1932), pp. 45-47; idem, "Asya"(Asia), *Kadro* 3 (March 1932), pp. 11-16.

[151] Vedat Nedim (Tör), "Müstemleke iktisadiyatından millet iktisadiyatına II", *Kadro* 2 (February 1932), pp. 9-14.

[152] Şevket Süreyya (Aydemir), *İnkılâp ve Kadro*, pp. 211-19.

[153] İsmail Hüsrev (Tökin), "Garpte sermaye teraküm̈ünde müstemlekelerin rolü" (The Role of Colonies in Accumulation of Capital in the West), *Kadro* 32 (August 1934), pp. 17-21.

[154] Vedat Nedim (Tör), "Değişen cihan münasebetleri içinde Türkiye" (Turkey in a Changing World), *Kadro* 5 (May 1932), pp. 13-18.

agrarian and industrial countries are developing to the disadvantage of the former. Exactly here lies the motor which drives the mechanism of colonial exploitation."[155] But industrialization in a country, which was experiencing national liberation, required a planned economy.[156] The preparation of a national plan was a task for a cadre conscious of its historical mission, and not for a handful of European experts. (One should employ them as technical advisors only, one should never ask their opinion regarding development policies, for they were, as Europeans, bound by their education to their class and hardly able to understand the problems of a classless, non-European developing country.)[157] In numerous theoretical and pragmatic articles the authors of Kadro propagated etatism as the only system which was suitable to make Turkey, already politically independent, also economically self-sufficient. Even Prime Minister İsmet Pasha supported this view in an article he wrote for *Kadro*.[158]

With their authoritarian concept of the state, in which an elite without any democratic legitimacy was to determine socio-economic and political development, the *Kadro* authors were bound to encounter criticism. The opponents of etatism pointed out that the *Kadro* movement had a concept of the nation entirely abstracted from its components, the individual human beings.[159] Reproaches were directed at the *Kadro* movement also for the resemblance of their etatism to the fascist state.[160] The *Kadro* authors were thus compelled to show how they differed from fascism. İsmail Hüsrev stressed the following: "The national liberation movement does not aspire to

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[155] Vedat Nedim (Tör), "Nasïl ve niçin sanayileşmemiz lâzïm?" (Why and How We Must Industrialize?), *Kadro* 6 (June 1932), pp. 14.

[156] Şevket Süreyya (Aydemir), "Plan mefhumu hakkïnda" (On the Concept of Plan), *Kadro* 5 (May 1932), pp. 5-12.

[157] Vedat Nedim (Tör), "Sïnïflaşmamak ve iktisat siyaseti" (How to Evade the Formation of a Class Society and the Economic Policy), *Kadro* 11 (November 1932), p. 20.

[158] İsmet (İnönü), "Fïrkamïzïn devletçilik vasfi" (The Etatist Character of Our Party), *Kadro* 22 (October 1933), pp. 4-6.

[159] A polemic against the ideas of Kadro see Ahmet (Ağaoğlu), *Devlet ve fert* (The State and the Individual) (Istanbul, 1933), pp. 6-76.

[160] Parallels between the Kemalist regime and the Italian Fascism were stressed by Hans Kohn, "Ten Years of Turkish Republic", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (October 1933), pp. 141-55.

individualism of class, but to national integrity ... Fascism by contrast consists of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie through the fascist party."[161] Şevket Süreyya looked at the problem from a historical perspective and emphasized that Turkish nationalism was the product of a specific historical process fundamentally different from the one leading to the rise of fascism in Europe. For him fascism meant aggressive, colonialistic class capitalism, which on the one hand was directed against economic liberalism and political democracy internally (because they endangered capitalism itself); and on the other it was directed against liberal imperialism externally, because this imperialism had become unable to control national liberation movements in the colonies. The national liberation movements finally were a reaction to the colonialistic and imperialistic character of capitalism. Thus Turkish etatism could hardly be compared with the fascist state.[162]

Fascism, understood as 'state-controlled imperialism', was repeatedly attacked in the editorial columns of *Kadro*. But the periodical actually only reflected the official policy of Republican Turkey. Although it was the first state to succeed in revising the system of Versailles (in the peace treaty of Lausanne), Turkey was since 1926 an anti-revisionist power in European politics. The Turkish government continued to try to modify the treaty system during the 1930's to their advantage, but restricted their efforts to diplomatic activity. (An example of this is the Convention of Montreux which permitted with the consent of all interested powers the remilitarization of the Straits.) Ankara was seriously perturbed by a fascist Italy that pursued an expansionist policy in the eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans. The Italian aggression in Abyssinia in 1935 was perhaps the decisive factor that brought

[161] İsmail Hüsrev (Tökin), "Millî kurtuluş devletçiliği II" (The Etatism of National Liberation), Kadro 19 (Juli 1933), p. 31. In the view of Feroz Ahmad the anti-Italian stance of the *Kadro* anticipated the Kemalist opposition to Italian imperialism after 1934, see "Die Suche nach einer Ideologie in der kemalistischen Türkei 1919-1939", in Linda Schatkowski Schilcher and Claus Scharf (eds.), *Der Nahe Osten in der Zwischenkriegszeit 1919-1939. Die Interdependenz von Politik, Wirtschaft und Ideologie* (Stuttgart, 1989), pp. 341-354, here p. 353.

[162] Şevket Süreyya (Aydemir), "Beynelmilel fikir hareketleri arasında Türk nasyonalizmi III" (Turkish Nationalism amongst International Currents of Ideas), *Kadro* 21 (September 1933), pp. 7 f.

about a reorientation in the foreign policy of the Kemalist regime. Turkish neutrality during the Second World War should be seen against this background.[163]

Conclusion

The above analysis suggests that the Kemalist regime of the inter-war period had in many respects a parallel development to that of fascism elsewhere. Still the question, how fascist Kemalist Turkey was, can hardly be answered exhaustively within the limits of this paper. Mete Tunçay, whose work I have drawn upon extensively, points in this connection to difficulties of definition, arguing that the factors which brought about fascism were extremely complex. It was true that in the case of Turkey, too, one could distinguish fascist elements. But on the basis of which set of factors should one designate the Turkish one-party system as fascism? Tunçay warns therefore against a too simplistic comparison which is based on a selection of conveniently fitting elements. His own conclusion is that the specific compound which brings about fascism did not exist in Turkey during the inter-war period.[164] The crucial question is thus one of definition, how to determine the elements of that 'specific compound', also in face of the fact that there is apparently no all-encompassing and generally accepted theory of fascism.[165]

Two different points of departure in fascist studies during the last decades seem to be especially relevant for this chapter: the conceptualization of fascism on the one hand as a prototype, on the other hand as an ideal-type.[166] The first mode sees Italy as the original model on which all the other cases were patterned. The history of Italian Fascism should therefore be the point of departure for every comparative study.[167] The second mode represents a

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[163] Anthony R. De Luca, *Great Powers Rivalry at the Turkish Straits: the Montreux Convention and Conference of 1936* (Boulder, 1981); Selim Deringil, *Turkish Foreign Policy During the Second World War. An Active Neutrality* (Cambridge, 1989).

[164] Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti*, p. 329.

[164] Wolfgang Wippermann, *Faschismustheorien. Zum Stand der gegenwärtigen Diskussion* (Darmstadt, 5th ed., 1989), p. 111.

[165] Edward R. Tannenbaum, *The Fascist Experience. Italian Society and Culture 1922-1945* (New-London, 1972), p. 3.

[166] Wippermann, *Faschismustheorien*, p. 112.

[167] "In a significant sense it can be said that contemporary radical revolutionary mass movements possessed of nationalist and developmental intentions, and animated by totalitarian aspi-

more universalistic approach. Fascism is seen not so much as a real-type phenomenon of a specific historical period but rather as a generic pattern with a potential of materialization in any modern state.[168] A recent comparison undertaken in this perspective between Italian Fascist and German Nazi movements, for example, has established that both regimes were "part of a generic fascist style of governing."[169] Obviously, the concept of generic fascism has primarily heuristic value. Roger Griffin has elaborated further in this direction, focusing on establishing a 'mythic core' at the bottom of generic fascism.[170] He believes to have found it in the "vision of the (perceived) crisis of the nation as betokening the birth-pangs of a new order. It crystallizes in the image of the national community, once purged and rejuvenated, rising phoenix-like from the ashes of a morally bankrupt state system and the decadent culture associated with it", and he sees at the core of this fascist mentality "the *idée fixe* of devoting, and, if necessary sacrificing, individual existence to the struggle against the forces of degeneration which had seemingly brought the nation low, and of helping relaunch it towards greatness and glory."[171] The regime that results from such a struggle would be (a) anti-liberal, (b) anti-conservative, (c) tending to glorify certain epochs in nation's history, (d) inclined to charismatic leadership, (e) deifying such mythical concepts as the nation, the leader, the national identity, etc., and (f) idealizing homogeneity in the national community.[172]

When approached from this angle, the conclusion to be drawn from the analysis in this chapter is that the political system in Turkey during the interwar period had a strong fascist content, albeit differing in many respects from Italian Fascism. But a further implication of the analysis is that even a direct historical comparison – on the basis of the concept of fascism as a

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rations, are variants of paradigmatic Fascism." A. James Gregor, *The Ideology of Fascism* (New York, 1969), p. 382. See also *idem*, *Italian Fascism and Developmental Dictatorship* (Princeton, 1979).

[168] Alexander J. De Grand, *Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. The 'Fascist' Style of Rule* (London and New York, 1995), p. 82. For a criticism of the 'the reductionist fallacy' inherent to the ideal-type approach see Tannenbaum, *The Fascist Experience*, p. 3.

[169] Roger Griffin, "General Introduction", in R. Griffin (ed.) *Fascism* (Oxford-New York, 1995), p. 2.

[170] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[171] Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 4-9.

'real-type' – between the Fascist single-party rule in Italy and its Kemalist counterpart would reveal a much closer affinity between the two contemporary systems than has been suspected so far. But such a comparison would mean another study.

12

JOSEPH HELLER

THE FAILURE OF FASCISM IN JEWISH PALESTINE 1925-1948

Introduction

Brief as it is, the historiography of the Zionist-Revisionist Movement (ZRM) and its offshoots - the Betar youth movement and the Irgun Zva'i Leumi (IZL, National Military Organization) - has generated a fundamental debate about the movement's ideological and political character. Y. Shavit[1] describes a movement whose rivals painted it, wrongly, in fascist colors. Indeed, Shavit argues that, leaving aside its adoption of the fascist version of *homo economicus*, Revisionism was essentially liberal. In contrast, S. Avineri[2] asserts without hesitation that Vladimir (Ze'ev) Jabotinsky, its single, charismatic leader, was a salient product of integralist nationalism, while Y. Shapiro portrays Revisionism as a movement of the radical right[3].

Was the ZRM's character really so unclear as to justify such polarized views among scholars? Naturally, members of the movement tried to show that they

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[1] Y. Shavit, 1988: *Jabotinsky and the Revisionist Movement 1925-1948*, London, pp. 350-372.

[2] S. Avineri, 1980: *The Making of Modern Zionism*, New York, Ch. 15. R. Shoshani also makes use of the term 'integralist nationalism' as a methodological basis for the study of ideologies, citing Jabotinsky's political and social doctrine as an example. R. Shoshani, 1992: *The Methodological Basis of a Study of Ideologies: The Political and Social Thought of Ze'ev Jabotinsky, A Case Study*, Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, pp. 158-170.

[3] Y. Shapiro, 1991: *The Road to Power: Herut Party in Israel*, trans. R. Mandel, Albany. A particularly far-reaching interpretation is offered by R. Bielski Ben-Hur, 1993, who characterizes Jabotinsky as a complete liberal by ignoring or misreading the sources: *Every Man Is a King: The Social and Political Doctrine of Ze'ev Jabotinsky*, Washington, B'nai B'rith.

were not tainted with the stigma of fascism[4]. The result is that the general study of fascism has adopted an imprecise account of the existence - or nonexistence - of Jewish fascism[5]. The present article argues that within the Revisionist movement, which in 1931 commanded the support of 21 percent of voters in elections to the 17th Congress of the Zionist movement, there was an authentic fascist stream. The movement itself, and not only Jabotinsky, was marked by fascist elements which were characteristic of movements of integralist nationalism in interwar Europe.

Jabotinsky, witnessing the decline of democracy, mourned the decadence of liberalism. He did not, however, identify absolutely with fascism, realizing that Mussolini would never grant Zionism the same measure of support it had been pledged by England. At most, he: (1) accepted the existence of a protofascist faction within his movement, while rejecting its identification with Italian fascism; (2) adopted the corporativist economic regime of Italian fascism; and (3) dangled possible Italian support for Zionism as a tactical card against Britain. A final attempt to realize a protofascist model was undertaken in the period just before Jabotinsky's death, when his rivals took advantage of his longtime absence from Palestine and the disintegration of the IZL to establish an underground movement called "IZL in Israel." The new movement was influenced on the one hand by the European radical right and the victories of the Axis Powers, and on the other by radical Zionist conceptions advocating a force-oriented approach deriving from Jewish messianism.

Vladimir (Ze'ev) Jabotinsky and the Revisionist Movement: Function, Structure, Ideology

The first thing to emphasize is that this is a political movement which came to power only in 1977, twelve years after it merged with the conservative-right General Zionists and obtained legitimacy as a right-wing conservative party, displacing its previous radical-rightist image. Second, the movement's formative-creative period coincided with the life of Jabotinsky (b. 1880 in Odessa, d. 1940

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[4] Beginning with his first biographer, J.B. Schechtman, 1956-1961: *The Vladimir Jabotinsky Story*, 2 vols., New York, reprinted with a foreword by Menachem Begin by Eshel Books, New York, 1986, and continuing with his most recent, S. Katz, 1993: *Jabo*, Tel Aviv, Hebrew. Both authors are close associates and admirers of Jabotinsky.

[5] Payne wrote his book while the Likud was in power in Israel and thus apparently formed the impression that Israel is the product of integralist nationalism. In fact, it is the product of Eastern European socialism which in Palestine largely divested itself of the Marxist element in favor of social-democracy. S.G. Payne, 1980: *Fascism: Comparison and Definition*, Madison, pp. 207-208.

in New York), who established it in 1925 in Paris. Third, during these years the movement was completely identified with its founding father who alone determined its ideological character in the three crucial areas of politics, economy, and social orientation. Yet to understand the ZRM's essence it is crucial to realize that it was not only a legal political movement but also a youth movement (Betar) whose creation antedated that of the political movement (Riga, 1923). Furthermore, as part of the process of its rightward radicalization, the movement seceded from the World Zionist Organization (1935) and established a separate organization of its own. In 1937 Jabotinsky became, in addition to president with authoritarian powers of a radical political movement and leader of an activist-militant youth movement, also supreme commander of an underground movement, the IZL, which had split from the Haganah in 1931. Jabotinsky's three roles were not necessarily complementary. On the contrary, they generated a dialectical tension that affected the formulation of the movement's ideology and the shaping of its politics. All his life Jabotinsky sought a third way between democracy and fascism which would support and act as a catalyst for his central goal: the introduction of a Zionist 'colonizing regime' in Palestine which would quickly produce a Jewish majority on both sides of the Jordan River before European imperialism disappeared from the Middle East. He failed because England was incapable of realizing the 'colonizing regime' due to Arab pressure to adopt a virtually opposite policy, i.e., an Arab state[6].

In 1930 a fascist faction appeared for the first time in the Revisionist movement in Palestine, under the name of the 'Revisionist Maximalists' and headed by the historian and journalist Abba Achimeir (Gaissinowitch; b. 1896 in Dolhi, near Bobruisk in Belorussia; Ph.D. from the University of Vienna, 1924, for a dissertation on *Bemerkungen zu Spenglers Auffasung Russlands*). Also then in existence was a protofascist group known as the 'Revisionist Activists,' led by the physician and journalist Ze'ev (Wolfgang) von Weisl. The two factions, and the first in particular, endeavored to push the Revisionist movement as far to the right as possible, emulating Lenin's concept of *coup d'etat* and fusing it with the content of European integralist nationalism. According to Abba Achimeir, inte-

[6] Jabotinsky to Y. Klinov (n.d.) in Schechtman, vol. 2, *The Last Years: Fighter and Prophet*, p. 235. In a letter to his friend Oskar Gruzenberg (1 December 1927), Jabotinsky estimated that within thirty years, or at most seventy-five, European rule in the Middle East would end. Id., Letters [n.d.], p. 85 (Hebrew).

gralist nationalism (or "pure nationalism", as he called it) characterized the regimes of Mussolini, Pilsudski, Ataturk, and Voldemaras, the Lithuanian dictator and leader of the fascist 'Iron Wolf' movement[7].

The Maximalists were a cohesive faction only from 1930 to 1933, though even afterward its proponents injected their ideology from behind the scenes. In league with Achimeir were the militant-chauvinist poet Uri Zvi Greenberg and the writer and journalist H. Yeivin (formerly a physician in the Russian Army). All three had left the Labor movement after 1928, disappointed by its nonactivist approach on central nationalist issues such as the struggle to establish Jewish battalions in Palestine. In 1931 the three formed a semi-underground organization called *Brit Habiryonim* (a modern version of the extremist 'League of Sicarii', a group from Second Temple times who were known for their use of daggers). The league set out to fight on three fronts: the British, the Arab, and the socialist. However, it never emerged from its infancy and lost its organizational and ideological momentum when Achimeir, Yeivin, and others were tried for the murder (16 June 1933) of the head of the Jewish Agency's Political Department, Dr. Chaim Arlosoroff. In the trial the prosecution, citing solid evidence, claimed that Achimeir had preached a doctrine of personal terror. Achimeir was acquitted of the murder charge but sentenced to twenty-one months in prison for preaching armed revolution.

The platform of von Weisl's Activist faction stated:

> The 'Activists' consider the conquest of any particular organization only a means and not an end in itself. In choosing the means the 'Activists' do not take into consideration dogmatic or sentimental factors and do not submit to their influence...[8].

Jabotinsky and the Revisionists: Between European Fascism and a 'Minimalist State' - Searching for the Third Way

The key to understanding Jabotinsky's worldview and his ultranationalist ideology lies in the years he spent as a student in Rome (1898-1901). Italy, he wrote in his memoirs, was his 'spiritual homeland': "My whole attitude toward the questions of nationality, state, and society was formed in those years under

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[7] Achimeir to Jabotinsky, Achimeir Files P5, 25 October 1928, Jabotinsky Institute (=JI), Tel Aviv. And in public: A. Achimeir, "The National Dictatorship in the Wide World," *Doar Hayom*, 29 January 1929. Here he added Turkey, Persia, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Hungary.

[8] Achimeir was acquitted but was sentenced to prison, with Yeivin and others, for organizing the 'League of Sicarii.' Little is known about the 'Activists.' Cf. Dr. W. von Weisl, "It Is Not on 'Logic' that the Future State Will Be Founded (second article)," *Doar Hayom*, 6 October 1932.

Italian influence.[9]" His teachers, Enrico Ferri and Antonio Labriola, imbued him with faith in the rightness of socialism, until that faith was destroyed by the Bolshevik revolution. In addition, "the legend of Garibaldi, the writings of Mazzini, the poetry of Leopradi and Justi deepened my superficial Zionism." He was well acquainted with Marinetti, the father of futurism, and d'Annunzio, the militant-chauvinist poet and conqueror of Fiume, before they became known as harbingers of fascism.

Already in 1928 Jabotinsky directed Revisionism toward the corporativist regime of fascism[10]. Simultaneously, he declared an orientation toward bourgeois, privately initiated Zionist settlement rather than labor-cooperative settlement. This stand had a dynamic of its own which placed the Revisionist movement on a militant antisocialist course: anyone who rejected national 'compulsory arbitration' in labor disputes was accused of 'national betrayal.' In 1934, four years after the Revisionists had left the 'General Federation of the Hebrew Workers in Palestine,' he established the 'National Workers Federation.' Jabotinsky became the leading proponent of national monism (had-ness: 'one banner') as the only effective means to establish a Jewish state on both sides of the Jordan River after the attainment of a Jewish majority[11].

Furthermore, he demanded incessantly that massive Jewish settlement be carried out through the 'colonizing regime' under the auspices of England, the ruling Mandatory power, which would make Palestine its 'seventh dominion.' Ostensibly, Jabotinsky repeatedly declared himself in favor of democracy. But one cannot take this at face value, because his major consideration was to win Britain's support for Zionism. Therefore he could ill afford to tarnish his image as a democrat. Nevertheless, he continued, albeit unsystematically, to search for a third way between democracy and Italian fascism (rejecting and fighting Nazism).

In 1933 Jabotinsky wrote to a friend who shared his views:

> Revisionism is not 'fascist.' The only view it holds in common with Italian fascism is the negation of class war, the demand for arbitration as the only way to solve labor conflicts, and the subordination of class interest to the interest of the nation. But Revisionism believes in democracy, parliamentary regime, freedom of thought, press, speech, and association.[12]

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9 V. Jabotinsky, 1947: *Autobiography*, Jerusalem, pp. 27-29 (Hebrew).

10 Id., "The N.E.P. (Second Time)," *Hynt*, 28 March 1928.

11 Id., *The Ideology of Betar* (1934).

12 Jabotinsky to S. Jacobi, 4 October 1933, JI.

Surely this ambivalent line showed that he was caught in an ideological impasse.

In 1935, when the attacks on the fascist character of the ZRM were at their most intense, Jabotinsky explained, first, that the term 'fascism' was not applicable to Zionism because it was a voluntaristic movement. Second, the fascist principle of the nation's superiority over individual, family, or class, was shared by everyone, including the overwhelming majority of socialists, and probably the communists, too, if it came down to the acid test. Third, concerning the corporativist form of regime which he had supported since 1928, Jabotinsky argued that in Palestine this meant a "free pledge by all concerned to renounce voluntarily any other method of settling industrial disputes." While in fascism a class war was only forbidden (*'verboten'*), in Zionism it was 'immoral.' Organically, fascism was not applicable to any aspect of Jewish life. In democracies fascism was considered a subversive force and police methods were employed to quell it. Therefore, the term must be used carefully, just as it was not fair to call socialists 'communists.' Fourth, he warned against the use of the term because it stood for an official doctrine in Italy, a state in which Jews enjoyed full political and social equality. This was rare in any state and it was misguided to denounce an idea that was cherished by rulers and youth alike. As compared with Hitler's Germany, the racial equality in Italy was praiseworthy, Jabotinsky said. Fifth, Italy was a powerful state that could assist Zionism - in the League of Nations, for example, where Italy chaired the Permanent Mandates Committee[13].

In late 1935 Jabotinsky met with Raffaele Guariglia, the Italian Foreign Ministry official in charge of the Ethiopian question, concerning the opening of the central school for Betar instructors in Italy. The Italian diplomat viewed this as a second step - following the opening of Betar's naval school at Civitavecchia in 1934 - toward liberating Palestine from the British without affecting Italy's colonial external policy and without taking measures liable to be construed as hostile toward the Arabs[14].

Although this meeting ended in a fiasco, in the summer of 1936 Jabotinsky, impressed with Italy's victory in Ethiopia, recommended, publicly but cautiously, an alliance with Italy[15]. It is not surprising, then, that when he testified before the Royal Commission of Inquiry headed by Lord Peel he was not accepted as a

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[13] Jabotinsky, "Jews and Fascism," *Jewish Daily Bulletin*, 11 April 1935.

[14] On the Jabotinsky-Guariglia meeting, cf. R. De Felice, 1961: *Storia degli ebrei italiani il fascismo*, Torino, pp. 196-197. Cf. also R. De Felice, 1988: *Il fascismo e l'Oriente Arabi, ebrei e indiani nella politica di Mussolini*, Bolongna, pp. 158-160.

[15] Z. Jabotinsky, Italy (letter from Lago Maggiore), *Hayarden*, 21 August 1936.

reliable witness[16]. He did, however, reject Mussolini's *Dottrina del fascismo* sent to him by the Revisionist leader in Italy, Leone Carpi. Already in 1932, at the fifth conference of the World Revisionist Movement, held in Vienna, Carpi had disagreed with the view that Revisionism and fascism could not be bridged. The movement's members in Italy, he said, were part of the Italian fascist party, which he described as 'democratic,' noting that the democratic idea itself was 'flexible.' It was not by chance that Carpi mentioned Garibaldi as the figure whose ideas could form the bridge he referred to, knowing how much Jabotinsky admired the Italian liberator[17].

Nor is it surprising that, as one who was searching for a third way, Jabotinsky had no qualms about wondering in public about the effectiveness of democracy. He expressed doubts, for example, about the efficacy of the exaggerated democracy that existed in France, where governments fell so frequently, and he advocated reform to prevent this. He refused to draw conclusions about the future Jewish state, but did note one clear reservation:

> A 'Revisionist' world. 'Revisions' are being demanded all across the board. And I am beginning to think that this, really, is how it should be; that every doctrine requires an interpretation which will adapt it to the spirit of the time; and that what is sacred is only the deepest essence of the principles which we hold sacred, but in order to save the essence one must sometimes not be afraid to do a 'revision,' to write an interpretation.[18]

Jabotinsky would continue to seek his own interpretation - a third way - but would never find it.

In the 1930s it was a search that rejected the 'police state' characteristic of communism or fascism in favor of a 'minimal state' (*'Minimalstaat'*). It was no accident that his political and social thought fluctuated nebulously between

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[16] Evidence Submitted to the Palestine Royal Commission, Minutes pp. 369-380, London, 11 February 1937.

[17] Jabotinsky to Carpi, 29 January 1934, JI; and Capri's remarks at the ZRM convention in Vienna on 30 August 1932, protocol in JI III4/7/2. At its peak (1931), the Revisionist movement in Italy numbered 313 voters to the Zionist Congress out of a total of 1,010. The majority belonged to the conservative right-wing General Zionists. Carpi gave the fascist salute as he entered the convention hall and the delegates of the Maximalist Faction leaped up to greet him with the same salute.

[18] Z. Jabotinsky, "Democracy," *Hayarden*, 19 October 1934. Cf. note 39, below.

Hendrik de Man, who gradually retreated from socialism, the Jewish-Austrian utopianist Josef Popper-Linkeus, and the utopia of Lord Birkenhead[19].

Yet it was in Palestine, where only a minority of Revisionists resided (the majority were in Europe, particularly in Poland), but a minority considered to be in the vanguard, that fascism had a greater impact than anywhere else - with the exception of Italy, of course. In 1933 the Revisionist press in Palestine printed numerous articles in praise of Italian fascism, among them one by Alfredo Rocco on "Changing the Form of the State" in which he called for a shift from a liberal to an authoritarian regime in which the state would represent the majority, and another by Camilo Sufino, "Wages and Profit in the corporativist Regime," asserting that fascism held the key to improving the classic economic laws[20]. *Hayarden*, the official Revisionist newspaper, frequently expressed its sympathy for Italy on questions of regime and ideology as well as on foreign policy, but vehemently denied that this implied a reorientation[21].

The background to this line of thought lay in the growing but vain expectations of the establishment of a Jewish state with Italian backing, in the light of Italy's increasing interest in the region since the start of its war with Ethiopia[22]. Hence the renewed support for a corporativist regime by the central thinker and founder of the Revisionist movement in Italy, Professor Isaaco Sciaki[23], and the publication of books by Zvi Kulitz and Mordechai Avniel recommending the adoption of the principles of the fascist regime[24].

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[19] Jabotinsky, 1956: "Revolt of the Aged," in id., *Nation and Society*, Jerusalem, (Hebrew), pp. 225-236; id., "Crisis of the Proletariat," 9 April 1932, in id., *Notes*, Jerusalem, n.d.;(Hebrew), pp. 305-314. Lord Birkenhead, 1930: *The World in 2030*, London.

[20] *Betar*, Vol. 2, July 1933-February 1934, pp. 263-272, 439-455, 365- 375.

[21] E. Ben-Horin, "Political Orientation and Base Plot," *Hayarden*, 14 October 1935.

[22] One example of many is S. Yitzhaki, "Italy Expects a Hebrew State in Eretz Yisrael within Ten Years," *Hayarden*, 31 March 1935.

[23] Prof. I. Sciaki (Florence), "Fascist Corporatism," *Hayarden*, 18 May 1934. Cf. articles by L. Carpi and I. Sciaki in the Revisionists' organ in Italy, *L'Idea Sionistica*, No. 10-11, February-March 1932, pp. 2-14.

[24] Z. Kulitz, 1936: *Mussolini, His Personality and His Theory*, Tel Aviv (Hebrew); M. Avniel, 1939: *Problems of Our Times*, Tel Aviv (Hebrew). According to Moshe Rothstein, the double agent who monitored Italian espionage activities in Palestine, there were two groups of Jewish fascists - one headed by the same Zvi Kulitz and the other by Alexander Raphaeli - which threatened to take over the Revisionist movement and Betar. Cf. M. Rothstein, [n.d.1956]: *Italian Espionage in Palestine*, Secret Testimony No. 1671, Haganah Archives, Tel Aviv.

Revisionism, Betar, and the Leader Principle

Ostensibly, Jabotinsky rejected the leader principle in the sense of dictatorship. There is no doubt, however, that he ascribed the highest importance to the role of the leader in shaping history. He preferred Rousseau over Napoleon and Garibaldi because he was the "wheel of momentum" and the "igniter" of the social revolution. Mussolini's cult of personality disturbed him, but not its foundations: "A combative temperament, youth, national pride."[25]

The truth is that Jabotinsky himself fostered a cult of personality. From the moment the movement was founded he was the sole decisionmaker on every subject of importance. His one-man rule reached a peak in March 1933 when he dismissed the party's executive for its excessive moderation in opposing the movement's secession from the World Zionist Organization. In its place he appointed a new leadership, consisting of his cronies ('Lodz Proclamation'). To legitimize the putsch, he conducted a referendum in the party, which gave him 93.8-percent support (31,724 voters). The result was a split. Two Revisionist factions contested the elections to the 18th Zionist Congress in 1933. Jabotinsky's faction received 95,279 votes, to the 11,289 votes cast for Meir Grossman and his list[26].

Since the 17th Zionist Congress it had been clear that Jabotinsky was intent on seceding. His failure then to win control of the Zionist movement by means of a democratic majority with the support of the conservative-right factions (Hamizrachi and General Zionists B) led to the victory of the Labor movement - which would now lead the struggle for a Jewish state through a minimum of confrontation with Britain - and intensified Jabotinsky's hatred for his rival. Labor reacted furiously, harping on the fascist elements in Revisionism and accusing it of being the Zionist branch of European fascism. Passions peaked in Tel Aviv in 1933 when a Betar parade during Passover was violently attacked and when the Revisionist movement was collectively blamed for the Arlosoroff murder in June. It was plain, after the historic failure of 1931, that sooner rather than later the movement would secede and form its own Zionist organization. Again Jabotinsky demonstrated that he was incapable of accepting a democratic majority, whether in his own movement or outside it, thus placing in doubt his

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[25] Z. Jabotinsky, "Fascist Zionism," *Rassvyet* 51 (Russian), 20 December 1925. Here Jabotinsky argues that the Italian fascist party has no program other than the stands of an ordinary patriotic bourgeois party.

[26] On the 'great split' within the Revisionist movement, cf. Schechtman, 1956-1961: *The Last Years*, pp. 158-183 (note 4).

declared loyalty to democracy and liberalism. (Grossman's faction, the 'Hebrew State Party,' remained in the World Zionist Organization; the Revisionists rejoined the WZO in 1946.)

Jabotinsky's insistence that a leader be endowed with 'Betar discipline' is the best proof of how strongly European integralist nationalism influenced Revisionism. Although the declared models were the Czech youth movement 'Sokol' (which did not undergo a fascization process until 1938), the power concentrated in the hands of the American President, or the desire to turn the Jewish people into a disciplined organ which Jabotinsky compared to an orchestra, in practice the Betar 'brownshirts' were attracted more by the Italian 'Ballila'.[27] It was no accident that Civitavecchia was chosen as the site for the Betar naval school or that Jabotinsky occasionally had to warn the cadets against displaying overt sympathy for fascism. Jabotinsky, it will be recalled, also wanted to establish the central school for Betar instructors in Italy:

> I shall view with favor any interest and feelings of sympathy toward Italy which may arise among the masses of Betaris and in the world Revisionist movement, if the school is established in Italy. Furthermore, I take this opportunity to reiterate how desirable it is to disseminate the Italian language and culture among our young Betaris, particularly in the Land of Israel, for I am convinced that contact with the Latin culture may benefit our national renaissance. I myself have already experienced that benefit[28].

Nevertheless, the above quotation and his rejection of Mussolini's 'doctrine' must be understood in the context of his political strategy. To express full-fledged solidarity with Italy before a total failure of the 'final opportunity' with England (1930), and before Mussolini himself had asserted his support for Zionism in general and Revisionism in particular, would be a serious mistake. Since this did not occur, the 'Italian orientation' remained an illusory option, dangled by Jabotinsky in a vain attempt to influence Britain.

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[27] Jabotinsky, 1934: *Ideology of Betar* (note 10). See also the letter by L. Leviatan comparing Betar to the 'Blackshirts', 7 May 1938, Central Zionist Archives (=CZA) S/25/2090. Jabotinsky claimed that the 'brown shirts' were the color of the earth in Eretz Yisrael and antedated the shirts worn by the Nazi S.A. Letter to Carpi, 7 October 1931, in the memorial book to Leone Carpi, 1967: *Articles on the History of the Jews in Italy*, Milan/Jerusalem, p. 34.

[28] Jabotinsky to the naval school at Civitavecchia, 20 November 1934, and his article in *Hayarden*, 10 December 1935.

Revisionism and Militarism: The Arab Question

From the outset the Revisionist movement was identified with militarism because of the centrality of the 'battalion issue' in the platforms of Betar and the political movement. Jabotinsky emphasized that this issue was related directly to the Arab problem. His basic assumption was: "There is no example of colonizing which was not opposed by the country's veteran inhabitants...," and 'anti-legionism' was tantamount to 'forgoing Zionism.' Because the Arabs had six rifles for every Jewish rifle, the existence of a military force was necessary to close the gap. At the same time, he promised the Palestine Arabs full equality of rights and political representation. Jabotinsky did not elaborate, but given the principle of a Jewish majority, the rights he had in mind would clearly be minority rights[29].

Jabotinsky made no apologies for militarism with a defensive purpose. Because the Jews had no homeland, this nationalism was positive rather than negative. He stated publicly that he would sue, in a 'trial of honor,' anyone who accused him of intending to expel the Arabs, but after the Peel Commission declared its support for a population transfer, Jabotinsky, like many Zionist leaders at various stages, advocated a 'voluntary' transfer. Prime candidates were the Arabs who opposed Zionism[30]. Another example of the necessity to translate, under pressure of the Revisionist masses, his radical nationalism into the language of action was his forgoing of the policy of 'self-restraint,' which was supported by the Jewish Agency and the Haganah, in favor of a dangerous policy of backing the IZL's counter-terrorism against Arabs in 1937-1939, although he drew the line at murdering innocent people[31].

Anti-Communism and Anti-Socialism

Jabotinsky, as already mentioned, displayed a hostile attitude toward communism from the start of the Bolshevik revolution: first, because the Comintern

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[29] Jabotinsky, 1926: *Was Wollen die Zionisten-Revisionisten*, Paris.

[30] Id., *Ideology of Betar* (note 11). On his backing for a 'transfer' of Arabs from Palestine after the Peel Commission supported this idea, cf. Schechtman, 1956-1961: *The Last Years*, p. 325 (note 4). In his last book, 1940: *The Jewish War Front*, London pp. 215-222, he contended that there was room for two million Arabs in the future Jewish state, but the opponents of the state would have to leave. Jabotinsky also promised them a binational state in the book, but only for propaganda purposes.

[31] J. Heller, 1987: "Z. Jabotinsky and the Question of 'Self-Restraint' 1936- 1939: Theory and Practice," in *Transition and Change in Modern Jewish History*, eds. Shmuel Almog et al. (Jerusalem, 1987; Hebrew), pp. 283-340.

was anti-Zionist, and second, because of its support for Arab nationalism. Compromise was not possible under these circumstances. Nevertheless, for the sake of building the Jewish state, he was ready (1935) to reach a pragmatic - not ideological - compromise with Zionist socialism, led by David Ben-Gurion, the chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive, even though, in the heat of the polemic, he identified Ben-Gurion with communism (as Ben-Gurion identified Jabotinsky with fascism). Finally there was an attempt to reach an agreement on: (1) nonviolence; (2) labor relations; and (3) immigration and fundraising[32]. The controversy over the fascist contours of the Revisionist movement was reignited in all its intensity. The Marxist-oriented Zionist left kept the controversy alive until the establishment of the state and beyond, while the social-democratic left abandoned the subject following the end of the Ben-Gurion era (1963).

Symbols of Revisionist 'Culture': Nationalist Myths, Decorum and Ceremony

It is possible to discern a distinctive Revisionist 'political culture.' True, Jabotinsky was a strong admirer of romantic leaders such as Garibaldi (from whom he learned that questions of regime and society should be deferred until after the state's establishment) or Pilsudski (whose regime, interweaving authoritarianism with parliamentarism, he found intriguing). When he was under pressure in internal confrontations with the Maximalists he would also hold up as an example the Serbian national myth of Kossovo and the uprising of Karadjordje. Canonical status, however, was reserved exclusively for Jewish nationalist symbols. Thus, Betar, while standing for 'Josef Trumpeldor Alliance' (Trumpeldor was the fallen hero of Tel-Hain in 1920), was also the name of the historic city that fell to the Romans in 132 CE. The Betar anthem, composed by Jabotinsky himself (1932) mentioned two other cities which had fallen to the Romans: Yodfat and Masada. The anthem is shot through with extreme national monism: "From the pit of dust and decay/ With blood and sweat/ Shall arise a race proud, generous, and fierce." Jabotinsky's novelization of the Samson tale is a glorification of force and power. The IZL saw in Samson's command to 'gather iron' legitimation for its activity. Trumpeldor became the new Jewish symbol, embodied in the Betari who was capable of everything: '*debrouillard*' (troubleshooter)[33].

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[32] Cf. Shavit, 1988 p. 339-349.

[33] Jabotinsky, *1934: Ideology of Betar* (note 11); and id., 1936: *Autobiography*, pp. 205-206 (Hebrew version). The novel Samson was first published in Russian in Berlin (1927) and three years later in London with the title: *Samson the Nazarite*.

The Betari must also behave decorously. He must be a model of aristocratic social behavior: "In this sense, every Jew is a 'prince.'" As for the Betari woman, Jabotinsky assigned her an organizing and administrative role during the building of the national home, contrary to the fascist outlook[34].

Bourgeois Orientation and Biblical Utopianism: Anti-Conservative and Anti-Liberal?

From the beginnings of the ZRM, Jabotinsky declared his commitment to a bourgeois orientation on social questions, based on the assumption that the overwhelming majority of the Jewish people belonged to the middle class. Since the end of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, he explained, every historical advance had been accomplished by visionaries of private initiative[35]. Yet he also proposed an alternative program to socialism deriving from the biblical 'jubilee year,' which conflicted with his bourgeois orientation because it was not grounded in private initiative. Jabotinsky took pride in presenting a plan of continuous social reforms, in contrast to socialism which sought to generate only a single revolution[36]. He admitted that it was no more than a general scheme which experts would have to adapt to contemporary needs, but he was disappointed in his hope that the program would help attract the conservative right and unite the splintered right wing. Revisionism proved highly unattractive to the majority of the conservative right (General Zionists) because of its all-inclusive radicalism and its simplistic ideological and practical approach to the realization of Zionism. The exceptions were a temporary coalition in the Tel Aviv Municipality and the formation of a pro-Revisionist faction in Hamizrachi, an ultra-nationalist party combining religion and nationalism[37].

The only figure on the right who accepted Jabotinsky enthusiastically was the editor of the newspaper *Doar Hayom*, Itamar Ben-Avi (the son of Eliezer

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[34] Id., *Ideology of Betar* (note 11).

[35] Z. Jabotinsky, "We the Bourgeoisie," *Rassvyet* 15-16, 17 April 1927.

[36] Id., "The Idea of the 'Jubilee Year,'" in id., *Nation and Society* (note 17), pp. 173-186 (first published in May 1927).

[37] The leadership of the conservative right in its various manifestations rejected the Revisionists' program from the outset. See, for example, M. Smelansky, "'Revisionists,'" *Haolam*, 33, 18 August 1925, pp. 640-642; M. Glickson, "In Vienna (Around the Congress)," *Ha'aretz*, 4 September 1925. On Jabotinsky's failure to coopt Hamizrachi movement to the Revisionists, see Rabbi M. Berlin to D. Sirkis, 22 April 1937, in which he described Jabotinsky as "hard as iron and as spoiled as a child," CZA A 340/14.

Ben-Yehuda, reviver of the Hebrew language): "What is Jabotinsky's platform if not a fascist platform in all its purity?" He expected the 'Hebrew Mussolini' to impose on the *Yishuv* (prestate Jewish community in Palestine) "common labor from the right to the left, through the center in all its shades."[38] It was in vain that Jabotinsky tried to salvage his fading liberal image in articles bemoaning the bitter fate of liberalism: "The old thing is dead and buried... Now it has even been buried in England... The system is suspect."[39] He pointed to the failure of parliamentary democracy to function as a governmental system for more than a brief period, and also criticized the public's contemptuous attitude toward the concept of freedom and equality in liberal regimes, which prevailed in the early 1930s. Fundamentally he argued that the liberal conception was bankrupt from a Jewish viewpoint, for the Jews were not treated as equals. Although he proposed examining liberalism's fate five years in the future, he acknowledged that "future development should advance on a silently antiliberal course ... In place of equality, of blessed memory, I shall be consoled with a handsome, stately hierarchy..."

Revisionist Maximalism as a Fascist Ethos: Achimeir and Greenberg

The bloody anti-Jewish disturbances of 1929 in Palestine catapulted the Revisionist party from its status as a fringe group in Zionism (6.75 percent support) to a party with 21-percent backing (23 percent in Jewish Palestine). The serious political setback suffered by the Zionist movement as a result of the retreat in British policy (Passfield White Paper of 1930) was a breath of life to the Revisionists, who were anxious to achieve power. Zionism's distress enabled a party of the radical right to blossom, and particularly its maximalists. To Achimeir these developments proved Spengler's cyclical theory of history. But it was not the Jewish people that was declining; it was England. The Jewish people would now flourish:

> We fought the Egyptian Pharaoh, the Roman emperor, the Spanish Inquisition, the Russian tsars. They 'defeated' us. But where are they today? Can we not cope with a few despicable muftis or sheiks?... For us the forefathers, the prophets, the zealots were not mythological concepts...[40]

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38 A. Ben-Avi, "Why Am I a Fascist?", *Doar Hayom*, 21 December 1927.

39 Z. Jabotinsky, "Grandfather Liberalism," *Hynt* (Warsaw; in Yiddish), 14 October 1932.

40 A. Achimeir, "The Desert and [the Garden of] Eden," *Doar Hayom*, 4 September 1929.

Achimeir called on the Jewish people to adopt the 'ideal of self-sacrifice' for the sake of the homeland, without which it would not be accepted into the ranks of history's 'healthy peoples' and would never achieve its deserved place: "The way of the Jewish messiah, like that of every national messiah, is the way of iron and not of paper."[41] The dialectical tension between Jabotinsky, who declared that he detested every form of fascism while admitting that it did have some good ideas[42], and Achimeir, who publicly declared his support for it, reached a watershed.

On 22 November 1930 Achimeir and his followers seized control of the Revisionist movement in Palestine. For the first time Achimeir's name appeared on the list for the Elected Assembly of the *Yishuv* (in tenth place; Greenberg's name was in fourth place). Achimeir called for closer relations between the Jewish and Italian peoples against the background of their common immigration aspirations and because the Italians were the least anti-Semitic people in the world[43]. Because of his rejection of the democratic system Achimeir refused to become a candidate in the elections to the 17th Zionist Congress, but he was represented by Greenberg. When Jabotinsky broke with the WZO at that congress, Achimeir demanded that the Revisionist leader engineer a formal split in the Zionist movement as Lenin had done in the Russian Social-Democratic party (1903) and an ideological split on the Mussolini model, this to heal the Jewish people by emulating "the synthesis between nationalism and class."[44]

On 8 February 1932 Achimeir and his followers demonstrated against the inauguration of a Chair in International Peace at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. What the Jewish people really needed, they said, was a Military Chair. Jabotinsky congratulated Achimeir, who was arrested, calling him "our teacher and mentor!"[45] It was at this time that Jabotinsky composed the Betar anthem, which included the lines: "For silence is filth/ Forsake blood and soul/ For the sake of the hidden glory/ To die or to conquer the mount! - Yodfat, Masada, Betar." The first Betari executed by the British authorities in Palestine, in June

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[41] Id., "The Bridge of Iron," ibid., 10 September 1929; id., "Shall We Miss the Opportunity?", ibid., 25 September 1929.

[42] Jabotinsky to M. Lang, 27 August 1930, JI; and to Dr. A. Weinshal, 29 December 1930.

[43] A. Achimeir, "Rome and Jerusalem," *Ha'am*, 9 May 1931.

[44] A. Achimeir, "The Intentions of ZRM [Zionist-Revisionist Movement]," 5 August 1931.

[45] Z. Jabotinsky, "On Adventurism," *Hazit Ha'am*, 11 March 1932 (the same journal published the Betar anthem on 22 March 1932).

1938 (following a failed anti-Arab terrorist operation), went to the gallows with these words on his lips. Despite the rapprochement with Jabotinsky, Achimeir believed that there were two directions in Revisionism: 'salon Revisionism' and 'prison Revisionism.' Zionism, he declared, would not be realized by the 'salon' types but by the *sans-culottes* (a reference to the extreme republicans in the French Revolution, i.e., violent revolutionists) who were ready for any sacrifice[46].

During the national conference of the Revisionist Movement in Palestine (April 1932), Achimeir and his associates tried to get the movement's paper, *Hazit Ha'am* ('People's Front'), in which they had preponderant influence, to publish the 'Ten Commandments of the Maximalists' 'in the spirit of complete fascism,' but were convinced not to do so by moderates like the poet Yaacov Kahan[47]. Kahan recommended that the Maximalist faction be connected with the movement and not with the party, which was built on democratic foundations, rather than on those of fascism and dictatorship. Outside the party framework it could perform 'maximum service' by undertaking violent actions for which the party could not assume responsibility[48]. The organizational and ideological platform, as formulated by Achimeir at the conference, stated:

> It is not the masses whom we need ... but the minorities ... We want to educate people for the 'Great Day of God' (war or world revolution), so that they will be ready to follow the leader blindly into the greatest danger ... Not a party but an *Orden*, a group of private [people], devoting themselves and sacrificing themselves for the great goal. They are united in all, but their private lives and their livelihood are the matter of the Orden. Iron discipline; cult of the leader (on the model of the fascists); dictatorship.

In practice they did very little, except to launch vitriolic attacks in their paper against the Zionist establishment, in particular Weizmann and his socialist allies.

Kahan praised the dedication of the Maximalists' leaders:

> Serious boys, tough, embittered. The bitterness derives in no small measure from the want and private poverty of each of them, and one cannot help but sense a social

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[46] Achimeir at the "National Convention of ZRM in Eretz Yisrael," 23-25 April 1932, JI, P 112.

[47] Y. Kahan to the Central Committee of World ZRM in London, 26 May 1932, JI, P 112. Unfortunately, the Achimeir faction's "Ten Commandments" of fascism were not preserved.

[48] Kahan to Central Committee, 24 April 1932, ibid.

> motif running through their ideological fabric... A known closeness to 'Nazis'; indeed, 'Hitlerite' is hardly a term of abuse among them; on the contrary.

Achimeir's faction was considered the strongest at the 1932 fifth ZRM conference, with more than forty delegates (out of 113)[49].

On the eve of the conference the internal controversy between moderates and maximalists reached an unprecedented climax. Jabotinsky tried to persuade R. Lichtheim, one of the movement's moderate leaders, to accept Kahan's idea that the Maximalist Faction should not carry out its activities under the formal aegis of the party[50]. Achimeir, in defiance of Jabotinsky's 'petition' policy, recommended personal terror, citing the assassination of French President Paul Doumer as an example[51]. Only now did Jabotinsky realize that Achimeir was jeopardizing his own ideological and organizational control in the movement. He announced that he was accepting the Maximalists' ideology only as a ploy[52]. Undeterred, Achimeir and his group put out a leaflet demanding that the world conference decide between opposition and revolution: "Our goal is to extricate Revisionism from the liberal morass." To avoid a rift, at Kahan's behest, they asked for the minimum: (1) Raising the leader's status to the level of dictator. (2) An independent Zionist federation. (3) A change in external orientation, beginning with the transfer of the Political Department from London to Paris. (4) A war on the funds, the source of Zionism's corruption. (5) A war against anti-Semitism.

Jabotinsky was assured of victory at the conference, which convened in Vienna, but sought to bridge the differences in order to avoid a split with the Maximalists: "To build the Jewish state we need water and we need fire - all is sacred." Achimeir, however, continued to insist that in the twentieth century youth and dictatorship would be decisive, according to the model of Oswald Mosely. Jabotinsky, although not an admirer of Mosley, did not entirely reject this model, appreciating the potential latent in both young people and dictator-

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[49] Ibid.

[50] Z. Jabotinsky to R. Lichtheim, 3 July 1932, JI.

[51] A. Achimeir, "Gorgulov," *Hazit Ha'am*, 2 August 1932. In the trial the prosecution submitted as evidence Achimeir's article "Problems at the World Convention of ZRM," ibid., 15 July 1932, in which he openly advocated personal terror. The "Manifesto of the Sicarii," a blend of historical analysis and cautious advocacy of personal terror, was discovered in his room.

[52] Z. Jabotinsky, "The Meaning of Adventurism," *Hazit Ha'am*, 5 August 1932.

ship. It is no accident that a split did not take place between Jabotinsky and the Maximalists or the Activists, even though Greenberg, a member of Achimeir's faction, ridiculed the conference as a meeting of 'degenerate Zionists' (*'Zionisten degenerierten'*) and raised the possibility - in Jabotinsky's presence - of a coalition between him and Weizmann. The Activists had no cohesive platform, but their leader, von Weisl, tried to forge an ideological and organizational connection with Mosley's ideologist, Raven A. Thomson, until he was ordered to desist by Jabotinsky. Von Weisl supported Mussolini's Ethiopian war unreservedly, declaring that failure there would be the 'greatest calamity' for the white race[53].

The high point of the Maximalist Faction was its admiration for Hitler's electoral victories before and after the Nazi's rise to power. Hitler's Third Reich would be structured like Bismarck's Second Reich and even more like the First Reich of Carl the Great. This would also be the face of the future 'kingdom of Israel': "In Germany, in Italy, and in Israel the brilliant past of the nation is evoked."[54] More astonishing still was the Maximalists' reaction to Hitler's assumption of power in January 1933. It was, they said, a positive development because it demonstrated the bankruptcy of Jewish assimilation in the German society. Furthermore, it vindicated their blind hatred for communism and socialism: "The difference between Hitler and Thälmann [the communist leader] is that the one is a subjective anti-Semite and the other an objective one."[55] Jabotinsky, in contrast, identified anti-Semitism as a central motif in Nazi ideology[56]. At a comparatively late date - the end of March 1933 - Achimeir's paper said about the Nazi movement: "The anti-Semitic wrapping should be discarded, but not its anti-Marxist core ..."[57] Jabotinsky wrote several furious letters to his

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[53] Protocol of the Fifth National Convention of ZRM, late August 1932, JI G/2/7/4 III. On von Weisl, see his article, "The Conflict in Ethiopia and the Jewish State," *Hayarden*, 18 November 1935, and Jabotinsky's letter to him, 7 July 1935, JI.

[54] A. Achimeir, "Romantic Realism or Realistic Romanticism," *Hazit Ha'am*, 30 September 1932.

[55] *Yoman Ha'am*, "We Will Not Get Up if the Whip Does Not Make Us Get Up," ibid., 3 February 1933.

[56] Z. Jabotinsky, "Germany," *Hazit Ha'am*, 24 February 1933.

[57] *Yoman Ha'am*, "The Core and the Shell," ibid., 31 March 1933.

movement's leader in the *Yishuv*, saying he would demand the expulsion of Achimeir and Yeivin from the movement because their articles and their attempts to ingratiate themselves with Hitler were a 'stab in the back.'[58]

By May of that year Achimeir and his followers had undergone a complete change of position. Now they began to burn German consulates and pull down their flags. Following the murder of Arlosoroff in June the faction completely lost its organizational, though not its ideological, influence. From this time Jabotinsky and his movement would have to fight for their very survival. The Maximalist Faction would not re-emerge until 1938, and then under a different leadership.

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Unlike Achimeir, Greenberg warned against the use of fascist models. Nevertheless, according to Griffin's definition, he meets the criteria of the fascist ideal type: populist ultranationalism, a rebirth myth, and a myth of decadence[59]. Beginning in 1923, he denounced established Zionism under Weizmann's leadership for forgoing the 'kingdom of Israel' and adopting in its place the Christian concept of the 'national home.' Greenberg extolled instead Jabotinsky's 'brutal' [*biryonit*] Zionism which strove for the "synthesis of a distant past and an incipient future within a filthy present ... Zionism is an eastern movement of rebellion of spiritual imperialism against a number of kingdoms, and itself aspires to a kingdom."[60] Even before he forsook the Zionist left he railed against the 'absolute decay' of its leadership and the Labor movement's betrayal of the *halutzim* (pioneers). The failure was not economic but psychological. Nevertheless, Greenberg's Revisionist credentials were not self-evident because of the conflict between his messianism and Jabotinsky's *Real-politik*.

Greenberg saw the Jewish nation as entrapped between the pogroms of Christian Europe and the threat of Islam in the east. He experienced the great trauma of his life in a pogrom in Lvov immediately after World War I, in which he had served as an Austrian soldier on the Serbian front. Following the bloody events of 1929 in Palestine he became active in the Maximalist Faction. The

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[58] Jabotinsky to A. Weinshal, 17 May 1933.

[59] R. Griffin, 1991: *The Nature of Fascism*, New York, paperback ed. Routledge, pp. 32-36.

[60] U.Z. Greenberg, "Amorphous Zionism and the Lamenters on its Fringes," *Haolam*, 27 July 1923, pp. 541-542.

model he sought to revive was that of the collective of the Second Temple insurgents, the Sicarii and Bar-Kochba ("Bar-Kochba's teaching is true even if Betar fell"). The existential conflict between Jews and Arabs placed the combative poet in a clear social-Darwinist posture: "... A land is not bought with money/ And with a hoe one also digs and buries the dead./ ... A land is conquered with blood./ And only what is conquered with blood is sacred to the people/ The sanctity of blood."[61]

The Revisionist Movement and Anti-Semitism

One would have thought that a radical nationalist movement like the Revisionists would condemn anti-Semitism out of hand in its Polish version and certainly in its Nazi version. Jabotinsky in fact did point to the centrality of anti-Semitism in *Mein Kampf* in particular and in the Nazi movement overall. In contrast, the maximalist Yeivin argued that Hitler was no different from the other rulers of Europe who wanted to bring the Jews to a situation of starvation and degeneration. Salvation from 'total annihilation' was possible only through the establishment of a 'great Hebrew kingdom.[62] Achimeir, too, was wrong in his conjecture that the anti-Semitic element in Nazism was a ploy and that its essence was nationalism. Jabotinsky, instead of trying to weed out this dangerous and unfounded thesis, strengthened the Maximalists' 'ploy' perception by distinguishing between two types of anti-Semitism. There was an Eastern European 'anti-Semitism of things,' which was more potent because it was bound up with an unvarying socioeconomic reality, whereas the second type of anti-Semitism, the Nazis' 'anti-Semitism of men,' could be modified through persuasion[63]. Furthermore, Jabotinsky said there would be no world war because Hitler and Mussolini were cowards: "Normal businessmen and very much the property owners."[64]

Together with Jabotinsky's appraisal the movement's reincarnated maximalist group (now called the 'Faction of Accusation and Belief,' after the name of a book of poetry by Greenberg) revived, on the eve of World War II, the old

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[61] Id., *The Book of Accusation and Belief*, p. 163. H. Hever, "The Incipient Emergence of Political Poetry in Palestine", Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1984, pp. 154-156.

[62] Z. Jabotinsky, "Germany" (note 56); H. Yeivin, "When Will We Become Wise?", *Hazit Ha'am*, 17 March 1933.

[63] Jabotinsky, *1940: War Front* (note 30), pp. 69-79.

[64] Z. Jabotinsky, "The Tension Has Dissipated," *Hamashkif*, 18 June 1939.

thesis of Achimeir and Yeivin about the anti-Semitism which had not forsaken its outlook in favor of Nazism from the period when Hitler took power. It advocated (following *Kristallnacht* and the racial laws in Italy) the twisted view that fascism and anti-Semitism were not identical. Anti-Semitism was permanent, Nazism 'temporary.' Underlying this phenomenon was a growing hatred for England, which was advancing toward the creation of an Arab state, according to the Maximalists' reading of the May 1939 White Paper. From this followed the dangerous conclusion:

> There is no difference between concentration camps in Germany and refugee camps in England; between the expulsion of the Jews from Germany and the refusal of democracies to accept them... The major right which was granted to the Jews in the democracies and was taken from them in the fascist countries is the right to be *Gentiles*, i.e., to assimilate.[65]

Here was the ideological justification for Stern's perverse attempt to make an alliance with Hitler. (See below.)

Uriel Heilperin and Avraham Stern: Proto-fascism in the Revisionist Movement

Achimeir's attempt to bring about the fascization of Revisionism was only partially successful. Nevertheless, his ideas were not completely discarded by the movement or its leader. Organizationally, Achimeir achieved his goal: secession and the creation of the New Zionist Organization. Jabotinsky also became more of a dictatorial figure after the moderates left. The Italian orientation, as an alternative to England as a last resort, gained strength. It was Uriel Heilperin (Ratosh) who for the first time explained to the Revisionist public that Hebrew Palestine did not exist within a large Arab sea but in a semitic East[66]. Within a few years this theory would lead Heilperin to leave the Revisionist movement and form the 'Committee for the Consolidation of Hebrew Youth' (1943) - the beginning of the 'Canaanite' movement.

But in 1938 Heilperin tried to convince Jabotinsky that a revision of his program was in order. He was a proponent of the idea of a possible Jewish takeover of Palestine in the wake of the report issued by the Royal Commission

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[65] R. Za'ami [Yeivin] (Tel Aviv), "Our Distorted Concepts: Jews, Democracy, and the Factor of Force," *Die Tat* (Warsaw; Yiddish), 28 April 1939. The paper was edited by Friedman-Yellin (Mor), later the head of the Lehi Central Committee and their representative in the First Knesset.

[66] U. Heilperin, "The Third Front: Semitism and Arabism," *Hayarden*, 13 October 1935.

of Inquiry headed by Lord Peel recommending the country's partition. It is not surprising that he believed the idea of a partnership of interests with England had failed and that the time had come for a dictatorial regime of the Yishuv. Heilperin pointed to the inherent contradiction in Revisionist policy between the politics of the 'Ten-Year Plan' - the immigration to Palestine of a million and a half Jews within a decade - and the final goal of a state on both sides of the Jordan. Heilperin was able to win over the majority of the Revisionist leadership in the *Yishuv* to his ideas (twenty-seven vs. eight). Power, he said, could be seized only by a trained 'sect' which had the sympathy of the masses[67].

In early 1938 Heilperin gained the support of the 'Activist- Revisionist Front' in Poland, among whose leaders were Menachem Begin and Natan Friedman-Yellin, who within five years would head the IZL and Lehi, respectively, in Palestine. The front's program was to revive Achimeir's ideas: renewal of the anti-left struggle, defiance of the Jewish Agency, support for the 'fighting groups,' abandonment of the English orientation, and turning the struggle between the Axis Powers and the democracies to the *Yishuv's* advantage. They called for the renewal of active resistance by the *Yishuv* in the spirit of all peoples fighting for their liberation. Jabotinsky rejected the ideas of Heilperin and of his associates in Poland, though at the same time he tried to reassure them that in principle he was on their side, as witnessed by his evocation of the revolt by the Serbian youth Karadjeordje[68]. Heilperin publicly supported a fascist corporativist regime but merely alluded to an Italian orientation in order not to anger Jabotinsky, who viewed that orientation only as a bargaining tactic[69]. At the Third World Convention of Betar in Warsaw, Begin urged a revision in the movement's strategy from political Zionism to military Zionism. Jabotinsky, however, considered this a policy of desperation and counseled Begin either to become a communist or to throw himself into the Vistula[70].

Between this convention and the outbreak of World War II the foundations would be laid for the split brought about by the attempt to transform the IZL,

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[67] Id., "We Are Looking Toward Domination: Tomorrow's Front of the Liberation Movement" (Tel Aviv, 1937; Hebrew).

[68] J. Heller, 1989: *Lehi: 1940-1949, Ideology and Politics*, Jerusalem, (Hebrew), pp. 49-50. Abridged English ed. forthcoming from Frank Cass, London.

[69] U. Heilperin, "The Only Answer to Italian Territorialism,'" *Tel-Hai* (in place of *Hayarden*), 18 March 1938.

[70] Protocol of the Third Convention of Betar, Warsaw 11-16 September 1938 (Bucharest, 1940), pp. 58-63, JI.

and through it the Revisionist movement in Palestine, into a protofascist movement. The events were spearheaded by the 'Faction of Accusation and Belief', which had adopted the ideas of Achimeir (who was no longer active). The new group renewed nothing other than the call in the spirit of the Maximalists at the beginning of the decade for: (1) organization of the revolutionary forces for a physical war in which all resources would be mobilized; (2) imbuing the Jewish masses with a nationalist awareness and readiness for revolutionary warfare by means of unremitting propaganda for fanatic self-fulfillment. To attain this goal, domestic opponents must be destroyed and eradicated. The faction expressed its admiration for Italy's status as a Great Power (and for Turkey) and bemoaned Zionism's failure to establish a strong state. Instead there was a community which was falling apart at the seams, characterized by poor leadership, an absence of national idealism, and frenetic party activity[71].

Nevertheless, a breakthrough in the direction of an internal revolt in the Revisionist conservative right was possible neither within the political party nor within Betar, where Jabotinsky's loyal followers held sway, but only in the IZL. Jabotinsky's associate in the IZL, David Raziel, had been arrested by the British in May 1939. Raziel refused to commit the IZL to the Axis and in October signed a cooperation agreement with police Inspector-General Alan Saunders, guaranteeing the IZL's loyalty to England. Raziel would die as a British soldier in the pro-Nazi insurrection of Rashid Ali in Iraq.

Against the background of the rift between England and the Zionist movement following the publication of the 'White Paper' in May 1939, a split in the Revisionist movement, particularly in the IZL, was inevitable. Its principal instigator was Avraham Stern (b. 1907 in Suwalki, Poland). As suggested above, it was Stern who took Achimeir's ideas to their logical conclusion. Together with Heilperin, to whose influence he was highly susceptible (until Heilperin's Canaanite ideas caused a break between them in 1941), he shared the conception of the 'doctrine of the handful,' an 'underground of revolutionaries.' It was Stern who in 1932 composed the IZL anthem "Unknown Soldiers," which after the split became the Lehi anthem. For a decade Stern conducted a passionate ultranationalist dialogue with death for the sake of the homeland: "My heart is sick with love of the homeland, my blood is infected with loathing for the enemy...

[71] "Whither the NZO [New Zionist Organization]? Conclusions of the Maximalist Faction about the Situation in the Movement. Internal Memorandum," 19 October 1939, Haganah Archives.

Potent as death is love of homeland... Hatred of the enemy is more potent still."[72] Already at the Warsaw convention Stern realized that a split with Jabotinsky was unavoidable.

His followers at the time, like Dr. Scheib (Eldad) could not understand why Jabotinsky did not meet with Mussolini. The answer came with the split in the IZL, in September 1940, following Stern's failure to seize control of the organization. The first step taken by the new movement, 'IZL in Israel,' which because of its small numbers (between 100 and 200 members) was forced to operate as a terrorist underground with overarching political ambitions, was itself a fiasco. The group fell into the trap set for it by British intelligence, the IZL and the Revisionist political leadership. The bait was an Italian 'agreement.' Despite their suspicions that they were being lured into a trap, Stern's men signed an 'agreement' according to which the future Jewish state would become a satellite of fascist Italy, after the latter had already joined the war on Germany's side. At the time Italy seemed to be a victorious power, with the Italian army poised to enter Egypt and then press on to Palestine. The bait was too tempting. Stern seemed unaware that Mussolini had a pro-Arab orientation, and thought that despite Italy's racial laws and alliance with Germany he could gamble on its sympathy.

In the 'agreement' itself, over the terms of which Stern and his associates bargained, Italy promised to view the revival of the Hebrew nation as a 'historical necessity' and a 'sacred right' (Article 1). Italy would help eliminate the diaspora by means of an 'evacuation' of Jews to the Jewish state (Article 2) and would assist in the formation of Hebrew army units which would conquer Palestine (Article 4). Naturally, a corporativist regime would be introduced (Article 8). Italy would protect the Jewish state by maintaining a permanent naval and air presence in the port of Haifa (Article 9). Jerusalem and the holy places would become an 'integral part' of the Vatican (Article 14). The Jewish state would adopt Italian foreign policy 'retroactively' (Article 10) and Italy pledged to secure the agreement of the Arab states for the establishment of the Hebrew state in return for Italian aid in the development of their natural resources (Article 16)[73].

Stern himself had first become aware of the proximity of interests between his movement and fascist Italy while he was studying at Florence in 1934. At the time his worldview was not fully formed and he believed that there was room for

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[72] J. Heller, 1989: *Lehi*, p. 36 (note 68). See also: J. Heller, "Avraham Stern - The Myth and the Reality (1907-1942)," *The Jerusalem Quarterly*, January 1989, pp. 121-144.

[73] A photocopy of the "Jerusalem Agreement" (or the 'Italian Agreement') appears in my, 1989: *Lehi: 1940-1949* after p. 128. Cf. also M. Rothstein, 1956: *Italian Espionage* (note 24).

both personal sacrifice on the Achimeir model but also for Jabotinsky's 'national petition.'[74] By 1940 his revolt against Jabotinsky was nearly complete, with the exception of his views on anti- Semitism.

The ideological program formulated by Stern and his aide, Hanoch Kalai, 'Principles of Revival' (October 1940 - February 1941), is flagrantly that of the radical right, resting on ultranationalist foundations. It is a document which, in the definition of Roger Griffin, is 'palingenetically' characteristic of fascism[75].

At its center is not God but the Hebrew (not Jewish) people which created 'monotheism' and is a 'special people.' The boundaries of the homeland, as demarcated in the Bible in the covenant between God and Abraham (Genesis 15:18), extend from the Nile to the Euphrates. "This is the living land in which the whole Jewish nation will dwell in peace and security." The palingenetic quality is found in the document's focal point:

> The People of Israel conquered Eretz Israel by the sword. In this land it evolved its nationhood [sic] and only in it will it be restored to life. Therefore the right to Eretz Israel belongs to the People of Israel and to it alone. This right is absolute; it never lapsed and will not lapse forever.

Stern posited three 'missions': (1) "redemption of the land; (2) re-establishment of the Kingdom of Israel; (3) revival of the Nation". He elaborated:

> The conquest of the Homeland by force from foreign hands to make our patrimony forever ... The renewal of sovereignty over the redeemed land ... The strengthening and transformation of the Jewish nation to become a first-rate military, political, cultural and economic factor in the East and the Mediterranean.

Stern was careful to avoid committing himself to a corporativist regime, as Kalai suggested, preferring instead a nationalist, supraparty palingenetic definition: "The establishment of a just social order according to the Jewish ethical spirit and Prophetic justice... All sections of the nation will live in mutual brotherhood, respect and friendship..." Stern called for "the restoration of the Third Temple as a symbol of the Age of Complete Redemption." He identified the revival of the nation with the "complete in gathering of the dispersed Jewish population into

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[74] The 'National Petition' of the Revisionist movement was first published in Hebrew in *Hazit Ha'am*, 4-5 January 1934. Achimeir ridiculed it as a 'paper bridge.' The petition demanded that England fulfill its commitments to Zionism. The idea was to submit the document to the League of Nations, England, and states interested in the solution of the Jewish question.

[75] Griffin, 1991: *Fascism*, pp. 26, 32-36.

the Kingdom of Israel" and "the revival of the Hebrew Language as the national language of the whole population; the renewal of the historical and the spiritual power of Israel; the refining of the national character in the crucible of the revival."[76]

This document should be seen against the background of the mission (January 1941) to Beirut by Naftali Lubenchik, one of the former leaders of the maximalists' Faction of Accusation and Belief, for a meeting with the director of the Levant Department in the German Foreign Ministry, Otto Werner von Hentig. Lubenchik offered 'active participation' (*'der aktiven Teilnahme'*) in the war on the side of Germany. The document's basic assumption was that the solution of the Jewish question in Europe by means of an 'evacuation' to Palestine was not only a fundamental principle of the 'Stern group' but also of the 'new order in Europe.' Concretely, the proposition was the following:

> (1) A partnership of interests is possible between the aims of the 'new order' in Europe according to the German conception and the true national aspirations of the Jewish people which are represented by the IZL. (2) Cooperation is possible between the new Germany and the revitalized Hebrew national movement [*voelkisch-nationalen Hebraeertum*]. (3) Establishment of the Jewish state on a national and totalitarian foundation, [a state] linked by covenant with the German Reich, is consistent with the preservation and strengthening of the future German positions of power in the Near East.

A survey of the IZL's history which was forwarded to von Hentig added: "According to its worldview and its structure, the IZL is very close to the totalitarian movements of Europe."[77]

How can one explain such blindness on the part of an ultra-Zionist group, however small in numbers, which was persecuted both by the British police and by the IZL and the Haganah? At its root is a basic failure to grasp the murderous character of the Nazis' anti-Semitism, which became known widely only in late

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[76] "Principles of Revival" was first published in *Bamahteret*, 2, October 1940, pp. 2-3.

[77] The proposal by the IZL [in Israel] (Lehi) appears in von Hentig's letter to the German embassy in Turkey, 11 January 1941, in: D. Yisraeli, 1975: *The Third Reich and Palestine: Problems Pertaining to Palestine in German Policy 1889-1945*, Ramat Gan, (Hebrew), pp. 315-317.

1942[78]. More specifically, Stern and his associates were misled by the publication in the Nazi press of the 'Madagascar Plan,' which spoke of the Jews' expulsion to that island[79].

The 'Principles of Revival' were expanded in February 1941, though the majority of the eighteen tenets dated from the previous October. The main additions were:

> *Unity*. The unity of the whole nation round the flag of the Jewish Liberation Movement. The utilisation of the genius, position and power of individuals - and the direction of the energy, devotion and revolutionary fervour of the masses in the cause of the War of Liberation.

Under the rubric of 'Pacts' the document stated that treaties would be made "with all interested [parties] who are prepared to render direct aid to the Organization." To the social platform was added: "There will be no hunger and unemployment in this order." On the Arab question Stern opted for a cautious 'transfer' formulation: "*Foreigners' Law*. Solution to the problem of foreigners by population exchanges."[80] This text was considered sacrosanct only during the first period of the 'Stern group,' which in 1942 was liquidated by the British police because it was regarded as a fifth column.

Following World War II the revolutionary underground (renewed in 1943 by Yitzhak Shamir, Natan Friedman-Yellin, and Israel Scheib-Eldad) underwent a further ideological incarnation toward 'national Bolshevism.' In other words, there was no concession of the radical-right ideology, but there was a gradual leftward shift to assure sheer survival in the light of the IZL's resumption of activity against the British. First, Lehi's foreign policy was oriented toward the Soviet Union and broke with Revisionism's antisocialism. Following the Soviet Union's support for Zionist ambitions in 1947, Lehi was more inclined to identify with Soviet domestic policy. In the runup to the elections for the first Knesset in 1949, Lehi's ideology was an interweaving of right and left (i.e., national Bolshevism). In the elections Lehi received 5,360 votes, enough for only one seat (Begin's Herut movement, which espoused a democratic platform, won fourteen seats).

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[78] On the 'Stern group's' basic failure to grasp the murderous nature of Nazism, cf. "Diaspora and Redemption (on the Question of the Ghetto)," *Bamahteret*, 3, December 1940, pp. 20-23.

[79] "The Madagascar Plan," *Bamahteret*, 3, December 1940, pp. 17-20.

[80] "Principles of Revival, Part 2," *Bamahteret*, 5, February 1941, pp. 1- 2.

Three ideological streams can be discerned in the first, and last, convention of the 'Fighters Party' (Lehi), held immediately after the 1949 elections: a socialist-nationalist mainstream led by Friedman-Yellin and Shamir which sought a classless society in Israel within its historical boundaries; a minority rightist stream led by Scheib-Eldad (who would eventually become the central ideologist of the Tehiya [Revival] movement); and a Marxist stream which would later join Mapam and afterward the Israeli Communist Party. Lehi, which presented itself as a legal party beginning in the summer of 1948, still thought in underground terms even after the State of Israel was proclaimed. It was responsible for the assassination of the United Nations mediator Count Bernadotte (September 1948). The provisional Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion, permitted the party to take part in the elections. His assumption was that a legal, if radical-right, party was preferable to an underground group. The left was appalled by the party's platform and viewed it as a thrust toward fascism. In fact, it was a 'national-Bolshevist' platform[81] and it gained little sympathy from the public. The party was disbanded in 1950-1951. Its leader, Friedman-Yellin (Yellin-Mor) would join the radical Israeli left (though not the communists) in the 1950s, while Shamir and Scheib-Eldad remained in the radical right.

Social Composition

The Revisionist movement, like the other Zionist parties, drew its supporters from the pool of the Jewish middle class in the Diaspora and not from the Jewish proletariat of Eastern Europe. Support for the Revisionists in the *Yishuv* never exceeded 20.2 percent (1931) or 26,974 voters (1946). Its leadership portrayed the party as socially heterogeneous. Its core group came from the intelligentsia of the liberal professions. They were joined by workers from the 'oriental' communities and by bourgeois elements - craftsmen or owners of small industries. No more than 20 percent were salaried workers. The available data enable us to examine only the social composition of the activists. The majority were salaried bourgeoisie and practitioners of the liberal professions who supported the Revisionist movement's political activism and, as such, did not identify with the socialist Federation of Labor. It was not a genuinely bourgeois party in terms of

[81] S. Payne, 1980, did not include the term 'national Bolshevism' in his taxonomy of fascism. However, he includes Ernst Niekisch in the category of nationalist leftist authoritarianism, *Fascism*, pp. 64-65. We can, perhaps, distinguish between leftist 'national Bolshevism' and a rightist form such as was advocated by Moeller van der Bruck.

its social composition but at most petty bourgeois with an addition of workers. This was consistent with its claim to be a nonclass party seeking the good of the whole nation[82].

Conclusions

Revisionism could be more easily viewed as a fascist movement according to Roger Griffin's definition. It is more difficult to place it in that category according to the criteria of Stanley G. Payne, who distinguishes between fascism, which he considers to be more radical - e.g., the Nazi party - and parties of the radical right, such as the Deutschnationale Volkspartei and the Catholic Center, led by Hugenberg and von Papen, respectively. These definitions place Pilsudski in the moderate conservative right. Should we also include Jabotinsky, as well as Achimeir and Stern, in this category only because their major model, at a particular stage of their lives, was Pilsudski? Since the three actually had considerable room for maneuver in choosing models from a range of regimes on the radical or authoritarian right, we should look not to the models but to their platforms as the criteria for definitions.

According to Zeev Sternhell's definition of French fascism[83], Jabotinsky and his movement sought a third way which could also be identified with fascism. This is certainly the wrong category, however, in view of the fact that after 1933 he ceased to look for such a third way between socialism and fascism or between communism and capitalism, and instead sought a different mode which he finally defined as '*Minimalstaat*'. But his unchanged doctrine contained clear fascist elements. Achimeir's not fully articulated fascist platform was apparently made up of elements derived from Italian fascism, before its final formulation in 1932, and from Mosley's New Party in England. Dr. von Weisl, in contrast, was influenced by the British Union of Fascists. Stern's doctrine did not draw directly on European fascism, even though he was ready to forge an alliance with the Axis Powers. He believed, naively, that the messianic era had arrived and that the 'third Kingdom of Israel' could be established on the model of integralist nationalism and survive alongside the victorious fascist powers. More than his mentors Jabotinsky and Achimeir, who propounded secular nationalist doctrines, Stern looked primarily to his idol, Uri Zvi Greenberg, with his eschatological-apocalyptic temperament and vision.

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[82] Shavit, 1988: *Jabotinsky*, pp. 82-85.

[83] Z. Sternhell, 1990: *Neither Right Nor Left*, Berkeley.

That Jewish fascism was doomed to failure can be explained in terms of Griffin's thesis[84]: (1) the rebirth myth; (2) populist ultranationalism; (3) the myth of decadence. None of them was realized as the Revisionist movement envisaged; the Jewish state emerged according to the gradualist strategy of Weizmann and Ben-Gurion. Payne is more perceptive from this point of view and offers more sharply defined categories for determining the relevance of fascism: (1) fascist negations; (2) ideology and goals; (3) style and organization[85]. Achimeir's faction, as well as Heilperin's (in part), and Stern's meet Payne's criteria in all three categories. Not so Jabotinsky, who meets only some of them: anticommunism, a corporativist nationalist regime, a combative empire, a new national culture, romantic gatherings (Betar as a mass party militia), admiration of youth, and charismatic leadership.

Jabotinsky and his successor, Begin, survived better than all of them because they were able to disavow fascism and retained their belief in democratic England (the latter until 1943). Even Achimeir forsook fascism at the last minute and warned Stern not to enter into an alliance with Hitler and Mussolini. Only Stern did not change his mind: he did not break with fascism at the moment of truth, believing that Hitler was only playing at anti-Semitism and meant only to expel the Jews but not to annihilate them, and that Hitler would win the war. For Stern, it was, literally, a fatally mistaken conception. His successors, Natan Friedman-Yellin, Yitzhak Shamir, and Israel Scheib-Eldad made a supreme effort to cleanse themselves of the stigma of collaboration with fascism, but they could not and did not want to formulate a conservative-right ideology. They would become entangled in an ideological formula which recalls the 'national Bolshevism' of Weimar Germany and in organizational fragmentation, and turn to an ideology of either the right or the left, each according to his preference.

The Herut movement in Israel was able to obliterate IZL's stigma of fascism and to create for itself a conservative-right image, notably by merging with the Liberals (1965). Begin understood that without such a unification he would never achieve power. The true continuation of the radical right in Israel was the Tehiya (Revival) party which came into being as a result of Begin's signing of the Camp David accords. The movement failed in the 1992 general elections, but nationalist adversities gave rise to other radical-right parties: Tsomet and the

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[84] Griffin, 1991: p. 201.

[85] Payne, 1980, p. 7.

National Religious Party. Indeed, the Likud itself could become such a party, given a leadership of a particular kind and sufficiently adverse political conditions, and pose a danger to Israeli democracy.

13

HAGGAI ERLICH

PERIPHERY AND YOUTH: FASCIST ITALY AND THE MIDDLE EAST

The 1920s: 'The Decade of Good Behaviour'

In the Fascists' dream of establishing a great empire the Middle East was indeed a prime objective. Expanding Italian rule over the eastern Mediterranean was to be a major step towards implementing the 'mare nostrum' concept. Such a step was perceived by Mussolini, as the most 'natural' development, consonant with Italy's historical destiny.[1] But when Mussolini beginning in the mid-1920s, became confident enough to divert serious attention to foreign affairs, Italian control of the relevant territories was only peripheral. The inheritance left by 19th century liberal imperialism included the colonies of Somalia, Eritrea, and Libya. Of these, Somalia was too remote to be of direct relevance to the Middle East, and Libya, (still known as Cyrenaica and Tripolitania) was the arena of an on-going struggle with the *Sanusiyya* movement. Eritrea, stretching along the Red Sea, was thus the center of the Italian colonial experience. It was from here, and more so through the Ethiopian - Eritrean connection, that the lessons of the liberal-imperialist period were transmitted to the fascist-imperialist adventure.

The Eritrean - Ethiopian theater was to the Italian imperialists what India was to the British, or Algeria and Morocco to the French. It was an even more complicated school because Ethiopia, the victor over Italy in the decisive 1896 battle of Adwa, remained independent and joined the League of Nations in 1923. Not only did two generations of Italian strategists have to learn how to rule the colony of Eritrea (indirectly or directly), or how to manoeuvre between

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[1] See Claudio G. Segre, "Liberal and Fascist Italy in the Middle East, 1919-1939: The Elusive White Stallion", in U. Dann (ed.), *The Great Powers in the Middle East, 1919-1939*, Holmes and Meier, New York, 1988, pp. 199-212.

the greater European imperialist Powers, Britain and France, they also had to learn how to confront a neighbouring region - the Empire of Ethiopia - and to exercise, in so doing, a variety of approaches: aggressive subversive measures and defensive diplomatic methods. In general, two elements in Italy's confrontation of Ethiopia were to influence the fascists' strategy and their involvement in the Middle East.

The first, more dramatic, element was in the sphere of international relations. In the Ethiopian context, Italian policy makers of the liberal age had nearly perfected the art of playing the role of Great Britain's junior, yet problematic, partner. In this game they often threatened to move towards a middle ground in the direction of Britain's rivals, the French, though only in order to acquire more nuisance value and capitalize on it by squeezing more from the British. Mussolini, it was argued, continued in the same vein. Much has been written about the final chapter in this risky game, Mussolini's 1935 'Abyssinian Crisis'. Indeed, the assumption that, in creating the Crisis and in brutally invading and destroying Ethiopia, Mussolini was merely after a local gain, without initially trying to ally himself with Hitler, was an important element behind the tragic consequences of that fateful issue. But whether he really planned it or not is outside the scope of this article. More relevant to the internal developments in the Middle East of the 1930s was the other Italian lesson from the Colonial - Ethiopian theater: diplomacy and subversion.

In confronting Ethiopia, the Italians had developed a double game from the very beginning of the 1880s. On one hand they sought to promote their interests in the region, and notably to secure the safety of Eritrea, through the cultivation of a friendly diplomatic dialogue with Ethiopia's imperial government. Along this line, advocated primarily by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, they signed treaties of mutual recognition, promoted commercial relations, and even accepted Ethiopia's 1923 admission to the League of Nations. Because the country's political establishment came, for the most part, from the central region of Shoa this policy was labelled *politica scioana*. On the other hand, the converse line, that of subverting Ethiopia's imperial elite, was labelled *politica tigrigna*, because the region of Tigre, the northern buffer zone between central Ethiopia and Eritrea, was the prime target of that policy. Proponents of *politica tigrigna* were usually the governors of Eritrea, supported by the Ministry of Colonies. They sought to undermine Ethiopia by allying themselves with provisional chiefs, and by encouraging internal regionalism. Subversion took the shape of military aid, economic and military support for regional warlords, cultural interference and propaganda aimed at widening the ethno-linguistic differences in Ethiopia. When Mussolini came to power, the vacillation between

these two options continued. In 1928, for reasons which follow shortly, Mussolini decided to pursue a policy of *politica scioana*, and a treaty of friendship was duly signed between Rome and Addis Abeba.[2] Its spirit was to last until the beginning of the 1930s and their new atmosphere.

In Italian eyes Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa had always been perceived more as a part of their Oriental imperialist vision than as a bridge to Black Africa. Ethiopia was seen as the key to both the Red Sea and the Nile, and was itself regarded as an oriental culture with semitic languages and an Eastern Coptic Church. Italian politicians and administrators, assigned to Eritrea, and in charge of Ethiopian affairs, were often experts on Egypt, the Arab Peninsula and Libya. Practically all the Italian Ethiopianist scholars were also noted Orientalists (most notably I. Guidi, C. Conti Rossini, M. Mario Moreno, and E. Cerulli)[3]. When Mussolini took over and began cultivating the 'mare nostrum' dream the concept of Ethiopia as the Italian gate to the Middle East was well entrenched.

In early 1926, Mussolini ventured to test his Middle Eastern chances. Having collaborated with the British in Egypt he managed to redefine the Egyptian-Libyan border and consequently inflict a severe blow to the Sanusis by destroying their stronghold in the oasis of Jaghbub in February. Then, ceremoniously boarding a ship to Libya, he declared that 1926 was 'the year of Napoleon', in which Italy would begin implementing her eastern Mediterranean vision. What followed was a half orchestrated effort to penetrate the Arab Peninsula and to begin planning a challenge to the British presence in Egypt.[4] The governor of Eritrea, J. Gasparini, a keen promoter of the subversive *politica tigrigna* in Ethiopia, managed to sign a treaty with Imam Yahya of Yemen (September 1926). Gasparini then suggested that Mussolini begin dealing with the Saudis in order to force the British to divide the Arab Peninsula between Italian and British spheres of influence. The Italian Minister to Cairo, Paterno di

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[2] On Italian policy in Ethiopia, see the authoritative work of Angelo Del Boca, *Gli Italiani in Africa Orientale*. Vol II: *La conquista dell'impero*, Bari 1979, Vol III: *La caduta dell'impero*, Bari 1986.

[3] See Taddesse Tamrat, "Italian Contribution to Ethiopian Studies", *Institute of Ethiopian Studies Bulletin*, 1994, pp. 1-9.

[4] See H. Erlich, "Mussolini and the Middle East in the 1920s: The Restrained Imperialist", in U. Dann (ed.), *The Great Powers in the Middle East, 1919-1939*, New York 1988, pp. 213-221

Manchi, also drafted a plan in response to the declaration of 'the Napoleonic year', to recruit the large Italian community in Egypt (some 60.000, the largest foreign community in the country) to help spreading the concept of fascist nationalist vitality. His main point was to strive for an understanding on anti-British cooperation with the forces of Egyptian nationalism, primarily the Wafd Party. Mussolini, however, had to restrain both Gasparini and Di Manchi, and in 1927 when the British made it clear that no deal in the Red Sea basin could possibly be considered, he removed them both from office. Indeed, British reaction was so strong that for a while, Mussolini seemingly lost his imperial appetite. He switched to *politica scioana* in the Ethiopian arena and signed the 1928 twenty-year Treaty of Arbitration and Friendship mentioned above. No new ideas about resumption of aggressive penetration into the core of the Middle East were aired until 1932.

Actually, Italy and fascism stood little chance of penetrating the core of the Middle East in the 1920s. The prime reason was the dominant strength of Britain and France, but other reasons should also be mentioned here, especially as a background to later developments. In the Middle East, within the Arab societies of the region's major countries, there was no real partner during that decade for either the friendly diplomacy of *politica scioana* or the subversive *politica tigrigna*. Cultivating relations with the political establishments of the Egypt, Syria, Iraq or the Palestinian Arabs carried little strategic promise. Fascist Italy did attempt to do so, and from the mid-1920s, or slightly before, Rome increased its investments in promoting such areas as cultural and economic ties, in developing commerce and banking, even in conquering a leading position in naval transportation and commerce of the eastern Mediterranean. Major achievements were scored as Italian prestige grew steadily, and the concept of fascist vitality became widely recognized. In general, however, with few exceptions, the socio-political elite of the Middle East was not really impressed.

The Middle Eastern Arab political elite of the 1920s was comprised primarily of landowning urban notables. This upper social class had emerged into political prominence some three generations earlier, during the period of Ottoman reforms, then later during the late nineteenth century birth of Arab, as well as Egyptian modern nationalism. This elite was to dominate Arab societies until the revolutions of the 1950s. During the 1920s, with the British and the French replacing the Ottomans, the power and prestige of the leading urban families which constituted the political backbone of the new states of the Middle East, reached its climax. The *a'yan* notables of the 'fertile crescent', or the *bashawat*, as they were called in Egypt, were quick to adjust to the new circumstances. Above all, they managed to find the formula of how to provide modern, even

active nationalist leadership to their respective societies, and how to lead the struggle for emancipation from British or French rule without losing their social hegemony and economic privileges. The crux of that formula was the implementation of western-styled constitutional parliamentarian systems. Parliamentarianism was not only considered progressive, it also channelled the nationalist struggle from the socially risky riots and violent disturbances to the more stable sphere of negotiation and dialogue. At the same time it also seemed to provide a framework for recruiting the more able emerging social forces of the educated middle classes, organizing and controlling them within the parliamentarian political parties. During the 1920s, still under the shadow of the outcome of WWI, the idea that the politics of constitutional representation was the key to strength and national might, prevailed in the Middle East. It radiated quite effectively to the other dimensions of cultural atmosphere, and impacted on many related developments outside the scope of our subject.[5] Fascism, successful as it was in portraying a revitalized Italy, could hardly serve at that time as a model for these establishments. The Wafd Party in Egypt (from 1919), the National Bloc in Syria (from 1927), the entire governmental system built (beginning in 1921) by King Faysal in Iraq, even the Palestinian Arab elite (though deprived at that time of modern constitutional bodies), all had their vital interests in parliamentarianism or in a related mode of representative politics. All pinned their hopes on Britain or France to gradually expand their political autonomy toward independence, and the securing of their own hegemony through a peaceful process. As long as the 1920s was a period of relative economic progress at home, combined with British and French prominence in international affairs, Mussolini, as an authoritarian anti-parliamentarian dictator, could find no meaningful admirer among Arab or Egyptian nationalists.

Moreover, the prolonged Italian war against the *Sanusiyya* movement in Libya became more repressive under the fascists and aroused much anger. If Di Manchi, around the middle of the decade, had any illusions about an Egyptian-Wafdist option, he would have first had to appease Sa'd Zaghlul's rage at the Italians, who, with British consent, tore the oasis of Jaghbub from Egypt and annexed it to Libya. The Fascists' persecution of the Sanusis continued throughout the second half of the 1920s, and following the end of the anti-French revolts

[5] No references to general Middle Eastern historical background will be made in this article. I have studied much of the material relevant here while writing, with the help of a research team, four Hebrew language volumes: H. Erlich, *The Middle East Between the World Wars, Vols. I-IV*, The Open University of Israel, 1991-1995.

in Morocco (the 1925 'Riff War') and Syria (the 'Druze Revolt', 1925-1927), the struggle in Libya remained, together with the heated atmosphere in Palestine (beginning in 1929) a very conspicuous focus of inter-Arab and Islamic attention. Anti-Italian feelings in this context culminated and swept the entire Middle East in September, 1931, when the Fascists captured the leader of the *Sanusiyya*, 'Umar al-Mukhtar, and summarily hanged him in public.

The hanging of 'Umar al-Mukhtar was a clear sign of Mussolini's frustration. Having despaired of immediate imperialistic fulfilment, he switched in the late 1920s to *politica scioana*. For a while he apparently toyed with the idea that, by playing down the imperialistic dimension of fascism, he might become the hero of emerging nationalist movements, especially in the East. But all his efforts yielded nothing of substance. In Egypt and the 'fertile crescent', leaders of nationalist politics would not yet depart from parliamentarianism, nor would they consider Italy a power strong enough to challenge British or French hegemony in the region. Other political factors, of various natures, were not yet meaningful, nor were they ready, to be a partner to an Italian subversive *politica tigrigna*.

There was, perhaps, no clearer sign of Mussolini's failure in the Middle East of the 1920s, than the fact that the harshest critic of 'Umar al-Mukhtar's hanging was *amir* Shakib Arslan. Arslan, born into a distinguished Lebanese Druze family, a prominent political activist, a journalist and a scholar, had long been reputed as being, perhaps, the most ardent fighter for a comprehensive, all-regional Islamic political revival, combined with pan-Arab unification. Residing in Geneva, Arslan met with Mussolini not long after the Fascists came to power, and remained his admirer. Arslan spent the 1920s touring Arab countries in the Middle East and North Africa, and did his best to spread anti-British and anti-French propaganda. He also worked tirelessly to discredit the politicians of the restrained and western-styled parliamentarianism. However, nothing angered Arslan more than the Fascists' brutality in Libya. After the hanging of 'Umar al-Mukhtar, he published numerous articles in his *La Nation Arabe* and in other journals throughout the Middle East, and was a leader in inciting the outcry against Italy as an enemy of Islam and Arabism.[6] He was to change his mind, however, as the decade of the 1930s began to acquire a wholly different shape for all parties concerned.

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[6] The hanging of Al-Mukhtar and the reaction to it in Arab countries were discussed by my student, Arie Rona, in his MA thesis:" The Sanussi Brotherhood, from Sufism to a Resistance Movement, 1911-1931", Tel Aviv University 1992 (in Hebrew). Mr Rona collected material on the *Sanussiya* in the Italian Foreign Ministry Archives, and I am indebted to him for this information.

The Grand Crisis and the Abyssinian Crisis

The hanging of the Sanusi leader in September 1931 was to become a turning point. Paradoxically, this manifestation of frustration heralded the end of what the British called Mussolini's 'decade of good behaviour' in foreign affairs. For, as the 1930s started rolling, a combination of various developments opened new options for the Fascists, and as of 1932, Mussolini could start rebuilding his Middle Eastern strategy.[7] In that respect, he seemed to be gaining local partners of great potential - the young, educated generation of the major Arab countries, and their new interpretation of modern nationalism and political Islam. By 1936 the impact of both Italy and fascism on Middle Eastern developments had reached major proportions.

A main reason for this development was the Grand Crisis in western economy and its profound implications on global affairs and on the role of the Middle East in international strategy. This multifaceted issue needs no elaboration here,[8] apart from noting that, at this point, the prestige of Britain and France in Arab eyes began to erode, and that the image of fascist efficiency became more noticed. The crisis itself extended to the Middle East and caused misery in Arab societies, primarily among the educated youth and the professional middle class. The Fascists were better equipped than the British or the French to discern the rapid rise of a frustrated new generation, and the growing bitterness of the middle classes.[9] They were also more attentive to the new tune of the new forces' nationalist militancy, and were quick to make the proper adjustment. The anti-Italian outcry in the Arab press still echoed in 1932 when Foreign Minister Dino Grandi declared that Italy was "the first to become aware

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[7] For more background consult: D. Mack Smith, *Mussolini's Roman Empire*, Penguin Books, 1977; L. Lowe and E. Marzari, *Italian Foreign Policy 1870-1940*, London 1975; R. L. Hess, *Italian Colonialism in Somaliland*, Chicago 1966.

[8] For the latest comprehensive studies on the strategic implications of the Abyssinian Crisis see: M. Cohen and M. Kolinsky, *Britain and the Middle East in the 1930s, Security Problems*, MacMillan, London 1992. See mainly M. Cohen, "British Strategy in the Middle East in the Wake of the Abyssinian Crisis", pp. 21-40; and J. Jankowski, "Egyptian Regional Policy in the Wake of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936: Arab Alliance or Islamic caliphate", pp. 81-97.

[9] On British failure to follow developments and trends among Egyptian youth see: H. Erlich, "British Internal Security and Egyptian Youth" in M. Cohen and M. Kolinsky, *Britain in the Middle East in the 1930s*, MacMillan, London 1992, pp. 98-112 .

of the historical force that inexorably drives the Arab states on the eastern side of the Mediterranean to the conquest of their full and effective sovereignty".[10]

Indeed, the two major components of the Fascists's new strategy in the region began to take shape in 1932. One was an effort to appease both Islam and the emerging pan-Arabism, and to work towards gradually building an alliance with them. The initial step in this regard was the implementation of a new policy in Libya. Now that the *sanusiyya* was nearly extinct as a viable opposition, a campaign began to stabilize the country through the reinforcement of Islamic judicial and social institutions, led by no other than the hangman of Al-Mukhtar, General Graziani, the governor of Libya, Badoglio, and the Minister of Colonies De Bono. Italy's propaganda machinery was geared to spread the new information in Arab countries about Italian appeasement of Islam. Italy's Orientalists, by publishing among other journals in the leading scholarly quarterly *Oriente Moderno*, were now encouraged to spread the concept of Italy's friendliness toward Arabism and historical sympathy with Islam.

The second component was the renewal of aggressive subversion in Ethiopia. Here the departure from *politica scioana* can also be attributed to the rise of Haile Sellasie I (crowned in 1930) as an energetic emperor who, it was suspected in Rome, might unite and modernize the country and thus endanger the safety of Eritrea.[11] In August, 1932, Mussolini accepted his advisers' recommendation to begin a much more active support of the emperor's provincial rivals, and to pursue *politica tigrigna* as preparation for an eventual campaign to conquer Ethiopia.[12]

The connection between these two components was two-fold. First, the eventual conquest of Ethiopia was to pave the way for a later penetration into the Middle East through the Red Sea and the Nile. The first phase of this penetration was to take the shape of 'a general settlement' of Anglo-Italian differences in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, including a revision of the Suez Canal

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[10] Segre, "White Stallion", p. 206.

[11] R. De Felice, *Mussolini il duce. I: Gli anni del consenso 1929-1936*, Turin 1974, pp. 610-614.

[12] For a detailed analysis of Italian policy facing the options in Ethiopia and the relevant dynamism leading to the war see: H. Erlich, *Ethiopia and the Challenge of Independence*, Lynne Rienner Press, Boulder 1986, Chapter 7: "Tigrean Politics and the Approaching Italo-Ethiopian War, 1930 -1935", pp. 135-165.

Convention of 1888, equality of rights in trade with Egypt and other Arab countries, and a total revision of the entire mandatory system in the region.[13]

Second, an active enmity with Christian Ethiopia was to serve in the Fascists' eyes as Italy's main bridge of appeasement of Islam and Arabism.[14]

1933 brought about two sets of relevant developments. In global affairs, the rise of Hitler gave Mussolini the option to resume the old Italian game vis-a-vis the British. More to our point was the emergence of new movements in Arab countries representing the emerging, militant pan-Arabism of the youth, combined in some cases with local territorial- integralist nationalism. Of the latter, the first to appear, (initially in Beirut in 1932), was the Parti Populaire Syrien led by Antun Sa'ada. More significant was the establishment in 1933 in Cairo of the Association of 'Young Egypt', led by the young lawyers Ahmad Husayn and Fathi Radwan. Both movements advocated militant Syrian and Egyptian nationalism respectively, and adopted ideological and political concepts in line with some of fascism's major tenets. (We shall return to this issue). Active pan-Arabism, a revolutionary nationalist ideology of an actively anti-British anti-French nature, was behind the 1933 establishment of the League of National Action in Syria. In Palestine, the newly established (1932) Independence Party, representing the same generation and ideology, initiated violent anti-British (and anti-Zionist) demonstrations in October, 1933. The death in September, 1933, of King Faysal, heralded the beginning of violence in Iraq. A month earlier, the Iraqi army officers had massacred the Assyrian minority, signalling that they were about to intervene in politics and lead the country in a militaristic fashion.

In Iraq, militant pan-Arabism, coupled with chauvinist militarism, gained the strongest momentum since the early 1930s. For reasons outside our scope, the Iraqi Ministry of Education, as well as other government offices of the young state, had begun recruiting the young generation in that spirit as early as the 1920s. During the second half of the 1930s, Iraqi politics, for all intents and

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[13] Meir Michaelis, "Italy's Mediterranean Strategy, 1935-1939", in M. Cohen and M. Kolinski, *Britain and the Middle East in the 1930s*, Macmillan Press, London 1992, pp. 41-60.

[14] Italian reports on Arab Middle Eastern countries during the Abyssinian Crisis, their policies and public opinion, including press cuts on attitudes to fascism and to Italian policy, are to be found in Rome in the series: *Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Archivio Storico, Etiopia Fondo la Guerra, Affari Politici Etiopia*, Buste 1-137. This is perhaps the richest collection of material on the subject. For more details see my *Ethiopia and the Middle East*, Boulder 1994, notes to chapters 8, 9.

purposes, was consonant with nationalist chauvinism of the fascist type. But Iraq was not a Mediterranean entity, and her militaristic Arabism of that period, which started under Italian influence was, eventually, styled after Germany, rather than Italy.

Unlike Iraq, Syrian, Lebanese, Palestinians, and Egyptian society did not have a full sized state army to serve as the focus of nationalistic pride and cultural militarization. However, the new militant tendencies among the educated youth and members of the embittered middle class were fertile ground for Italian fascist propaganda.

The real Italian campaign began in May, 1934. On May 24th a radio station, capable of broadcasting to the Middle East, was inaugurated in the southern Italian town of Bari. From then on, Radio Bari did not cease spreading the word of Mussolini.[15] It did so in nightly programs in literate Arabic, and to an ever increasing audience of young educated listeners in Egypt and the Levant. Italian propaganda elaborated on fascism's natural sympathy to pan-Arabism, and on Mussolini as the protector of Islam, especially since Islam's loss (in 1924) of the institution of the Caliphate (see page 331). The fact that fascism called for the establishment of an empire in the East as well, was to be supposedly bridged by presenting Italy as a 'proletarian nation', deprived of empire by the rich and corrupt Britain and France[16].

With the beginning of broadcasts to the Middle East, Mussolini issued his secret set of orders on 31 May 1934, for intensification of subversion in Ethiopia, the preparations to provoke her to war, and the planning of her conquest. In July *Il duce* personally undertook coordination of the Ethiopian issue, and again he emphasized the aspect of Middle Eastern propaganda. Earlier, in February, 1934, he had twice summoned Shakib Arslan to a private audience. In July Arslan was sent to Eritrea to witness first hand how imperial Italy treated Islam. Arslan toured the Italian colony, where Islam, practised by the weaker half of the population, had been encouraged by Italy to counter the Ethiopian Christianity of the central highlanders. He returned from Eritrea full prepared to become the main Arab spokesman for the Italian cause in the eastern Mediterranean.

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[15] See C.A. MacDonald, "Radio Bari: Italian Wireless Propaganda in the Middle East, 1934-1938", *Middle Eastern Studies*, 1977, pp. 195-207.

[16] See Meir Michaelis, "Italy's Mediterranean Strategy, 1935-1939", in M. Cohen and M. Kolinsky, *Britain and the Middle East in the 1930s; Security Problems, 1935-1939*, pp. 41-60.

In December, 1934, the Abyssinian Crisis began. The Fascists staged the famous incident on the Somali - Ethiopian border at Wal-wal. They then went on to threaten an invasion of Ethiopia, and created an intense international crisis. The whole affair became a major chapter in European history, and practically destroyed the League of Nations and its concept of collective security. After ten months of immense diplomatic tension in Europe, Mussolini invaded Ethiopia on 3 October, 1935.

This year was also a watershed in Middle Eastern history. After Wal-Wal, as Mussolini began to openly defy the British and the French in their very own backyard of the Middle East, a growing sense of galvanized apprehension and of rising expectations swept the Arab public. In the eyes of many - especially members of the emerging middle class - Mussolini was now not only the daring enemy of the enemies, but also a powerful potential friend. Italian propaganda had started disseminating this in Libya in 1932, and the new overt hostility with Ethiopia seemed to be providing the Fascists' machinery with a new and a powerful argument. While Mussolini declared in Europe that he would destroy Ethiopia because it was a barbarous entity by western moral standards, he also told the Muslims and Arabs that he would do so because the Christian empire of Ethiopia was the historical enemy of Islam. He thereby led to the development of an intensive argument among Arabs in the Middle East, which continued all throughout that year. The question on the agenda: did the Italians have a point in aiming to destroy Ethiopia's sovereignty, or was Mussolini just a renewed and an ugly version of the old western Imperialism, became an issue in 1935 around which revolved the basic options then open to the Arabs.

I have elaborated elsewhere, and in detail, on the Arab debate of 1935.[17] Between January and November of that year hundreds of newspaper articles and dozens of other publications, including quite a number of books, were published on the 'Ethiopian question' across the Middle East. Demonstrations, the listing of volunteers, public gatherings, etc. added to the heated arguments. On the surface, the question discussed was the one put forward by Mussolini, namely Ethiopia's legitimacy as an independent state. In essence, the debate revolved around the much deeper issues, of self-identity: on the natures of Islam, Arabism, and of Egyptian nationalism. Inevitably, the discussion on Ethiopia's legitimacy also became a discussion on the attitude toward fascism.

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[17] For details see H. Erlich, *Ethiopia and the Middle East*, Lynne Rienner Press, Boulder 1994, Chapter 8: "The Arabs, Mussolini, and the Abyssinian Dilemma" pp. 95-110.

The Ethiopian debate was so significant because, amid such an electrifying drama, it went into the very heart of all other sensitive issues on the Arab agenda: the international options, parliamentarianism versus authoritative politics, democracy versus dictatorship, generational and socio-economic tensions. All of these became even more principal because of Ethiopia's special place in the traditional conceptual world of Islam.

From Islam's beginning Ethiopia was a major aspect of the crucial issue of Muslims and Islam defining the other.[18] The Prophet Muhammad had special relationships with the king of Ethiopia, who, at a very formative stage in Muhammad's early mission, gave asylum and actually saved the lives of the Prophets' some 150 first followers (in 615 AD). This story, undoubtedly an historical fact, left a double message. One was of gratitude to Ethiopia. A saying was attributed to Muhammad ordering the acceptance of Ethiopia's right to exist as long as she does not take the offensive against Islam, and, by implication, exempting her from holy war even though she remained Christian. As such, the Ethiopian case was unique in Islam, and the concept of Ethiopia as 'a land of righteousness', a legitimate though marginalized and 'left alone' a neighbour, has maintained its essential Islamic legalistic validity to this very day.

The other message was contradictory. By the same early Islamic historiography, the Ethiopian king responded to a later call by the Prophet and converted to Islam (628 AD). He thus made Ethiopia a legal part of the 'land of Islam'. However, the Ethiopian priesthood and nobility revolted against the king, who died soon after, deserted and betrayed. This element of the story (itself very doubtful) initiated the development of a very negative Islamic concept of the independent Christian empire. Throughout the ages, until the Abyssinian Crisis of 1935, whenever Ethiopia was placed on their agenda, Muslim rulers of the Middle East often wavered between the contradictory messages of these traditions. Now, because the neighbouring empire of Ethiopia had become so relevant to the core history of the Middle East for the first time since Muhammad's early career, the discussion of her legitimacy quickly turned into an historical debate on the very nature of Islam itself, and of its messages to modern Arabism and Egyptianism, with all the inevitable implications as regards the attitude towards fascism.

Opinions polarized. The camp which denied Ethiopia's legitimacy belonged mainly to those who opted for Mussolini and the Fascists' eventual victory over

[18] The following is a summary of a theme in my *Ethiopia and the Middle East*, Boulder 1994, mainly of chapter 1: "Muhammad's Message: 'leave the Abyssinians alone'", pp. 3-20.

France and Britain. The leader of that camp was none other than the *amir* Shakib Arslan. In 1935 Arslan published dozens of articles exposing the sins of Ethiopia throughout history towards Islam in general, and towards her own Muslims in particular. Arslan and his colleagues (including the Palestinian leader, the 'Grand Mufti', Amin al-Husayni) never explicitly justified Musso-lini's imperialist ambitions. However, by repeatedly reemphasizing that Ethiopia had been an active enemy of Islam throughout the ages, and by depicting Mussolini as a friend of Islam and Arabism, and as a natural ally against the British, the French, and the Zionists, they worked in fact for the legitimization of the fascist cause. Many other journalists and writers throughout the Arab capitals published works in the same vein justifying fascist designs to punish Ethiopia. At least two such books, one written by an Egyptian and one by a Lebanese, and which were subsidized by the Italians, were published in November, 1935, in Cairo, and were distributed by the thousands all over the region.

Those who denounced fascist aggression referred to Ethiopia mentioning Muhammad's gratitude, and depicting her as an oriental sister worthy of her special legal status, and deserving of sympathy in her plight. In 1935, from an all-regional perspective, this voice seemed to have been somewhat stronger. The leader of Islamic revivalism, *Shaykh* Rashid Rida, the Syrian nationalist and hero of the 1925 anti-French revolt, Dr. 'Abd al-Rahman Shahbandar, and politicians such as the Copt leader of the Wafd Party, Makram 'Ubayd, were among the many who defended Ethiopia and pointed to fascism as the worst product of western civilization. Of the books published in that spirit, it is perhaps worth mentioning the one distributed in Cairo during November by Muhammad Lutfi Jum'a, a liberal and noted proponent of a pluralized all-Eastern identity. In his book *Between the Ethiopian Lion and the Italian Tiger*.[19] Jum'a argued that helping Ethiopia was a major step toward building a future for the entire East on the more human concept of ethnic, religious, and political tolerance. Ethiopia, he predicted, symbolizing the dignity of the East, a state that had beaten the Italians before, would emerge victorious.

Nothing of Jum'a's prophecy was to materialize. Italy's modern army swept into Ethiopia, and by May, 1936, had completed the conquest of the country. By that time the interest of the Arab public had been diverted to stormy home affairs, to which we shall soon return. But the lesson of the Abyssinian Crisis -

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[19] Muhammad Lutfi Jum'a, *Bayna al-asad al-ifriqi wal-nimr al-itali*, Cairo, 1935. For details on all the publications mentioned in these paragraphs see *Ethiopia and the Middle East*, chapter 8.

especially for the young generation in the Middle East - seemed to be clearly received. It was a double-edged lesson. First, the Italians' demonstrations of power, of defiance, and of aggression, were widely admired. An ex-Ottoman army general of black Sudanese descent, who volunteered to serve under Haile Selassie in 1935 and fought in the Ogaden front, published his memoirs in 1937 in Damascus. His early sympathy for Ethiopia became an admiration of Italian might: "There is no morality but in power", he told the young generation in Syria "for in fact, power is morality".[20]

Second, Mussolini tried to prove in conquered Ethiopia that he was, indeed, the true friend of Arabism and the true defender of Islam. His same team which had made the switch from brutal imperialism to promotion of Islamic institutions in Libya: De Bono, Badoglio, Graziani and others, conducted the war against Ethiopia. It also saw to the implementation of pro-Islamic policies in 'Africa Orientale Italiana', the territories of the conquered country, integrated with Eritrea and Somalia. With an eye on eventual penetration from 'Africa Orientale' into the core of the Middle East, a great effort was made to show that the new Italian-Roman empire in the East was an advocate of Islam and Arabism. Between 1936 and Italy's entry into World War II, thousands of new mosques were built in Africa Orientale, Islamic studies were promoted in the main urban centers, and Christian domination over Muslims was practically abolished. Moreover, in all ex-Ethiopian regions where Muslims had comprised the majority of the population, Arabic was declared the official language.[21] Since Ethiopia's Muslims had used a number of different local languages, not Arabic, the introduction of the study of Arabic and its official use, was to serve as a unifying factor for local Islam, and a prerequisite for the eventual imperial connection of the region with the Middle East.

The Fascists' pro-Islamic and pro-Arab enterprise in Africa Orientale Italiana did not go unnoticed in the Middle East.[22] It had, it seems, a greater effect where pan-Arabism was stronger, mainly in Syria. The Syrian journalist, Zabiyan al-Kaylani, published a book in 1937 about a tour he had made in Ethiopia, now

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[20] Muhammad Tariq al-Ifriqi, *Mudhakkirati fi al-harb al-habashiyya al-italiyya*, Damascus 1937, the conclusion, as quoted in *Ethiopia and the Middle East*.

[21] For a comprehensive analysis see A. Sbacchi, *Ethiopia Under Mussolini: Fascism and the Colonial Experience*, London 1985, mainly pp. 161-165.

[22] See more in my *Ethiopia and the Middle East*, Boulder 1994, chapter 9: "Pan-Arabism, Arslan, and the conquered Abyssinia", pp. 111-126. Also, H. Erlich, "Haile Selassie and the Arabs", *Northeast African Studies*, 1994, pp.

'the new land of Islam'. The book[23] praises Shakib Arslan for envisioning Italian victory and for prescribing, in time, for the correct Arab attitude, and also lauds General Graziani (the henchman of 'Umar al-Mukhtar in 1931) for being the true friend of Arabism. The author, after touring 'Islamic Ethiopia', went on to Libya to attend a ceremony in March, 1937, in which Mussolini received 'the sword of Islam' (an ornamented piece which was manufactured in Italy...). Zabiyan interviewed Mussolini and ended his book with quotations of *Il duce* on Italian supervision of Islamic liberation by means of Arabization in Ethiopia.

1935-1939: Fascisization of The Youth?

Italian and fascist influence became a significant factor in the aftermath of the Abyssinian War. Its scope, however, should not be exaggerated. First, Britain and France, in spite of their exposed weaknesses, remained the only dominant powers in the region. Second, the established local elite, though challenged by the younger generation and the emerging middle class, was not ousted from power. Some members of the elite in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq can be said to have been taken up fascism, or were inclined to adopt authoritarian militarism.[24] Yet none of them could realistically aspire to get rid of competitive politics and build a dictatorship. The majority of the political notables, the intellectuals, the members of the elite and many of the middle class had growing suspicions of Mussolini and retained their trust in constitutional parliamentarianism. We shall discuss their reaction to the Abyssinian affair and their growing rejection of fascism in the following chapter.

In general, it was the younger generation which was influenced by what Italy represented and radiated. Here fascist influence fell on fertile ground, but, it must be emphasized, even that was received very selectively.

We have mentioned the emergence of political movements representing the youth and the emerging educated middle class in the midst of the economic crisis during the years 1932 -1933. The Palestinian Independence Party (*Al-Istiqlal*), The Syrian League of National Action (*'Usbat al'amal al-qawmi*), and notably Young Egypt (Misr al-fatat), offered new ideological and political ave-

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[23] Tayyasir Zabiyan al-Kaylani, *Al-habasha al-muslima, mushahadati fi diyar al-islam*, Damascus 1937. More details in *Ethiopia and the Middle East*, chapter 9.

[24] For example the Egyptian journalist Karim Thabit, a close associate of politicians affiliated with the Egyptian royal palace, wrote a favorable biography of Mussolini following a meeting in 1932 with the *duce*.

nues. The latter, as well as The Parti Populaire Syrien, adopted ideological concepts of ultra-nationalist Egyptianism and of Syrianism, which were much in line with fascist aggrandizement of integralist nationalism and totalitarian politics. Ahmad Husayn, the leader of Young Egypt who tried to imitate Mussolini's demagogic speeches, was to publish his credo in a book titled *My Belief*, and coined the organzation's motto: "Egypt above all". The appearance of such movements, however, was far from being of concrete political importance prior to the year of the Abyssinian Crisis. They were, rather, a reflection of the fact that the educated young would not merely wallow passively in their frustrations for long.

The plight of the educated young students, and of members of the expanding professional middle class is of direct concern here, but can not be elaborated in detail.[25] A maze of problems created an angry new generation. The problems coping with the competitiveness of the newly-introduced, western styled advanced education; detachment from traditional families and melting into the anonymity of campuses; the dethronement of the traditional father-figure and the consequential yearning for a collective father; the continuing humiliation of foreign occupation coupled with the mildness, even corruption, of the nationalist leadership; the acute, growing problem of unemployment among the professional or bureaucratic middle class; the role of foreigners and minorities in blocking upward mobility; all these are just a sample of the inherent issues which were radically aggravated during the first half of the 1930s. In all of the countries mentioned above, the local establishments did not fail to discern the rising rage of the youth, and did what they could to establish youth movements, or co-opt the young members of the middle class into their parties.

Fascist propaganda, Italy (and Germany) serving as a model for a revitalized nationalism, were not side issues during the period of 1936 - 1939 in the making of the history in the Middle East. Fascist propaganda and action were primarily important in contributing to, influencing the nature of, and indeed, accelerating the storming of that young generation into politics. The year of the Abyssinian Crisis was indeed, in that respect, a watershed in the entire region of Middle East. Mussolini's propaganda was mainly aimed at the youth of the region. Not all of it, as we shall see, was accepted by the emerging generation, surely not the flagrant imperialist aggression and the racism manifested toward the Ethiopians. But the Fascists' cult of power, the boldness in their defiance of Britain and

[25] I have discussed the inherent problems of Arab youth and especially during the inter-war period in: H. Erlich *Students and University in Twentieth Century Egyptian Politics*, Frank Cass, London 1989.

France, and the effectiveness and efficiency of fascist disciplined militarism were widely admired. The Fascists' success in the Ethiopian affair was at least a trigger in transforming the accumulated rage of the young generation into a political eruption. It proved even more than that in translating the energy of that eruption into elements of a new political culture which typified the 1936-1939 period.

The eruption of the youth took the shape of a series of riots which swept the region not long after the culmination of the Abyssinian Crisis. On October, 3. 1935, the Italians invaded Ethiopian territory and began the actual hostilities. Six weeks later, on 13 November 1935, with the beginning of the academic year in Egypt, the students stormed the streets of Cairo, and for the first time since 1919, introduced active violence to Egyptian politics. Bloody clashes with the British and violent intimidation of the established politicians climaxed and ebbed for a while in December, but were to reoccur time and again until WW II and after.[26]

In December, 1935, anti-French riots erupted in Syria spearheaded by young students and militant politicians such as the leaders of The League of National Action. In April, 1936, a general strike in Palestine initiated by the Independence Party heralded the non-ceasing violence of the 'Palestinian Arab revolt' of 1936-1939. In October, 1936, the 'Bakr Sidqi revolution' in Baghdad constituted the first army officers' coup in modern Arab history. In each of the said countries, and from an all-regional perspective, these events marked a profound change. The fascist-Italian contribution to the making of each one will require a much wider composition. Here we may only suggest that the lesson of violence and defiance was well received and was a major cause of the initial riots.

Moreover, as the eruptive dynamism of that youthful rage was about to be consumed, there occurred a quick process of political reorganization which attested to the extent of fascist influence. For in all of these countries there emerged from the initial riots new youth organizations, practically all of them in the mould of fascist (and, to a lesser extent, Nazi) youth movements.

Here again we can only succinctly summarize what was perhaps the most significant dimension of fascist influence in the Middle East. We have mentioned that during the approximate period of 1932-1933 movements had emerged which expressed the new spirit of rage and defiance among members of the younger generation. In addition, the established political parties of the elite had made an effort to tap, recruit and restrain the new youthful energy. Prior to

[26] Erlich, *Students*, Chapter 3: "The 1935-1936 Student Riots and the Decline of the Wafd".

Mussolini's show of force in the Abyssinian Crisis, fascist influence over these youth movements had been minimal. Anton Sa'ada's Parti Populaire Syrien, an overtly pro-fascist organization, was still small, and Young Egypt's followers, dressed in green shirts, were still hardly felt. In 1933 the Italian legation in Cairo provided the ultra-nationalist leader of the tiny Patriotic Party (*Al-hizb al-watani*), Hafiz Ramadan ('the only true fascist in the country'[27]) with blue uniforms. But his efforts to build an Egyptian movement emulating the Italian fascist Ballila were fruitless. In 1934 Ahmad Husayn of Young Egypt toured Italy, returned disillusioned by the actual achievements of fascism, and ridiculed Mussolini in a series of articles. In 1935 the Italian legation despaired of both Hafiz Ramadan and the Green Shirts of Young Egypt[28].

In Iraq, the early signs of fascist influence appeared in 1933 in the form the then established *Futuwwa* (i. e. The Youth) organization led by both the Palestinian educator and pan-Arabist historian, Darwich al-Miqdqdi, and notably by the director general of the ministry of Education, Dr. Sami Shawkat. The latter, an admirer of Mussolini and of the Italian Black Shirts did his best to spread militant chauvinism among members of the young generation, spear-headed by the students of Baghdad's 'Central Secondary School'. However, the impact on Iraqi developments of the *Futuwwa*, as well as of other organizations and secret associations formed in Iraq in 1933-1935 (most motably The Al-Muthanna Club), was still marginal.[29]

However, in the immediate aftermath of the eruptions above mentioned, such movements mushroomed. Nearly all the existing youth movements, regardless of political affiliation, were transformed into fascist-inspired and fascist-styled paramilitary organizations. We shall mention but the major ones. The 'Green Shirts' of Young Egypt made their renewed appearance in January, 1936, this time with renewed admiration for Italy and with emphatic imitation of fascist organization and ceremonies. Earlier in the first week of that month a youth organization called 'The Squadrons of the Blue Shirts' was established by the

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[27] ASMAE, Egitto B10, "Organizzazioni giovanili nazionaliste, camicie azzure e camicie verdi", 17 March 1934.

[28] Reports on these organizations in Archivio Storico, Ministero degli Affari Esteri (ASMAE), Egitto, B10 and B16. For more information on archival material in both the Italian Foreign Ministry and the British PRO see my *Students and University in Egypt*.

[29] See: Sami Shawkat, *Hadhihi ahdafuna*, Baghdad, 1939.

Wafd Party.[30] It came into being after the leader of the Wafd, Mustafa al-Nahhas, was violently intimidated in late December, 1935, by a group youngsters identified with his rivals. It was then that al-Nahhas authorized a medical student, Ahmad Bilal, an admirer of Mussolini and a leader of a gang of students and young workers, to establish the Blue Shirts. Like all other movements mentioned here, the Blue Shirts fully reflected the fascist esthetization of politics, hierarchical organization, and concepts of discipline and power. They wore uniforms, carried small arms, were organized in squadrons, and were trained to be true to their motto: 'obedience and struggle'. With a fascist salute, parades, ceremonies, paramilitary drills, and the routine exercise of violence against their rivals, the Wafd's Blue Shirts were quite vocal in their presence. The fact that it was solely a branch of the Wafd Party, hitherto the paramount leader of constitutional parliamentarianism, may serve to illustrate the depth of crisis and the extent of fascist influence on the younger generation.

During the same period, in the aftermath of the eruption in Syria, the League of National Action established its uniformed organization: the 'Young Lions of Arabism'. Simultaneously, the party of the established nationalists, the National Bloc, authorized the transformation of its National Youth (established in 1929) into the organization of the 'Iron Shirts'. In January 1936 the Palestinians' Youth (*Futuwa*) was established; an organization of the same name was established at the same time in Iraq. The Iraqi 'Youth' was practically a branch of the Iraqi Ministry of Education and was organized as a part of the state's school system. As mentioned earlier, Iraqi affairs were geared to be more influenced by Nazi Germany than by fascist Italy, and the Iraqi Futuwa was developed along the model of the Hitlerjugend. German influence was also behind the same phenomenon in Lebanon. In November, 1936, the Phalanges (*Al-Kata'ib*) of the Christian Maronites were established by two athletes who returned much impressed from the Berlin Olympic Games. The Muslims in Lebanon soon responded in 1937 by establishing *Al-Najada*.[31]

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[30] On the Blue Shirts and the Green Shirts see James Jankowski, *Egypt's Young Rebels, Young Egypt, 1933-1952*, Hoover Press, Stanford, 1975, and his: "The Egyptian Blue Shirts and the Egyptian Wafd, 1935-1938", *Middle Eastern Studies*, 1970, pp. 77-95. See also Erlich, *Students*, Chapter 3.

[31] For a general analysis of these movements and further bibliography see: Stefan Wild, "National Socialism in the Arab Near East Between 1933 and 1939" in *Die Welt des Islams*, 1985, pp. 126-173.

The eruption of anti-British and anti-French riots, and the ensuing emergence of such fascist-styled paramilitary movements, marked the height of Italian influence in 1936. From then on, it began to decline. Much of the decline had to do with the more exposed imperialist nature of fascism, which we will discuss later. Another reason lay in the fact that, in the short span of the three years prior to WW II, most of the movements mentioned above, though effective in creating a new political climate, failed to win political leadership of their societies.

In Egypt, the old elite and the British hurried to mend their fences, and in August, 1936, signed the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty. The treaty restored, seemingly at least, some national pride, which at the time proved enough to let the steam out of the frustrated youth. The Blue Shirts and the Green Shirts spent the next two years neutralizing one another in constant clashes, until both were declared illegal in 1938. In Syria, the leaders of the National Bloc initiated a similar treaty with France in September, 1936, (which ratification was delayed by the French and never approved). This old guard of Syrian nationalists, now resorting to greater radical pan-Arab terminology, better managed to co-opt the leaders of the League of National Action. Consequently, neither the 'Young Lions of Arabism' nor the 'Iron Shirts' could challenge their supremacy. In Lebanon, the youngsters of Phalanges and of the *Najada* were manipulated by the political elite to remain divided by sectarian and family divisiveness, and neither followed an all-Lebanese nationalist fervour, nor initiated an anti-French struggle. In Palestine, for reasons outside the scope of our survey, the Great Arab Revolt, triggered in 1936, was to lead to the demise and the near extinction of both the Palestinian elite as well as the educated middle class. They fell victim to the rage of the Palestinian lower classes, inspired mostly by traditional Islamic concepts, never really imitating western-styled fascism.

The only victory of the new forces was achieved in Iraq. The army officers, especially a younger group of colonels, which captured actual power in 1938, strengthened the focus on Nazi Germany. (The few early Iraqi admirers of Mussolini, such as the journalist Yunis al-Bahri, also turned to Germany[32]). However, this victory was short lived. After the outbreak of WW II, the Iraqi army rebelled against the British in what came to be known as the Rashid 'Ali revolt. It was quelled by the British in May 1941.

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[32] Yunis al-Bahri boosted his journalistic career in 1934 when he began participating in Radio Bari broadcasts to the Middle East. During WW II, however, he moved to Germany and served as an expert on Arab affairs for Radio Berlin.

In the same May, 1941, the fascist Italian story in the Middle East reached its unhappy end. Earlier in the year, the British defeated the Italian forces, which had invaded Egypt upon Italy's entrance into the war (6.10.1940). As the fascists were forced back in Libya, a British campaign began in Ethiopia culminating in total Italian defeat. On 5 May, 1941, exactly five years after he fled to exile, Emperor Haile Selassie reentered Addis Ababa. Mussolini's dream of entering Cairo riding a white stallion, was never to materialize.

The Major Trend: Rejection

Was Mussolini successful in pursuing a subversive *politica tigrigna* in the Middle East? To what extent were the 'shirt organizations' mentioned above, an indication of the fascisization of the young generation in the region? Any answer to these questions must be a very reserved one. Though a fascist-inclined trend was discernible among politically active youth in the 1930s, the whole phenomenon was much more complex.

For fascist influence to be significantly assimilated by the emerging generation it had to go far beyond admiration for Italian military boldness and a structural imitation of the Italian (or German) youth movements. The 'shirt organizations' in Arab countries, in spite of their drums and trumpets, can hardly be said to have delved deeper into the essence of fascism.

The entire set of ceremonial symbols, uniforms, slogans, parades, etc., was supposed to have functioned among Egyptian and Arab youngsters in the same way for which it had been designed by the fathers of Italian fascism for their fellow western youth. The esthetization of politics - serving to attract and recruit - was also a means to cover up the basic inner contradictions in fascism. In Italy (and other European countries) fascism attempted to create nationalistic harmony among classes of different interests, and at the same time imparted a feeling to the masses that they were active participants in a political system which was, in reality, absolutely authoritarian and dictatorial. In the Middle East however, the charm of fascism in this respect had its limitations. In the quest for their own interpretations of Egyptian and of Arab nationalism, the younger generation in these Arab countries which had come under fascist influence, had major difficulties in covering up inherent contradictions. There were two sets of such contradictions. The first was the contradiction between nationalism and imperialism.

On one hand, fascist concepts of idealist and vital nationalism were quite compatible with the integralist Egyptianism of Young Egypt, and with the ideas inherent in the timely renewal of pan-Arabism. The former was based on the

idealist concept of 'the genius of the Egyptian historic soul'. Pan-Arabism, prevalent mainly in the 'fertile crescent', (though spreading also to Egypt), was based on linguistic-cultural self-identity, very much along the lines of Italian and German 19th century nationalism. Fascist and Nazi revitalization of this nationalism, and the emphasis on the role of youth behind this revitalization, attracted students and young *effendis* throughout the Middle East. On the other hand, however, Greater Egypt itself was supposed to be a regional entity of proud sovereignty. The youngsters of Young Egypt (incorporating Arabism in their Egyptian identity) envisioned an Egyptian state spreading throughout the territories controlled in the early 19th century by Muhammad Ali Pasha. These included the whole of the Nile Valley, the Red Sea coast, even Palestine and Syria. The Pan-Arabists' nationalist aspirations took the shape of a vast, all-encompassing regional entity, (which was to liberate and incorporate the old Italian colonies of Libya and Eritrea as well). The Fascists' dream of an oriental empire could not be regarded by the young Egyptian or Arab nationalists as other than a threat. In the aftermath of the Abyssinian War, for example, leaders of Young Egypt, openly lamented their inability to express admiration for Mussolini, because of their 'fears of his expansionism and his policies'.[33] Indeed, just as fascist influence reached its peak, after the conquest of Ethiopia, it began its deterioration. It must be emphasized that the fascist imperial threat was felt the most in Egypt. In Syria, writers such as Arslan and Zabiyan al-Kaylani could still, in 1937, portray the Italian conquest of Ethiopia as an Arab and Islamic liberation from the Christian yoke. In Iraq, Red Sea and Nile considerations were nearly irrelevant, and western totalitarian influence was, in any case, German rather than Italian. In Egypt, however, the spread of the fascist empire from neighbouring Libya to the very sources of the Blue Nile, and to the Red Sea, created a sense of an acute imperialist threat, much harsher than the old anti-British emotions. In the years following the conquest of Ethiopia, anti-Italian criticism among members of the younger generation in Egypt increased gradually. It was magnified by the growing reservations during that period stemming from the anti-democratic nature of Italy and Germany.

The other set of contradictions had to do with fascism as a political system. Against the increasing disillusion from the old guard's parliamentarianism, the emergence of the "shirt organizations" marked a departure from, and indeed, constituted a bold defiance of, representative constitutionalism. The members of these new movements admired the assumed efficiency of strong leadership, and,

[33] Jankowski, *Young Rebels*, p. 201.

as reflected in their slogans, stood for fascist-modelled authoritarianism. Had a strong charismatic leader emerged during this period he might well have tapped that yearning for a collective father figure and a nationalist saviour. But the years prior to WW II were short on heroic victories and yielded no such figure. There were no prospective *duces* nor *Fuhrers*, and the young generation was most eager to actively participate in politics. Though dressed in paramilitary uniforms, shouting fascist-like slogans about obedience, the new political movements were, for the most part, an effective means of the educated youth in penetrating the thin layer of the hitherto parliamentarian politics, and become leading, rather than muted, members of the political elite.

Moreover, beyond the phenomenon of the new movements there was a very clear element of class tension. The new militant interpretations of Egyptianism and Arabism were also aimed at creating new systems centered around the bureaucratic and military skills of the new generation, rather than on the land-owning and party politics of the old one. In societies rich with the idealist legacies of a dominant religion, militant 'idealistically pure' nationalism also served as a sphere into which less legitimate materialistic interests were often channelled. Though standing in principle for integralist harmony within their Egyptian or Arab nations, the new forces were, in fact, working towards an internal revolution. They represented the urge of a fresh, frustrated but energetic middle class to reorganize the socio-economic structure. The images they received from Italy and Germany of a strong tie between the elite and the masses, with the educated middle class recruited, but often muted, was far from compatible with their aspirations.

In Egypt, disillusionment among the young with fascism began in the aftermath of the Abyssinian War. The greatest admirer of Mussolini in Egypt, a Coptic Christian, author, and a staunch supporter of 'Young Egypt', Salama Musa had made his journal *Al-Majalla al-Jadida* the most conspicuous forum for pro-fascist expressions beginning in the early 1930s. In May, 1937, however, he was left with only a confused message to his young readers:

> Though we denounce Mussolini and explain the meanness and savagery inherent in Italian fascism, this should not prevent us from mentioning the positive aspects of that Satan. The Italian Fascists renewed the agriculture of their country and her economic foundations. This enabled Italy to enlarge her resources... Therefore we

> must admit that in the midst of this evil there is a positive grain, and that the fascist satanic devils who slaughtered the Ethiopians, discrediting the entire human race, still enrich the world with new industries hitherto unknown.[34]

In 1937, Young Egypt's co-founder, Fathi Radwan, wrote a biography of Mussolini in which he exposed the Italian as a pompous demagogue, and fascism as a materialistic movement in pursuit of vain glory, the very opposite of Young Egypt's moral and spiritual revivalism.[35] In 1938-1939 following the official banning and dismantling of the Blue- and the Green Shirts, while Mussolini and Hitler continued to reveal their international aggression, Young Egypt's journal wrote that this aggressive nature:

> eliminated every hesitation, every delusion and every attachment to dreaming - to the dreams of treaties and friendship, cooperation and brotherhood with them ... [Their attacks on other countries] have confirmed the glaring, screaming reality - that they [intended, and indeed] have begun the process of taking over weaker states. [36]

Our discussion of the young generation and its response to fascism in the late 1930s requires a reference to the timely rise of political Islam. We have seen that the Italians and their supporters in the region wanted to build an alliance between fascism and a revitalized Islam. Their efforts, however, bore fruit only where Islam influenced modern Pan-Arabism or integral Egyptianism. Yet, though the emergence of 'the Muslim Brethren' as a major force in Egypt also became discernible in the immediate aftermath of the Abyssinian Crisis, fascism had little influence on the Islamic revival of the period. Indeed, the Muslim Brethren did not follow Arslan's international prescriptions, nor was it interested in the opposite legacies of the 'Young Muslims' and their 1935 pro-Ethiopian

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[34] Salama Musa, "Mussolini and the Shells", in Al-Majalla al-jadida, May 1937, as quoted by Israel Shrentzel, *Democracy and Dictatorship in the Thought of Egyptian Intellectuals, 1933-1944*, An MA Thesis written under the supervision of Professor Israel Gershoni, Tel Aviv University, 1986 (in Hebrew). Shrentzel studied some 250 articles by fifty journalists, as well as the relevant writings of the period's leading intellectuals. The body of evidence he assembled is convincing that the overwhelming majority in Egypt's political public denounced fascism.

[35] Fathi Radwan, *Mussolini*, [Young Egypt's "Book of the Month"], Cairo, 1937.

[36] See A. Ayalon, "Egyptian Intellectuals versus Fascism and Nazism in the 1930s" in U. Dann (ed.), *The Great Powers in the Middle East*, New York 1988, pp. 391-404.

activities. In fact, there was no serious attempt in Egypt by anyone of significant standing to connect Islam to European totalitarianism. Efforts in that vein were made by some of the Palestinian Mufti's aides, and primarily after the outbreak of WW II when they were guests of the Nazis in Germany. Hasan Abu Sa'ud, for example, went as far as suggesting that Muhammad had established an authoritarian system not politically dissimilar to fascism or Nazism, while Islam and western democracy were essentially incompatible.[37] However, the return to Islam of the 1930s in Egypt, also noticeable among the leading members and intellectuals of the westernized elite, was far from a trend towards political authoritarianism. In fact recent research reveals that the period of the late 1930s, was, if anything, marked by a strong campaign, led by the most prominent spiritual and cultural leaders of Egyptian society, for the defence of democracy and of parliamentarianism in the face of the fascist threat.

Judging by the literature and printed media published in Egypt during this period, the picture was overwhelmingly anti-fascist. Almost all the leading intellectuals, most of the 'second-stratum intellectuals' and practically all the major newspapers, weeklies, etc., stood in the forefront against the influence of western totalitarianism.[38]

Not all elements of fascism were rejected. In the years prior to the Abyssinian War and somewhat after, some such elements were presented by noted authors as worth considering. Disillusioned by the corrupt and volatile parliamentarianism in Egypt, and afraid that Wafdist populism might endanger their elitist status, many prominent figures toyed with the idea of a just dictatorship. Eminent among such intellectuals were 'Abbas Mahmud al-'Aqqad and Muhammad Husayn Haykal.[39] The latter was impressed by the fact that, due to

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[37] Information from Dr Irit Abramski-Blay [?] who worked on Nazi documentary. Abu Sa'ud lecture was delivered in Berlin 1942.

[38] Professor Israel Gershoni of Tel Aviv University is currently engaged in an extensive study on Egyptian response to fascism. In a lecture he delivered in Tel Aviv, December 1994, he made a sample list of anti-fascist dailies: Al-Ahram, Al-Ballagh, Al-Muqattam, Al-Jihad, Al-Misri; of periodicals: Al-Hilal, Al-Muqtataf, Al-Risala, Al-Thaqafa, Majallati, Al-Musawwar, Ruz al-yusuf; of intellectuals who contributed consistently to these journals: Taha Husayn, Tawfiq al-Hakim, Ahmad Amin, 'Abbas Mahmud al-'Aqqad, Ibrahim al-Misri, Amir Buqtur, Niqula al-Haddad, 'Ali Adham, Mansur Fahmi, 'Abd al-Razzaq al-Sanhuri, 'Abdallah 'Inan, etc.
I am indebted to Professor Israel Gershoni for his generous help in material as well as for his enlightening comments.

[39] See elaboration in Shrentzel, *Democracy and Dictatorship*, Part I, chapter 4.

authoritarian leadership 'Italy submerged its weaknesses and emphasized its virtues'.[40] On the other end of the spectrum, Salama Musa, the most consistent advocate of fascism in the country, wrote that: "The fascist nations are in a state of constant revitalization and execute new plans as if they were one unified soul. This is because they are led by dictators. The Turks answer the call of Ataturk, the Germans that of Hitler, and the Italians obey Mussolini".[41] Even the noted intellectual, Ahmad Amin, agreed: "Just dictators... are so influential because they are servants, rather than masters, of their peoples".[42] Ahmad Hasan al-Zayyat, a well known journalist, and the founder of an important journal, wrote in April, 1937: "My opinion of Mussolini and of Hitler is that they are a clear manifestation of democracy, for both act from within their peoples and for them, and each of them represents his nation and executes its will".[43]

However, among the writers and opinion-makers in Egypt, even the idea of the 'just dictator', perhaps the only pro-fascist concept which was aired in some positive way, was gradually abandoned. After the Abyssinian War, when Italian fascism was revealed as so imperialistically aggressive, and so capable of stirring, at least indirectly, internal unrest, the trend among Egypt's intellectuals to defend democracy intensified. The literature of the 1930s is replete with expressions of identification with both the mechanism of representative politics, as well as with the abstract values behind liberal democracy. Of the vast amount of evidence it is perhaps worth quoting first the words of Muhammad 'Abdallah 'Inan, a noted historian and journalist, published in the stormy November of 1935:

> Democracy has not lost its great distinction, and is still the basic norm of government whose principles ... epitomize the universal rights and liberties of all civilized nations. This is the secret of its permanence and power ... Democracy's triumph would mean victory to civilization which is based on respect for human rights and

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[40] Muhammad Husayn Haykal in *Al-Hilal*, March 1936, as quoted in Ayalon, "Intellectuals".

[41] Salama Musa, "In dictatorial states", Al-Majalla al-jadida", November 1936, as quoted by Shrentzel, *Democracy and Dictatorship*, p. 88.

[42] Ahmad Amin, "The rarity of heroism" in Al-Risala, 3 May 1937, as quoted in Shrentzel, *Democracy and Dictatorship*, p. 93.

[43] Hasan Al-Zayyat, "On democracy" in Al-Risala, 26 April 1937, as in Shrentzel, *Democracy and Dictatorship*, p. 92.

> freedom. If, on the other hand, the ideas of barbaric force, which are professed by fascism and Hitlerism, triumph, then the foundations of the enlightened civilized world would be destroyed.[44]

'Abdallah 'Inan led the field in exposing fascism as "based on total oppression, chauvinism ... and absolute submission of the individual",[45] but the same very line was systematically pursued by the most prominent shapers of public opinion, such as Taha Husayn, 'Abbas Mahmud al-'Aqqad, Tawfiq al-Hakim, Amir Buqtur and others.[46] Taha Husayn wrote: "In Germany and Italy people think and create the way Hitler and Mussolini order them to think and create. He who cannot put up with such unnatural submissiveness, which defies free reason, has no choice but to emigrate from the country ..." People in these countries, he added "are reduced to a collectivity of living creatures like ants and bees".[47]

Hundreds of articles debating the options of democracy and totalitarianism were published in the Egyptian press during the late 1930s. The overwhelming majority depicted fascism as the embodiment of the barbarization of human culture, a system incompatible with the creative forces of mankind.

"The philosophy of dictatorial regimes", wrote Al-'Aqqad, "is more suitable to the Middle Ages than to our own times"[48]. He explained that the system was so inherently oppressive that "For the last decade no prominent scholar, artist, or author has appeared" in fascist countries.[49] "Fascism", added author and scholar

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[44] Ayalon, "Egyptian Intellectuals".

[45] Ayalon, "Egyptian Intellectuals".

[46] Tawfiq al-Hakim's various articles of the late 1930s denouncing fascism were assembled in one volume issued in 1941 in Cairo under the title *Sultan al-Zlam*, (The Regime of Darkness). Al-'Aqqad's attacks on fascism were summarized also in two of his books: *Al-Hukm al-mutlaq* (The Totalitarian Government) Cairo 1929, and *Hitler fi al-mizan* (Hitler's balance), Cairo 1940. For Taha Husayn see, for example, his article in *Al-Hilal*, February 1937, pp. 361-366;

[47] Taha Husayn in Al-Hilal, February 1937, p. 364, as quoted by Ayalon, "Egyptian Intellectuals".

[48] Ayalon, "Intellectuals".

[49] Ayalon, "Intellectuals".

'Ali Adham, "pursues no happiness, only glory and struggle".[50] It was also infested with ugly racism. In 1934 'Abdallah 'Inan observed that Nazism:

> professes Aryan superiority over all other races, not just over the Jewish race. It deems all non-Aryan races inferior, and holds the people of the South Mediterranean - as well as the Semitic and Eastern peoples in general - to be inferior, and legitimate objects for subjugation.[51]

After the Abyssinian War, Italian fascism could no longer escape its close similarity to Nazism in that respect. If Mussolini took care not to express anti-Jewish racism in Italy, his racist attitudes towards Ethiopians was overt, exposed as an important element in his pro-Islamic propaganda. In his "Between the Italian Tiger and the African Lion" quoted above, Muhammad Lutfi Jum'a, along with many others, attacked Mussolini's racism as being aimed against all Orientals.

The attack on fascism was twofold: its manifestation as an oppressive political system within a nation, and its being arrogance and aggression in international relations. "Dictatorship and war are inseparable twins" wrote Al-'Aqqad in 1937.[52] He led the field in distinguishing between the inherent difference between fascism and democracy in their competition for the future of global order:

> One of the camps [the fascist], is a sample of a vanishing world - that of chauvinism and aggression. The other [the democratic camp] is the one which will shape the future, that of international cooperation based on mutual respect for national sovereignty.[53]

"We do not think" Al-'Aqqad explained:

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[50] Ali Adham, "The fascist philosophy" in Al-Muqtataf, March 1939, as in Shrentzel, *Democracy and Dictatorship*, p. 99.

[51] 'Abdalla 'Inan in *Al-Risala*, 15 Jan 1934 as quoted by Ayalon, "Intellectuals".

[52] Mahmud al-'Aqqad, "The philosopher ruler" in Al-Risala, 4 October 1937, as in Shrentzel, *Democracy and Dictatorship*, p. 98.

[53] 'Abbas Mahmud al'Aqqad, *Hitler fi al-mizan*, Beirut, 1941, p. 247.

> that democracies will avoid subjugating others because of moral considerations; we only argue that they would not find it worthwhile ... For they will get more by benevolent cooperation than by the oppression of the weak.[54]

All in all, the major trend among the opinion makers in Egypt was to present fascism as a deep crisis experienced by the West, a terrible historical moment of passing madness, a disastrous spirit which goes against the grain of human civilization. Fascism was, therefore, of assured temporary duration. 'Abdallah 'Inan wrote:

> On the day Europe recuperates from the social and political crisis, fascism will collapse. Then the ideals of constitutional liberalism will take over again in state and society.[55]

Al-'Aqqad, who in the late 1930s became the most ardent fighter against fascism, added:

> Dictatorship is not to succeed in the West, and the author of this article is certain that it will inevitably collapse in very few years; anyone who survives [the forthcoming war] will witness it.[56]

Al-'Aqqad concluded:

> It is inconceivable that dictatorship would survive, whether it triumphs or loses ... it is unthinkable that human history, after all the progress it has made, would revert to abolishing people's liberties, and to succumbing to the rule of one individual after another. ...
>
> As for democracy, we see, first of all, that it is a system designed for continuity... True, it can not be said that democracy has reached its utter perfection, yet one cannot scarcely argue that its ailments are incurable ... For all these reasons we believe that the future belongs to democracy.[57]

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[54] Mahmud al'Aqqad, "The future after the war" in Al-Hilal, December 1940, as quoted by Shrentzel, *Democracy and Dictatorship*, p. 105

[55] 'Abdalla 'Inan, "Fascism and its principles" in Al-Risala, 7 March 1937, as in Shrentzel, *Democracy*, p. 94.

[56] Mahmud Al-'Aqqad, "Will dictatorship succeed with us?", in Al-Hilal, February 1937, as in Shrentzel, *Democracy*, p. 110.

[57] Al-'Aqqad in *Al-Hilal*, June 1939 pp. 721-725 as in Ayalon, "Intellectuals".

Conclusion

'Abbas Mahmud al-Aqqad's words, as far as the western world is concerned, read like an almost fulfilled prophecy in the 1990s. But what of the Middle East?

It is clear from our analysis that fascism, though indirectly very influential in the making of 1936-1939 Middle Eastern history, itself failed as an Italy's prophetic message to the region. Italian achievements in providing a political and organizational model for angry youth were significant, but fascism as an ideology could hardly be wholly digested, even by the youngsters, certainly by neither the modern nationalists nor the Islamicists. In any case, the period was too short and, at the end, Italy was too weak to enable fascist influence to run its full course. The overwhelming majority of the ruling elite, mainly in Egypt, fearing both Italian imperialist designs and potential fascist inspiration for the challenge of the youth, mobilized its resources to combat the winds of totalitarianism. During the WW II and the years immediately after, this elite managed to stay in power.

During the 1950s and the 1960s however, the youth of the 1930s took over. Nasser and his associates had been affiliated with, or inspired, by Young Egypt just as the Ba'thist leadership in Syria had experienced its formative stage in The League of National Action. The representatives of that generation came to power in the 1950s dressed in khaki uniforms, not in blue, green, or iron shirts, but they were all products of the formative 1930s. Moreover, this new period, under the rule of the military officers, seemed to have fulfilled some of their initial dreams. They managed to obtain national liberation; they liquidated the old political leadership of the landowning urban elite; they experienced the emergence of charismatic and authoritarian leadership; they oversaw the construction of corporative socio-economic systems; they savoured the taste of military might; and they witnessed inter-Arab political unification, which appeared to be heading, amidst a near-messianic atmosphere, towards the fulfilment of pan-Arab national identity as well as towards the establishment of a powerful regional state.

Can we say that this spirit of the 1950s and 1960s was rooted in fascist influence of the 1930s? Any short, one dimensional answer to this question would be inevitably superficial. We can only add here that a primary lesson gleaned from our observations on fascist influence in the 1930s is that even during moments of active foreign input, at the height of western intervention, the major historical trends of Middle Eastern societies were shaped by the dynamism of inner development, rather than the challenge and the influence of outside factors. The impact of fascism, of liberalism, of communism, and of other western ideologies, can be evaluated only by observing them as they percolate through local

values and move against the background of local developments. This generalization is also valid also for those who wish to apply Mahmud Al-'Aqqad's prophesy about the victory of democracy, not only to the West of the 1990s, but to a new generation in the Middle East as well.

NAZISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

14

JEFF J. GUY

FASCISM, NAZISM, NATIONALISM AND THE FOUNDATION OF APARTHEID IDEOLOGY

Introduction

This article was originally written in 1984 when the policy of apartheid, the attempts to defend it by the South African government and its allies, and the resistance to it by the people of South Africa, was tearing the country apart.[1] The international community was united in its opposition to apartheid but, in spite of desperate efforts by the South African authorities to defend themselves by devising alternative terms, the word 'apartheid' had gained international currency and came to stand for the unacceptable racist and repressive policies of the South African government.

While this general, international condemnation of apartheid reflected well on those who took upon themselves the task of exposing and publicising the effects of South African government policy on the South African people, it has also meant that the term 'apartheid' was used in a generalized and imprecise fashion. A feature of this was that apartheid was characterized as fascist and its proponents as Nazi. The article attempted the difficult task of being critical of such facile sloganeering without criticizing the impulse behind it. Thus, it attempted to lay the foundations of a more informed and precise understanding of the policy of apartheid by placing it within a historical context and distinguishing apartheid from other manifestations of racial domination in South Africa, such as the policies of segregation, and the overt racism of *baaskap* and white supremacy.

Now, a decade later, the policy of apartheid has entered the history books. Its legacy is still with us of course, poisoning attempts to build a non-racial democracy, skewing on racial lines access to resources, and bedevilling the

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[1] J.J. Guy, "The Foundations of Apartheid Ideology, and the Influence upon it of fascism and Nazism" A paper written for the UNESCO Division of Human rights and Peace, 1984.

plans being made for reconstruction and development. But apart from a small minority on the extreme right the policy is now abandoned, even by those who devised and implemented it.

The article concentrated on the foundations of the ideology of apartheid, rather then apartheid policy or the means used to implement this policy. It dealt with the theory rather than the practice. It was largely a work of synthesis, utilizing the published books available to me at the time and was based on an important body of secondary literature which had appeared in the immediate preceding years. While representing very different points of view, these books collectively did make it possible to penetrate some of the distortions which obscured so much South African history. Since then a number of new studies have appeared, some of them critical of the previous work, others enabling us to reach a more informed understanding of the subject. While this article attempts to take cognizance of subsequent writings on the subject I have not incorporated them into the text and it remains in substance an article written in the early 1980s. This historiographical context has to be kept in mind.

While I have shortened the paper considerably, and changed the tense in places, some aspects which now could be revised I have left unchanged. The fact that generalizations that were valid in the 1980s no longer always hold in the 1990s reflects the enormous changes that have taken place in South Africa, and this means that this article has to be read as an historical document written in a particular historical context.

Afrikaner nationalism to the second world war

Historical Background

The very success that Afrikaner nationalists had in imposing their authority over the people of South Africa during the past forty years when they held power, and the intensity of the opposition that this provoked, resulted in a rigidity and inflexibility in the historiography of the Afrikaner in South Africa. Until very recently the Afrikaner interpretation of their past was that it was the story of a people who, following a divine calling, had overcome the most fearful odds to establish themselves as the representatives of civilization and Christianity in South Africa. The major opponents of such a view denied its validity with ferocity, but for the most part were unable to move from the historical framework in which the nationalist interpretation operated. It was only in the 1970s that historians were able to mount fundamental challenges to the accepted views of Afrikaner history, as put forward by nationalist historians, as well as their most vocal opponents. Their work enabled us to gain insights into the manner in which the concept 'Afrikaner' had been created, recreated, and redefined in dif-

ferent circumstances; to realize not only the continuities but also the discontinuities in the Afrikaner past; to understand the significance of the moments of extensive mobilization, as well as those of intensive division; to recognize the extent of the ambiguities in their self-definitions and relations with others; and to assess the manner in which the concept of 'Afrikanerdom' has been determined by changing material situations and class forces in South African history.

An important theme in South African historiography is the one which locates the roots of modern nationalist ideologies and contemporary racial policies in developments which took place during the earliest years of European settlement at the Cape, and then traces their links through subsequent developments, to their manifestations in recent times. Such analyses fail to appreciate the dynamics of ethnic consciousness and prejudice, and thus they also fail to understand that racial attitudes and policies emerge from differing economic contexts and are continually reinforced and even at times recreated through changing historical circumstances. While there can be no doubt that certain strains of historical continuity do exist, the danger in maintaining this type of historical perspective is that those features of the past which bolster their argument may assume an exaggerated significance, while other processes and events are excluded. In this manner the present is imposed on the past, and contemporary issues and attitudes are given an unwarranted historical pedigree. The history of the Afrikaner is replete with examples of this approach, and because history has played such an overwhelming role in modern Afrikaner ideology, it is necessary to sketch some of its outlines briefly.

Before the Great Trek

The people who eventually came to consider themselves 'Afrikaners' originated largely from the Netherlands, with smaller groups coming from German states and France. They settled at the Cape in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, initially at Table Bay as servants of the Dutch East India Company, where they founded a base to supply merchant vessels on their way to and from the East. These early settlers brought with them the oppressive social attitudes of a slave-owning society - a legal system which distinguished clearly between the social position and property rights of a leisured class, and those of the subservient labouring class which it led and ordered. These settlers were also characterized by a set of religious beliefs which distinguished between those who possessed religion and those who were believed to be without. Scholars argue that in the first century after the establishment of the European settlement at the Cape, it is impossible to discern the presence of a dominant, racist ideology. Instead one per-

ceives in this hierarchical social structure the evolution of ideas of racial difference and superiority, in an African context, based on selective interpretations of a vastly older belief system.

Historians have identified an intensification of racist attitudes and ethnic solidarity amongst the descendants of the first white settlers in the last decades of the eighteenth century, and have suggested that this shift in prevailing social attitudes had material origins. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, increasing numbers of settlers had moved hundreds of kilometres away from the settled area around Table Bay, and into the interior, where they established themselves as pastoralists, exploiting the labour of the conquered and dispossessed Khoikhoi. Before the end of the eighteenth century, however, this expansion was meeting with considerable resistance from the indigenous inhabitants of the region, particularly the powerful African chiefdoms on the eastern frontier. Moreover, increasing demands on Cape agricultural producers were creating internal economic difficulties, and a shortage of labour as well as a shortage of land. All these factors are seen to have contributed to an increase in the sense of ethnic differentiation and racial supremacy, which was then used to justify the violent dispossession and increasing exploitation of black labour and land by whites[2]. It has been suggested that by the turn of the century, there was considerable prejudice against those perceived to be of mixed racial origin; that expressions of cultural and racial superiority had increased, together with the demand for legal and social discrimination against those assumed not to be of European racial stock; and that a sense of the unique racial and social standing of those who were now beginning to call themselves 'Afrikaners' was beginning to develop[3]. Moreover, amongst the Dutch-speakers themselves, there developed a sense of internal social differentiation, in particular between the more settled and prosperous farmers of the western Cape, and the pastoralists of the frontier - the trek-boers.

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[2] When writing on South Africa one cannot escape using racial terms no matter how inadequate or offensive they might seem as social categories. The terms white, black, and European appear in this paper and the fact that I do not place them in quotation marks does not mean that I accept them uncritically.

[3] Although more than a century was to elapse before the name 'Afrikaner' came into widespread and respected political usage, I use the term broadly in this paper, risking anachronism. However, the history of the changing use and meaning of 'Afrikaner' is itself highly complex, with 'Dutch-speaking South African' and similar terms being preferred by some well into the twentieth century.

The Great Trek

Just at this time when material insecurity was resulting in an intensification of racist attitudes, a major change in the direction of South African history came about in 1806, when the British assumed authority over the Cape. The new authority attempted to enforce the legal system with greater consistency, reforming regulations, and bringing an end to slavery. The farmers in the interior and on the frontier, who where already short of land and labour, and involved in violent struggles with their African neighbours found this intolerable. In the late 1830s, the first of these farmers began to move into the South African interior, skirting to the west of the powerful coastal chiefdoms, and seeking out land where they could establish themselves independent of British authority, and where the proper social distinctions between Christian and heathen, white and black, landowner and labourer, could be maintained. By 1837, over 5000 of these Voortrekkers had left the Cape, and before the decade was over, this number was to triple. It is estimated that an equal number of herders, farm hands, domestic servants, ex-slaves, and the conquered and incorporated Khoikhoi travelled with them. Soon others of African background were also to be brought into the Voortrekker communities by conquest.

This movement, central to the Afrikaner's interpretation of their own history, is known as the Great Trek - an historical event which has become surrounded with symbolic significance. The Voortrekkers' entry into lands considered by Africans as their own domain did not go unchallenged. In 1836 and 1837, the Voortrekkers clashed with the Ndebele, who were driven to the north, while another party defeated the Zulu army in 1838. The Republic of Natalia was set up on the east coast, but the British government, concerned that the depredations of the Voortrekkers, as they established themselves on African land and searched for labour, would disrupt the whole region, annexed the Voortrekker republic in 1842. The highlands of the interior now became the centre of Voortrekker settlement, in spite of the fact that the British considered all those south of the 25°s latitude to be under their authority. After some initial attempts by the British to bring the Voortrekkers under their control, and after much internal rivalry amongst various Voortrekker leaders and their followers, two Boer republics had been set up by the 1860s: the Orange Free State, lying between the Orange and Vaal rivers; and the Transvaal or South African Republic, north of the Vaal. Here the Boers - farmers - carved out extensive farms, upon which conquered African families laboured, handing over a portion of their produce as rent, which the land-owner then consumed or traded. These Afrikaner republics had been founded by conquest, and their continued existence was premised on the threat of violence internally, and armed disputes with neighbouring African

states. Moreover, there was considerable social and economic diversity amongst the Boers themselves. On the one hand, there was the small group of men who had acquired large numbers of farms, and used the wealth derived from them to acquire positions of dominance within the state and increase their status and holdings in property, while on the other, there were significant numbers of landless and impoverished Boers.

Although frequently concerned at the price the people paid for the independence of the Boer republics in the interior; at the reports of atrocities against Africans; at the apparent existence of slavery disguised as apprenticeship; and at the disruptive effects on commerce and trade of the constant pressure on African land, the British could not be persuaded to intervene beyond the borders of their colonies until the discovery of diamonds on the western borders of the republics. Enticed by the vision of a united, stable and prosperous, white-dominated South Africa, based on the diamond industry and its capacity to stimulate capitalist production and development, the British annexed the diamond fields in 1871, and then terminated the independence of the South African Republic in 1877, before moving on to deal with some of the more powerful African chiefdoms. The resistance to these British efforts to speed up the pace of capitalist advance in South Africa was intense and the cost high, with the result that British imperial nerve eventually failed. After what is known in Afrikaner history as the First War of Independence in 1880-1, the British annexation was revoked and the Transvaal regained its independence.

It has long been argued that British policy in this period was an important factor in the creation of a broad sense of Afrikaner identity - that the earlier British annexation of Lesotho at the end of a bitter border war with the Free State Boers, followed by the annexation of the diamond fields in 1871, and then the Transvaal in 1877, generated a conviction that Dutch-speaking, white South Africans had to stand shoulder-to-shoulder against a common enemy - imperial Britain. However, historians now question the major role in the development of Afrikaner nationalism that has been attributed to this premature flexing of British imperial muscle in South Africa. The differences among Afrikaners in South Africa were still significant. There were both large land-holders and impoverished tenants, and very divergent attitudes were held by the Dutch-speakers of the Cape, and those of the Transvaal. In the Cape, the first Afrikaner political movement was founded in 1880, but although there were exclusivist elements within the Afrikaner Bond, as it was called, it was nonetheless argued by many that it should include all South African whites prepared to consider South Africa their home. Moreover, as a British colony, with a parliamentary government, the Cape had an electorate which included not only the more

settled white farmers, producing for the market and for export, and the representatives of a considerable white merchant class, but also a limited number of Africans. This political atmosphere differed sharply from that of the narrowly racist republics of the north, whose white populations were keenly aware of the sacrifices and sufferings they had undergone in order to create their republics, and who attributed their success in so doing to the direct intervention of God. In these northern republics, economic problems and the tensions raised by differential access to land had led to an uncompromisingly vicious racial attitude towards the blacks who worked the conquered land, or who suffered as the republicans tried to bring more land and labour under their control.

The Mining Revolution, the Union of South Africa, and Segregation

However, whatever the exact proportion was of those who supported ethnic unity amongst Afrikaners to those who obstructed it in the late nineteenth century, these differences were never allowed to work themselves out. With the discovery of extensive deposits of gold in the Transvaal in the mid-1880s, South Africa was quickly overtaken by a mining revolution, and the overwhelming demands of capitalist production revolutionized the subcontinent. The hitherto tentative and sporadic developments in Afrikaner ethnic consciousness were swept up by the forces for change springing from the demands of capitalist advance. Initially, the Afrikaners attempted to resist the flood, but even in their resistance, they founded the base of modern Afrikaner nationalism, which can only be understood within the framework of capitalist development in South Africa.

Within two years of the discovery of gold in 1886, over £1.000.000 worth of gold had been exported, and within four years, over 100.000 workers were employed by the new industry. The effect on the white farmers of the Transvaal and the leaders of the Transvaal state was profound, but they were unable to adapt their attitudes and their policies in a manner which satisfied both their own interests, and those of the large, cosmopolitan population in their midst, which included a new class of South African mining magnates, representing sources of largely British capital. In 1896, capitalist mining interests attempted a *coup* in the Transvaal supported by external invasion. The Transvalers defeated the attempt, but it was immediately evident to all Afrikaners in Southern Africa that their brothers and sisters in the north were in a perilous position and needed support.

In 1899, the British forced war on the Afrikaner republics. The Second War of Independence, or the Anglo-Boer War, was fought from 1899 to 1902, between the greatest imperial power the world had ever seen, and a community of

scattered farmers. The highly-mobile Boers adopted guerrilla tactics, and the British responded by destroying Afrikaner stock and homesteads, and herding women and children into concentration camps. By the end of the war, some 26.000 non-combatant Boers had died in these camps, 20.000 of them under the age of 16 years. But although they were ultimately defeated militarily, the Boers emerged from the war with a new sense of unity - a unity based on common sacrifice, suffering, and a hatred for the British which was to be a dominant force in forging Afrikaner nationalism for generations. Not only had the Boers suffered the bitterness of defeat, loss of property, and the termination of the existence of their republics, but also, after the war, they had to experience the humiliation of a policy of Anglicization as British administrators attempted to 'modernize' South Africa, and the advance of British-dominated capitalist production.

In 1906, the newly-elected British Liberal government granted responsible government to the colonies which had replaced the old Afrikaner republics at the end of the war. The Afrikaners now formed active political parties, and soon emerged as a viable political power. The new Afrikaner leadership tended to be drawn from the class of large land-owners, supplemented by men in possession of professional skills, who stood to gain by the development of capitalist production in agriculture, and by the market for local foodstuffs created by the huge labour force on the gold mines. It was men such as Louis Botha and J.C. Smuts, - Boer leaders who gradually accepted British plans for South Africa - who eventually supported a move towards the creation of a unitary state in South Africa. In 1910, the Union of South Africa was brought into existence. The South African Party, which assumed government of the Union, was led by Louis Botha, ex-Boer war general, land-owner, speculator, and supporter of the policy of reconciliation between English and Dutch-speaking South Africans of European extraction. A policy which worked in the interests of capitalist industry, agriculture, and a substantial proportion of whites, was developed and administered by the new government. Thus, in 1911, legislation was passed which reserved certain occupations in the mining industry exclusively for persons of European descent; in 1912 a land bank was set up to provide agricultural credit; and in 1913, the Natives Land Act was passed. This crucial piece of legislation reserved something over 7 per cent of South African land for occupation by Africans who were denied the right to possess land outside these areas.

The effect of the Natives Land Act was to give legal definition to the process of conquest which had taken place in the previous century; to terminate the existence of a class of African peasant farmers; and to create a pool of cheap African labour, ready to be exploited by the class of white capitalists in mining and in agriculture. It laid the basis of a system of labour migrancy, by which

black workers moved from the rural areas to take contracts on the mines for fixed periods, thereafter returning to their homesteads. It created a form of racial exploitation in which production in the rural areas subsidized the mine-owners, enabling them to reduce the wages paid to their workers. This racial division of land, and the movement of workers in the most important sectors of the economy from the rural, tribal areas, to the white, developed areas, led to policies of segregation which were to characterize South African society for the next generation, until secondary industry challenged mining as the major productive sector in the economy.

The Founding of the National Party

However, while the foundations were being laid for racial exploitation under capitalism in South Africa, there were nonetheless important groups of Afrikaners who remained profoundly dissatisfied with the new form of South African government. For them, the Union of South Africa remained a political expression of British dominance. The symbols of dominance such as the Union Jack, the National Anthem, and the Governor-General, were all too obvious, and the predominance of the English-speaker in the state bureaucracy and the professions was evident to all. In 1913, a member of the Cabinet, J.B.M. Hertzog gave expression to his dissatisfaction at the discrimination practiced against Afrikaners and their language. He was excluded from the Cabinet, and in 1913-14 founded the National Party. Hertzog was an ex-Boer war general, land-owner and lawyer from the Free State, who attracted to his National Party those who believed that South Africa under the South African Party was pro-English, anti-Afrikaner, and imperialist. This became evident to all when, in the year after the National Party was founded, the South African government committed its people to the side of Britain and her allies in the First World War. Some Afrikaners rebelled against this action, and the South African government, headed by an ex-Boer war general, shot down forces led by men who had been his comrades-in-arms against the British only thirteen years previously. To the supporters of the National Party and many other Afrikaners, it was clear that Botha and Smuts were traitors to their people - to the Afrikaner *Volk*. Thus, even as Afrikaner nationalism was being created in its modern form, so it began to define the *ware* - the true - Afrikaner, and to exclude from its ranks those whom it was said had betrayed the cause of 'the people'.

From the time of the First World War, the National Party began to grow in strength, gaining support from the economic insecurity of smaller farmers, the pain of the dispossessed, and the distress of the rapidly increasing new arrivals in the towns. Not only did they find themselves obstructed socially and economi-

cally by the English but they also felt threatened by the African working class, who were able to undercut the Afrikaners in the struggle for adequate wages. Emerging class consciousness was infused with concepts of race and nationalism: for an increasing number of Afrikaners, from different class backgrounds, the enemy was not only the African, but also the 'imperialist', the 'English', and the 'Jewish' capitalist, together with the Afrikaners who collaborated with them, like Smuts, who had replaced Botha as leader of the South African Party and Prime Minister on the latter's death in 1919. For many Afrikaners, the enemy was epitomized by 'Hoggenheimer' - the racist caricature of a Jewish capitalist who appeared in the newly created Nationalist press.

The National Party grew steadily. In 1915 it gained 27 seats in the House of Assembly. In 1919, the 44 seats won by the Nationalists forced Smuts to join with the jingoes of the Unionist Party, increasing even further his reputation as a traitor to the Afrikaner cause, and the 'handyman of the Empire'. A crisis of profound importance to the rise of Afrikaner power occurred in 1922, when in the wake of the post-war depression, the Chamber of Mines, in a attempt to reduce its wage bill, tried to place Africans in jobs which were considered to be reserved for white workers. Afrikaner workers united with English-speaking workers and supporters of the Labour Party on the Witwatersrand, and a strike turned into a rebellion. It was crushed by the South African army and air force, with some 150 killed. To the Afrikaners, the same men who had sold out to British imperialism in the First World War and turned their guns against their brother Afrikaners, had done so again in 1922 in the service of the capitalist-monopolists. The Afrikaner Nationalist Party formed a coalition with the English-speaking Labour Party, and in 1924 the alliance won the election. As a result, the Pact government was formed with J.B.M. Hertzog as Prime Minister.

The National Party in Power

The Pact government made fundamental gains for the Afrikaner worker and farmer during its administration. While pursuing a policy of economic nationalism and undermining the dominance of foreign capital in South Africa, the policy of the Pact administration was also highly discriminatory in racial terms, bringing Africans under even more severely discriminatory measures. Legislation was passed to protect white labour against African competition through what was called the 'civilized labour' policy. Measures were taken to protect South African agricultural production, and state funds were diverted to advance South African industry behind protectionist tariff barriers. In 1925, Afrikaans was recognized as an official language, together with English.

Then in 1929, the National Party won an outright majority at the polls, and for Hertzog the major obstacles towards his Afrikaner ideal had been surmounted. There were still problems it was true: an enormous number of Afrikaners in the rural areas were trapped in poverty, and Hertzog's goal of more rigorous segregation could not be brought into being until the National Party had a larger majority in Parliament. Nonetheless, Hertzog felt that much had been achieved: considerable constitutional and economic independence, and equality between the two white groups - the Afrikaner, he believed, was no longer an alien in his own land.

But just at this point, when Hertzog was stressing Afrikaner success and South African independence, external events demonstrated dramatically the extent to which South Africa was dependent on external links with the world capitalist economy. The great depression which began in 1929, and in particular the collapse of the price of exported agricultural commodities, had a profound effect on South Africa. The rural Afrikaner poor suffered especially, and it was now estimated that there were well over a quarter of a million 'poor whites' in South Africa. Hertzog was urged in 1932 to follow Britain off the gold standard, but he resisted this pressure: gold, as South Africa's largest export symbolized South African independence, and was the foundation of the country's economy. Eventually, however, the pressure became too great, and at the end of 1932, South Africa did come off the gold standard.

But far more radical steps were needed if the South African economy was to be restructured in order to overcome the economic disaster and political confusion that the international economic situation was creating. The solution, it was felt, lay in some form of co-operation between the South African and the National parties. In February 1933, Hertzog announced publicly that he would co-operate with Smuts if sovereign independence, equal language rights, economic support for agriculture, civilized labour and segregationist policies were accepted as points of principle. A coalition was formed, and in the elections of May 1933 it achieved a sweeping victory. The next stage was to lay the foundation for some form of more permanent coalition between the two parties.

But on this point there was considerable opposition from elements within the National Party, led by Dr. Malan of the Cape. How could the National Party, these Afrikaners asked, fuse with the party of Hoggenheimer and English imperialism? While Malan felt that there might be some basis for *vereniging* - that is re-unification - with other Afrikaners now in the South African Party, there could be no *saamesmelting* - fusion - with alien capitalists and monopolists who had proved themselves to be the enemy of the Afrikaner. Afrikaner nationalism, for Malan, was not just a political slogan - it was a spiritual force as well, in

which only Afrikaners could share. In July 1934, Malan and his followers in the Cape, together with a minority from the Orange Free State, formed the *Gesuiwerde* - the Purified - National Party, leaving Hertzog and his followers to fuse with the South African Party and found what became known as the United Party. It was the *Gesuiwerde Nasionale Party* (henceforth the GNP) which, with great enterprise and energy, laid the ideological foundations which attracted mass support from Afrikaners in the 1930s, saw the movement fragmented under the impact of the effects of the Second World War, and eventually recovered to achieve political power through the ballot box in 1948, after which it initiated the policy of apartheid.

The Gesuiwerde Nasionale Party and the Afrikaner Broederbond

While opinions on the nature of modern Afrikaner nationalism are as divided and different as attitudes towards South Africa itself, there is general agreement that the formation of the GNP was the manifestation of an extremely significant shift in the nature of Afrikaner nationalism and its historical direction. For the supporters of the GNP, it was the beginning of an era which was to culminate in the final victory of the historical mission to which divine forces had appointed the Afrikaner. Many historians have noted that it was the beginning of the end of the era in which South African politics had been dominated by Boer war generals. These were men who found that they could accommodate their ideas to the demands of big capital, or who, like Hertzog, could at least consider the idea of non-Afrikaans-speaking Afrikaners - once Afrikaans-speaking Afrikaners were securely established. The advent of the GNP was the beginning of the era in which Afrikaner politics began to be dominated by men whose background was in the towns rather than the countryside - the lawyers, ministers of religion, teachers, and academics (de Klerk 1976: 113-14). With the emergence of these new men came new ideas which concentrated and gave a new interpretation to the fundamentals of Afrikaner thinking. (Moodie: 1975)

The rise of the GNP cannot be understood without an analysis of an organization working to a large extent within it known as the Afrikaner Broederbond. 1918 was a year of great suffering for the Afrikaner. Agricultural prices were depressed, and the rebellion which had just taken place had turned Afrikaner violently against Afrikaner. Those in the towns were suffering the impact of urbanization and the arrogance and prejudice of the English-speakers who dominated commercial and urban life. In the same year a group of young Afrikaners founded the Afrikaner Broederbond. The organization pledged itself to unite the Afrikaner people, healing the divisions created by political, cultural and economic oppression by disseminating amongst Afrikaners a knowledge of their

common history and culture, firmly rooted in Christian belief. It emerged at first in the north where the Afrikaner had borne the brunt of the Anglo-Boer war and its aftermath, agricultural commercialization and depression, and the trauma of urbanization and poverty. Unless the Afrikaner was to be overwhelmed by economic pressures and political and cultural domination, these young men argued, mobilization was absolutely necessary. It is in this context that we have to see the emergence of the Afrikaner Broederbond as a force in the South African situation.

Members of the Broederbond had to be over 25, white, male, Protestant, financially stable, and committed to the advance of the Afrikaner. New members were selected by existing members, and their names circulated for rigorous screening before admittance to the organization. The basic unit of the organization was the local cell which was linked in a series of hierarchical structures which channelled the members' feelings and opinions to front organizations which dealt with matters considered to be of national importance.

By the end of the 1920s, the Broederbond was no longer led by the teachers and the railway clerks and policemen who had been its founders. It had begun to attract men of position, dissatisfied with Hertzog's apparent backsliding from Afrikaner principles. Significant amongst their number were academics, theologians, and intellectuals who had studied in Europe, and increasingly from the mid-1930s leading politicians such Dr. Malan, leader of the GNP, J.G. Strydom, leader of the GNP in the Transvaal, and C.R. Swart of the Free State. Nonetheless in spite of its influence through cultural and educational front organizations the Broederbond had always to share power with the formal, open political organizations. Thus while its impact was immense, it was not consistently so. It is therefore essential that, while the Broederbond's role in Afrikaner history is given due weight, its influence is not exaggerated or sensationalized as has been the tendency.

Many of the intellectuals who came to the fore in the Broederbond in the late 1920s and early 1930s were men who had been students in Holland, and had been profoundly influenced by developments within Dutch Calvinism in the earlier part of the century, particularly the thinking of Abraham Kuyper. Moodie, who dealt with this influence in detail, has labelled it 'Kuyperian', and amongst those affected by it were N.J. van der Merwe of the Orange Free State, a minister of religion who resigned to take up active political life: J.D. du Toit, the poet, J.C. van Rooy and L.J. du Plessis of Potchefstroom University; and T.J. Hugo and H.G. Stoker of Pretoria University. In their abstruse debates on the lessons that neo-Calvinism held for Afrikaner nationalism, and the ordering of society in general, these Afrikaner intellectuals succeeded in giving depth and

respectability to Afrikaner thinking in the 1930s. Particularly significant were Kuyper's ideas of the sources of authority in the State, and the distinction he drew between mechanical, State authority, which had its origins in man's sinfulness, and the autonomy of the different social spheres, all under divine authority. Moodie shows how these ideas were extended by Afrikaner intellectuals to include the autonomy of different national groups, and takes the example of Professor Stoker, who argued that nations have unique autonomies, and different roles to play in the divine plan (Moodie 1975: 65-67). De Klerk makes the point that Kuyper often had recourse to the biblical story of the Tower of Babel to explain 'the origins of peoples and nations' (de Klerk 1976: 258). In the years to come, Afrikaner theologians were to exploit this biblical precedent for ethnic discrimination and separation on many occasions.

Such ideas provided a set of rather rarefied principles for esoteric debate amongst academics with a theological bent. It was when these principles were used to interpret the wider Afrikaner social experience that they were ultimately to have great influence on the development of Afrikaner nationalism. Theologians and academics were able to select and stress certain elements, and suppress and diminish others, thereby discovering a greater continuity in Afrikaner history, and solidarity amongst Afrikaner people. This new intensification of older ideas was characterized as Christian Nationalism, a name taken from a movement which had its origins in the period of resistance to Anglicization at the beginning of the century, but which was invested with a new urgency in the 1930s.

As could be expected of a people from the Dutch Reformed tradition, Christian Nationalism was Calvinistic, and held that the Afrikaners were a people elected to a divine task in Africa. Afrikaner history showed God at work amongst his people punishing them for disobedience in their defeats, and rewarding them in their victories for obeying His word. This was most clearly demonstrated in 1838 when the Voortrekkers made their Covenant with God by which they pledged that they would keep sacred for ever the day that God delivered the Zulu into their hands.

In the twentieth century, it was first the poets and writers, pressing for the recognition of the Afrikaans language, who kept the flame of the 'sacred history' alive and developed its themes and furthered this interpretation of the Afrikaner past. For them God had worked His will through His people's history. It was this idea of a divine mission revealed in Afrikaner history that the intellectuals seized upon in the 1930s, and through the Broederbond and its front organizations, presented to the Afrikaner people. Historical anomalies, ruptures, and discontinuities were ignored, and a *Volk* history of struggle, defeat, and regeneration

was propagated. Most importantly, this was not offered merely as an historical interpretation: the latest chapter of the Afrikaner epic was to be seen in the present crisis, in the divisions in contemporary Afrikanerdom, the poverty in the rural areas, the social problems of the Afrikaner working class, and the denial of the major themes in Afrikaner history implicit in Fusion. In schools, meeting places, and cultural organizations throughout the country, the Afrikaner had to be made aware of the urgency of the present crisis and the need for concerted action.

To carry out this task, the Broederbond, in 1929, founded its most effective and powerful front organization, the *Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings* (the Federation of Afrikaner Cultural Organizations - henceforth the FAK). Through the FAK, the Broederbond was able to work to disseminate its ideas to the most remote rural areas, and reach young and old Afrikaners alike, through cultural meetings, discussion groups, debating societies, and social gatherings. In the name of Christian Nationalism, activities were organized which promoted Afrikaner culture and a sense of Afrikaner identity and solidarity. The promotion of these nationalist values was seen as part of the greater plan which the divine will had revealed in the past, and which it was the Afrikaner's duty to reveal in the present. By 1937 there were some 300 organizations affiliated to the FAK.

Another important influence on the developing redefinition of Afrikaner nationalism in the 1930s was the group of young Afrikaner intellectuals who returned after studying in Holland and in Germany. Amongst their number were men who were to play a central role in subsequent Afrikaner history, such as N. Diederichs, who before the end of the decade was Broederbond Chairman; H .F. Verwoerd, the professor of sociology at Stellenbosch, who subsequently became editor of the newspaper, *Die Transvaler;* P.J. Meyer, also to become Broederbond Chairman; Albert Hertzog, son of the Prime Minister; and G. Cronje, whose writings were to directly influence apartheid ideology. These names will all appear in the narrative that follows, but historians have paid particular attention to the pioneering role of Diederichs who, de Klerk said, was "to form the corner-stone of the great theorizing which was to arise from the fundamentals of the nation" (de Klerk 1976: 203) in his 1936 pamphlet *Nasionalisme as Lewensbeskouing en sy verhouding tot Internasionalisme* (Nationalism as a World View and its Relation to Internationalism).

Moodie, de Klerk, and Simson have all studied Diederichs' work in some detail, and from their analyses, it is apparent that his work can be seen as a critique from the right, of modern capitalist society in which social existence is fragmented, and man is alienated from himself and from others. Man, Diederichs

asserted, is a social being, but his social potential can only be realized in a national setting. Democratic liberalism and universalism deny this and bring about excessive and inhuman individualism. It is only as a member of a nation that man can realize his social nature, and this realization in turn is not given, or biologically determined, but must be created through activity - man realizes his spirituality by creating a national existence and acting in accordance with its demands. Moreover, expressions of national identity are also expressions of God's will perceived in the life of the nation. As Diederichs wrote: "To work for the realization of the national calling . . . is to work for the realization of God's plan. Service to the nation is thus service to God". (quoted in Moodie 1975: 159).

Although the significance of these intellectual developments is apparent in retrospect, it must not be forgotten that, at the time, they were the province of an elite and we must remember that in the mid-1930s, the GNP was a minority party, and a small one at that. Furthermore the Broederbond was widely considered to be an unacceptable, extremist organization, using underhanded methods as political weapons. This was the view of many Afrikaners within the United Party, including J.B.M. Hertzog.

The United Party at this time had the added advantage of being associated with an easing of South Africa's financial difficulties. The period after Fusion was one of general economic recovery. After South Africa went off the gold standard, the price of that metal doubled, creating resources for investment, and thereby stimulating manufacturing. During the 1930s, the number of workers in industry in South Africa virtually doubled, and many of these workers were attracted from the agricultural sector, The threat that such developments posed to white agriculture was alleviated to a degree by the establishment of state controlled marketing boards, and the famous 'Hertzog Bills' of 1936. This legislation can be seen as the high point of the system of 'segregation'. The Natives Trust and Land Act of 1936 released a minute portion of land which would be reserved for African occupation, but at the same time introduced heavy penalties in a bid to force Africans on white farms into wage labour. The Representation of Natives Act of the same year removed Africans from the common electoral role allowing instead white representation in Parliament, and a Native Representative Council without legislative authority. Racial domination was accepted by all formal parties, the only debate being over the form it should take.

The success of the United Party government was reflected in the general elections of 1938. Although the GNP did gain 7 seats, they were still overwhelmed by the 111 United Party seats against their 27. Thus, the Broederbonders were forced to continue to work outside the parliamentary system, and

they mounted attacks on a wide range of fronts, with the aim of breaking Afrikaner attachment to foreign influences and organizations and to the big capitalist enterprises and political parties associated with them - and therefore with the oppression of the Afrikaner.

We have already seen how the FAK was formed in 1929 as a front for the Broederbond, which served to co-ordinate activity in cultural and educational fields. Just as significant was the activity by leading Broederbonders on the economic front. In spite of the economic advances in the South African economy in the 1930s, the Afrikaner was still at a great disadvantage when compared to the English speaker. By the end of the decade it was estimated that at least a quarter of a million Afrikaans-speakers were still in the depths of poverty. It was clear that if the Afrikaners were to move into a position of dominance in South Africa, it was necessary for them to mobilize, as Afrikaners, in order to improve their economic standing.

Another area in which the Broederbond concentrated was that of labour organization. For the Bond, the recruitment of Afrikaner workers to industrial unions, and the possibility of the emergence of a powerful class consciousness rather than an ethnic one, were dangers that were viewed with an extreme apprehension. Thus, in 1936, the *Nasionale Raad van Trustees* (the National Board of Trustees - NRT) was founded, with Diederichs, P.J. Meyer, and Albert Hertzog as members, with the aim of breaking Afrikaner commitment to the Labour Party and industrial unions, and organizing unions on ethnic lines - while in the process gaining access to Afrikaner worker funds. Later in the same year, the *Afrikanerbond van Mynwerkers* was founded.

But it was in the cultural field that perhaps the most positive steps were taken. The event which marked this advance and was to have a profound impact on the development of Afrikaner ethnic consciousness was the *Eeufees* - a country-wide celebration of the centenary of the Day of the Covenant (16 December 1838). To mark the centenary of the Great Trek it was decided that ox-wagons should repeat the journeys taken by the Voortrekkers one hundred years previously. The passing of the wagons through towns and villages on their way to Pretoria became occasions of great excitement. Men and women emulated the Voortrekkers in their dress and appearance, and speeches and prayers were made to extol the virtues of their ancestors, to remember the divine responsibility which God had placed on the Afrikaner nation, the need for sacrifice in the cause of Afrikanerdom in the contemporary world, and to heal divisions by creating a sense of *volkseensheid* (national unity). In speech after speech this theme emerged: the Afrikaners were now not only a rural but also an urban people, and as an urban people, they were threatened from above by the 'foreign'

capitalist, and from below by the African. Afrikanerdom had to intervene and act, to save not only the impoverished rural 'poor white', but also the beleaguered town dweller: what was needed was a *reddingsdaad*, an act of rescue, by Afrikaners for Afrikaners. The point to be remembered, however, is that while it was the celebration of an historical event, it was also a contemporary intervention in the cause of ethnically-organized capitalist advance.

Determined not to allow this country-wide upsurge in nationalist fervour Afrikaner leaders acted to capture the forces unleashed by the Eeufees. In the economic field, the *Reddingsdaadbond* was formed to collect the economic contributions made at the time, and plans were made for the First Economic Congress in 1939. It was now recognized that the Afrikaner's future lay not only in the rural, agricultural world, but also in the commercial, industrial, and urban context. The *Ekonomiese Instituut* (Economic Institute) was set up under the FAK, to guide and develop the 'People's' economic movement, and the exclusive ethnic ideal was invoked to speed the forward movement of Afrikaner capital. In the name of the Afrikaner past, the Afrikaner future was to be secured by the ethnic mobilization of financial resources.

Another result of the fervour aroused by the events of 1938, and the conviction felt by so many Afrikaners that the emotional impetus should not be lost, but used to consolidate and bring to an end the divisions in Afrikaner ranks, was the founding of a movement which is of particular significance for this paper. This was the *Ossewa-Brandwag* (the Ox-Wagon Sentinel - henceforth the OB), an organization with strong national-socialist leanings. With its founding, it is possible to examine in some detail the effects of the emergence of fascism and Nazism on events in South Africa during the 1930s.

Nazism, fascism, and the second world war

Background

It is not difficult to understand why there was a propensity amongst a significant number of white South Africans, the Afrikaners in particular, to look with interest, and even some sympathy, at the rise of the Nazis in Germany, their advent to power under Hitler in 1933, and the proclamation and enactment of the main tenets of national-socialism. A political ideology based on ideas of racial superiority, extreme nationalism, national historical destiny, anti-Semitism, anti-liberalism, and anti-communism would obviously find adherents in a country where racial domination was a *sine qua non* amongst the ruling classes, and where, while many advocated democratic procedures and the principles of the rule of law, such democracy and legality operated only for a racial minority, and was not shared with the black majority. Anti-communism and anti-Semitism

from Nazi-influenced groups developed in the wake of Jewish immigration and the organization of black and non-racial trade unions in South Africa in the 1930s. When it became clear that Great Britain was to form the main rallying-point for anti-Nazi forces, few Afrikaners (amongst whom were many of German descent) had to be reminded of Britain's role in their own oppression, and this persuaded many to adopt a pro-German stance. When in the early years of the war it seemed that Germany was to be victorious, a pro-Nazi attitude appeared to be not only emotionally satisfactory, but also eminently practical politically.

Nonetheless, the identification of Afrikaner Nationalists with the 'Nazis' and 'fascists' has been made and continues to be made too often and too easily. In many ways one can understand why the terms have been made in this context. After all, it is hardly reasonable to expect an objective analysis from the embattled trade-unionists of the 1930s, subjected to the taunts of 'Communist-Jew' (Sachs 1957: 132ff) and violence from 'Shirt' organizations, backed by men like Albert Hertzog, determined to break non-national unions. One has to admire Bunting's fine compilation of facts on the history of oppression in modern South Africa, even if one ultimately disagrees with the thesis implicit in the title *The Rise of the South African Reich*. It is also possible to understand the United Party leaders during the Second World War, who, faced with war abroad and sabotage at home, lumped the internal opposition together, labelling it as 'Nazi' and 'fascist'. Even today, it is clear that many of those who oppose apartheid are satisfied that it can be understood merely as the policy of the jack-booted Afrikaner fascist.

With hindsight, and the emergence of a clearer idea of the class dimension in South African history, however, it is possible to see that the situation was actually far more complex, and that if we are to identify more precisely the factors in racial oppression in South Africa, it is necessary to move away from mere name-calling, and into controlled analysis. To begin this, I wish to examine briefly the impact of Nazi-sympathizers on South African affairs through the 1930s and into the 1940s, as an introduction to a discussion of their effect on Afrikaner Nationalists, in particular those who were to develop apartheid ideology.

Anti-Semitism and the 'Shirt' Organizations

One of the earliest manifestations of the influence of developments in Germany was the emergence of anti-Semitism in South African life and politics. While the concept of 'Hoggenheimer' had an anti-semitic aspect, and anti-Semitimism was a feature of the English speaking ruling class, there was no tradition of virulent

anti-Semitism in South Africa. And in spite of the generalized racism amongst whites - evident, for example, in the 1930 Immigration Quota Act - certain sections of the National Party continued to argue against anti-Semitism well into the 1930s. However, the arrival of an increasing number of Jewish refugees from Europe in the 1930s, coinciding as it did with economic depression in the rural areas and smaller towns, and the concurrent noise of anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany, contributed to an increase in anti-Semitism in South Africa, that eventually found an official voice in the National Party.

A number of organizations modelled on fascist and Nazi movements in Italy and Germany, and viciously anti-semitic, emerged in South Africa when the Nazis came to power in Germany early in 1933. Movements like *The Gentile Protection League* and *The People's Movement* in Cape Town appear to have had few followers, but were nonetheless able to keep producing a steady stream of racist publications. A more significant organization was *The South African Fascists*, led by Johannes Strauss von Moltke. On the Witwatersrand, *The South African National Democratic Party* was active under the leadership of Manie Wessels, and this in turn created the Blackshirts, founded early in 1934 by Chris Havemann, and which provided thugs to break up meetings of non-nationalist trade unions with shouts of 'Jew-Communist'.

The best-known of the overtly anti-semitic Nazi movements was *The South African National Party* (originally called *The South African Gentile (Christian) National Socialist Movement*), and its uniformed section, the Greyshirts, detailed to 'protect' its founder and leader, Louis Weichardt. The founding of the Greyshirts, he wrote:

> was greeted with a howl of rage from South African Jewry and likewise from those renegade Europeans ('Gentile Hoggenheimers', as they are commonly called) who include the greater number of our professional politicians and who show more diligence and zeal than even the Jews themselves in exploiting and oppressing the unhappy South African people. ...

Weichardt believed that his party should work towards ending the antipathy between Afrikaans and English-speaking South Africans, and that the way to do this was to demonstrate the difference between 'British imperialism' - a positive force - and 'capitalist-Jewish-finance imperialism', which, if the Afrikaner but knew it, was the true cause of his suffering. Moreover, the British themselves

had to realize that Britain's world role had to be reformed "if White Christian European civilization is to be preserved as the directing force in the world."[4]

Much of the propaganda which the Greyshirts and other imitation Nazi movements in South Africa published was translated, or reproduced in the case of cartoons, directly from Nazi journals, and the Nazi periodical *Blitz* even carried a South African newsletter (See *The Anti-Jewish Movements in South Africa. The Need for Action*: 1936).[5] It must not be assumed, however, that this sort of political pornography was easily accepted by a majority of Afrikaner Nationalists at first. In 1934, *Die Burger* attacked the authoritarian structure of the Greyshirt movement (Bunting 1969: 60), and in 1936 Malan was still able to attack anti-Semitism, although his statement was based on a broader racism. In South Africa he argued, "we cannot discriminate against the Jewish race or any other race. All who are white in this country deserve to stand on an equal footing politically and otherwise" (quoted in Moodie 1975: 166).

But pressure on the South African government increased, and there were anti-semitic demonstrations in the Cape when vessels arrived bringing Jewish refugees from Europe to South Africa. The Greyshirts played a major role in organizing these protests, and some of the leading members of the GNP played a role as well. When the 1937 Aliens Bill came before Parliament, Nationalists gave full expression to their anti-semitic feelings, but their proposed amendments were defeated. In 1939, Eric Louw of the GNP, and later Minister of Foreign Affairs, introduced a strongly anti-semitic private members' bill which was defeated (Bunting 1969: 63 - 64).

An area of considerable pro-Nazi activity was South-West Africa, whose German population was encouraged by Hitler's demands for the return of the colonies removed from German control by the Treaty of Versailles, and by direct interference by the Nazis in South-West African affairs. Such interference was apparent when, in 1936, the South African government initiated an inquiry into Nazi activities in South-West Africa. The findings were sufficiently disturbing to the government to cause it to outlaw the Nazi movement.[6]

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[4] Weichardt's article from which these quotations are taken was published in the British *Fascist Quarterly* in 1936.

[5] I have drawn much of the information on the various 'shirt' movements from this pamphlet, published by The Executive Council of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, together with relevant entries in the *Standard Encyclopaedia of South Africa*, some of which were written, perhaps significantly, by a J. von Moltke.

[6] Extracts from the 'Report of South-West Africa Commission, 1936' are reproduced in *The Anti-Jewish Movements in South Africa*.

It is the subject of anti-Semitism which allows us to introduce a leading figure in Afrikaner political history, H.F. Verwoerd the Dutch-born professor of sociology at Stellenbosch in the Cape. In the Broederbond studies of the 'poor white' problem, Verwoerd demonstrated a remarkable capacity for hard work, an enormously retentive mind, and the ability to mesmerize an audience with a flood of words, racism, and political ruthlessness. In 1937 Verwoerd and four other Stellenbosch professors formed a delegation to the government to protest against Jewish immigration. In the same year, he was appointed first editor of a new GNP newspaper in the Transvaal. *Die Transvaler*'s first editorial was on 'the Jewish question', and it was a piece of writing typical of the man: an anti-semitic tract presented in the form of a just and rational argument.

Afrikaner Intellectuals and National-Socialism

A number of leading Nationalist intellectuals who emerged as figures of significance in the 1930s, and who propagated intensely nationalistic political philosophies, had studied in Holland and Germany. South African Military Intelligence during the Second World War alleged that it had uncovered links between some of these men and the German government. In 1944, it was reported that Dr. N. Diederichs had been sent to Germany in the 1930s to study national socialism, and had been trained 'as Quislings in the Nazis' Anti-Komintern training school'. He had also addressed a meeting of 'leading' Nazi officials in Berlin in 'Goering's Grand Aviator's House'. P.J. Meyer conducted student tours of Germany 'with the most cordial co-operation of the Nazi Government' (quoted in Serfontein 1979: 63ff).

While these men were clearly sympathetic to Nazi Germany we should still take note of O'Meara's warning against relying too heavily on the Military Intelligence Reports upon which these allegations are based. This is not to deny that links existed. But this does not mean that men like Diederichs and Meyer were part of a Nazi-inspired conspiracy which operated through the Broederbond. Meyer's writing shows the influence of national-socialist thinking (de Klerk 1976: 214-15), and his political involvement with the national-socialist Ossewa-Brandwag also suggests a sympathy for Nazism at one stage of his life; yet at the same time, the influence of neo-Calvinism and intense Christian Nationalism are equally evident (de Klerk 1976: 215). And while Diederichs wrote approvingly of developments in fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, there is also evidence which directly contradicts the view that he was unequivocally sympathetic to national-socialism. (Simson 1980: 172 and Moodie 1975: 165).

At the same time, it is not difficult to understand why, during the 1930s and early 1940s, a large number of Afrikaners developed a generalized attraction for

national-socialist ideas, even if they were unable to adopt the ideology totally. An obvious feature of Nazi thinking is its violently anti-democratic nature and its impatience with parliamentary forms of government, and while South Africa has never been democratic in any accepted sense, the right of whites to participate in a democratic process and the party political system has been widely supported. In the 1930s, however, this point of view came under attack from groups influenced by national socialist thinking which asserted that party politics were ineffectual given the challenges of the twentieth century and the threat posed by Jewish-Communism and Bolshevism. Such sentiments emerged in South Africa at a time when the impetus produced by Broederbond-backed Christian National fervour seemed constrained by the hesitant tactical manoeuvrings of the party politicians. The great emotional upsurge in the cause of national unity (*volkseensheid*) contrasted sharply with the petty divisions amongst the Afrikaners in the United Party and the GNP, and the failure of the GNP to commit itself publicly to an Afrikaner republic. This persuaded many Afrikaners that their objectives were not likely to be achieved by party political methods, and was to become a major and divisive theme in the 1940s. Even in the 1930s, particularly in the Transvaal, where the party organization was at its weakest, there emerged a number of fringe organizations agitating for a unitary state without democratic rights for citizens outside the ruling clique, and with some members even exhibiting putschist tendencies (Moodie 1975: 141-45).

With this brief outline of the impact of national socialist thinking in South Africa in the middle years of the 1930s, within the context of a racially-exclusivist, committed, but deeply-divided Afrikaner nationalist movement, we can turn to the event which, although imposed on South Africa from the outside, was to dramatically change the course of the history of Afrikaner nationalism.

The Outbreak of the Second World War and the Formation of the Herenigde Nasionale of Volksparty

On 1 September 1939, Nazi Germany invaded Poland, and on 3 September Britain and France declared war on Germany. The House of Assembly in South Africa was sitting at the time, and it was immediately clear that a course of action had to be decided upon. The major theme of Prime Minister Hertzog's long political career was South African independence, and he was predictably determined that his government should not follow Britain into a European war which was not South Africa's direct concern. The Cabinet was divided on the issue, and Smuts took half of its members with him when he argued that the dispute was not just a European issue, but concerned matters of international significance in which South Africa was involved. On 4 September the matter

was put to the house of Assembly, and by 80 votes to 67 it was decided that South Africa should break off relations with Germany, and should not remain neutral in the conflict. Hertzog resigned and crossed the floor with 40 supporters to join Malan's GNP. On 9 September, a huge meeting took place in which Malan and Hertzog were publicly reconciled, and after considerable negotiation, the *Herenigde Nasionale of Volksparty* (the Re-United National and People's Party)[7] was created out of the *Gesuiwerde Nasionale Party* and those who had left the United Party.

These reunions, however, were based on emotional reactions and expressions of hope, rather than on reality. Hertzog still stood for a broader white South Africanism which would include both English and Afrikaans-speakers. He did not believe that it was necessary to found an Afrikaner republic before true Afrikaner independence could be achieved. However, for many Afrikaners, the outbreak of war had destroyed Hertzog's inclusivist concept of Afrikanerdom. The fact that South Africa was now involved in a war on the side of the 'British Empire' proved to a majority of Afrikaners that the English-speaking South African would always be 'English', and could never be an 'Afrikaner' in Hertzog's sense. This, of course, was the view of the *Gesuiwerdes* and their Broederbond backers, who had been involved in six years of intense cultural, economic, and political activity in the cause of Afrikaner ethnic exclusivism, and the necessity for an Afrikaner republic in South Africa, and who were not prepared to retreat on the now widely-accepted concepts of Christian Nationalism and the goal of an Afrikaner republic. Political power had begun to shift away from the older Afrikaner grouping, based on capitalist agriculture, and towards the rising Afrikaner petit-bourgeoisie, with its emotional Christian Nationalism, promoted with the intention of appealing to a cross-section of Afrikaner urban workers, impoverished rural dwellers, and wealthy farmers alike - all now alienated from the United Party by the manner in which South Africa had been dragged into a foreign war. Thus the alliance was short-lived and in November 1940, after a series of public attacks from within the Party Hertzog resigned to form the Afrikaner Party. At last the representatives of the aspirant capitalists had driven the leader of the old guard from their ranks. But even as they celebrated their victory, another rival for power emerged - a rival strongly influenced by the ideals of national-socialism.

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[7] Although this remained the official title, in this paper I intend to use the simpler 'National Party' or NP.

The Ossewa-Brandwag

As described above the *Ossewa-Brandwag* (the Ox-Wagon Sentinels - henceforth the OB) grew directly out of the intensely nationalistic emotional climate which was created by the centenary celebrations of 1938. The founder, Colonel J.C. Laas, spelt out its aims in the following terms:

> The aims of the Ossewa-Brandwag are: the perpetuation of the spirit of the oxwagon in South Africa; maintaining, amplifying and giving expression to the traditions and principles of the Dutch Afrikaner; protecting and promoting the religious-cultural and material interests of the Afrikaner; fostering patriotism and national pride, and harnessing and uniting all Afrikaners, men as well as women, who endorse these principles and are prepared to make energetic endeavours to promote them . . . . (Roberts and Trollip 1947: 73)

Laas explained that the OB would achieve its aims by celebrating national days, honouring historic sites and individuals, and encouraging traditional gatherings and celebrations. There was clearly a need for this sort of general, social activity amongst Afrikaners, and even when characteristics of a more sinister nature began to develop in the OB, it remained for many something of a social organization. It was clear that the NP, with its intense debates among party leaders, many of whom worked in secrecy in the Broederbond, was failing to involve the mass of supporters or to provide satisfactory social outlets, and with the outbreak of the Second World War, many thousand more members flocked to the banner of the OB.

But it was not only its social-cultural role which attracted Afrikaners to the OB but also its semi-military nature. An organizational structure which was said to imitate that of the Boer 'commandos', a uniform, and regular target practice (a 'traditional' pastime) had a great attraction at a time when many other South Africans were volunteering for military service.

With the German successes of mid-1940, the BO continued to grow, and its members to look forward to victory. A number of leading NP politicians, some of whom were to become officers of state in the post-war era, took high positions in the OB. A High Council was set up to head the organization, and by the end of 1940, it was clear that the OB had outgrown the organizational capabilities of its founder. Laas was removed, and at the beginning of 1941, it was announced that the OB had a new Commandant-General. This was J.F. (Hans) van Rensburg, who resigned from his post as Administrator of the Free State to take up the leadership of the OB. Born in 1898, van Rensburg had attended the University of Stellenbosch, where he had gained the reputation of having an astute legal mind. As Secretary for Justice and a member of the Defence Force,

he attended military manoeuvres in England and Germany, and in 1936, at the Olympic Games, van Rensburg met Goebbels, Goering, and Hitler. This meeting had an overwhelming emotional impact on him: van Rensburg considered him a saint, and was converted to national-socialism. As he was to say: "I could only call myself a race-conscious Afrikaner, with tendencies which many people today would regard as 'fascistic'"(quoted in Bunting 1969: 57).

Even before van Rensburg took office in the OB, the leaders of the NP were becoming concerned about the popularity of the organization. The enormous following that the OB was attracting appeared to threaten the party, its dominant role in the political field, and the leadership of men in charge both openly, and through the activities of the Broederbond. In October 1940, in the small town of Cradock in the Cape, Dr. Malan had met members of the Council of the OB. This meeting produced the Cradock Agreement, by which the two organizations, now rivals for the soul of Afrikanerdom, defined their respective spheres of action. The NP was to be the political organization, while the OB was to work in the cultural sphere. From the start, however, van Rensburg's speeches and public style were disturbing to many members of the NP. Van Rensburg toured South Africa, creating a stir wherever he went, and recruiting more members. Part of the excitement was caused by the presence of the *Stormjaers* or Storm troopers who attended upon van Rensburg and acted as his bodyguard. They were an elite within the OB, and were clearly modelled on their Nazi equivalent. Together with the special salute, and the speeches deriding the efficacy of a system based on party politics, the *Stormjaers* clearly embodied the movement of the OB, under van Rensburg's leadership, towards the national-socialist model.

The *Stormjaers*, however, were not content with merely posing as Nazi sympathizers and the movement led to numerous sabotage attacks on installations on the Rand in 1941, rioting between members of the Union Defence Force and those against the war in Johannesburg in 1941, and a spate of bombings and attacks again in 1942. The government's response was to make it illegal for civil servants to belong to the OB, and to call in all rifles in private possession. Hundreds of OB members were arrested, and some were interned and charged. Amongst their number was 'general' Balthazar John Vorster, a future Prime Minister of South Africa.

Nazi Germany did, of course, attempt to infiltrate South Africa and gain some influence with this supporter of the Allied cause through members of the Afrikaner movements. In 1940, an attempt was made through an intermediary to gain influence over Dr. Malan in the Nazi cause, and the matter was investigated by a parliamentary committee after the war was over (Bunting 1969: 100-103). There was also the notorious case of Robey Leibrandt, who was landed on the

west coast of South Africa with orders to work with van Rensburg and the OB. Leibrandt, however, was too unstable a character even for van Rensburg, and the men fell out and Leibbrandt was arrested. The German representative at Lourenco Marques in Mozambique coordinated much of the underground work in South Africa during the war.

Although not as violent as the OB and the *Stormjaers*, there were other movements which alarmed those within the NP who considered themselves as the exclusive guardians of Afrikanerdom and Christian Nationalism. The most important of these was the *Nuwe Order* (the New Order - henceforth the NO), led by Oswald Pirow, and fuelled to a certain extent, it is believed, by the retired General Hertzog. Pirow was of German descent, and his authoritarian, right-wing views had long been in evidence. It was he who, as Minister of Justice in 1929, had personally led a police attack on African strikers in Durban. Using police violence, and the new Riotous Assemblies (Amendment) Act, he had harassed trade unions and striking workers in the 1930s. Later in the decade, as Minister of Defence, he had visited Europe on a number of occasions, and made the acquaintance of Nazi and fascist political leaders.

Pirow's New Order was essentially anti-democratic and racist: Hertzog's 'dual stream' philosophy, which allowed both English and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans to be considered 'Afrikaner', was developed by Pirow into a racism which saw South Africa ruled by an undivided white elite. As a result, he became an easy target for the exclusivist Afrikaner nationalists of the NP, and the New Order was attacked as a movement dominated by alien ideas and an attempt to dilute the essential principles of Afrikanerdom with foreign influences. The New Order managed to survive within the NP until 1942, when it was driven out, and lost whatever political clout it had, being forced to content itself with the production of a periodical entitled, understandably enough, *Die Anti-Kommunis* (Moodie 1975: 208ff).

The OB, however, was not so easy to crack. Despite the Cradock Agreement, it was clear that the OB was becoming a *political* threat through its ability to appeal to the Afrikaners in general. As 1941 progressed, it became more apparent that NP dominance was severely threatened by the OB movement, and its talk of the futility of pursuing the goal of an Afrikaner republic by party political methods, at a time when the Nazis were sweeping to victory in Europe. But it overstepped the mark when it distributed 100.000 copies of the 1941 Draft Constitution - a National Party discussion document. The NP accused the OB of a breach of trust, and more importantly, of breaking the fundamental principle of the agreement whereby the OB leaders had pledged that the organization would not become involved in political matters. In August, Malan

began to move against Pirow and the New Order. Eventually the NO was driven out of the NP, and into the political wilderness. Van Rensburg, impetuous and also perhaps realizing that the NO formed the OB's first line of defence, threw caution to the wind: at a public meeting he challenged the view that the National party was the sole representatives of Afrikanerdom. He appeared even more threatening to the NP when in September 1941 Radio Zeesen attacked the NP for political immaturity and praised van Rensburg for political responsibility. Some leading NP members began to distance themselves, and even to leave the OB. Before the end of the year, the NP was advising all its members to follow suit. Public challenges were issued by Malan to van Rensburg to explain the publication of the Draft Constitution. From the Council of the OB itself came an ultimatum demanding that van Rensburg state that he was opposed to all foreign ideologies, including national socialism. As 1941 drew to a close, so the NP attacks on the OB increased. A leading role was played by Verwoerd through *Die Transvaler*, and on one occasion he was threatened physically by OB supporters because of this.

For some months there were gestures towards finding grounds for reconciliation, but by the beginning of 1942 all pretence was at an end. The NP and its newspapers supplied the authorities with information that led to the arrest of OB saboteurs and accused the OB of being implicated in acts of treachery, fraud and assassination.

Roberts and Trollip summarized the OB ideology as it appeared in 1942 and 1943 in the organization's publications. They pointed out that, while many of the OB's ideals were shared by the NP, (for example, the desirability of an Afrikaner republic and Afrikaner dominance in South Africa), the OB had adopted ideas originally developed by fascists and Nazis in Europe. There was a sense in which the OB leaders saw themselves as pioneers in the political field, updating tired political philosophies and making them relevant. These men preached a philosophy which was anti-communist, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist insofar as capitalism was associated with imperialism and the foreign domination of the Afrikaner. They were pro-German, and advocated ideas of race purity. They were anti-intellectual, asserting the need to act and 'think with your blood'. There was en exaggerated emphasis on physical well-being, and the place of the women in a closed domestic situation. They asserted the importance of the Leader, and advocated the establishment of a dictatorship in the service of the People.

But the OB, rather than being the party of the future, soon proved to be a movement of the past. By 1943, Allied victories had made it clear that a German victory was no longer imminent, and that the future rulers of South Africa would

not have to negotiate terms with Hitler. Support for the OB began to dwindle. An attempt by the organization's leaders to broaden its base by gaining the support of white workers used anti-capitalist rhetoric which was so uncompromising that the organization found itself being accused of having communist sympathies.

The General Election of 1943 shows unequivocally that the NP had emerged as the organization which clearly represented Afrikaner aspirations. Superficially, the results of the election showed massive support amongst white South Africans for Smuts' ruling United Party. But closer analysis showed that the voting patterns indicated the emergence of a trend which suggested declining support for the UP, and a move towards the NP in the longer term. The most significant aspect of this election, however, was that it demonstrated the unequivocal victory of the NP over its Afrikaner rivals, most of whom had shown a sympathy for national-socialism. By 1943, it was clear that the NP, with its policy of parliamentary rule and party political struggle for an Afrikaner victory in South Africa, had eclipsed the anti-parliamentary, national-socialist forces within the Afrikaner political movement (Roberts and Trollip 1947: 158-161). Although the struggle between the NP and the OB was to continue, with an attempt to set up a national socialist front in 1944, and the banning of OB members from the NP in the same year, the OB's membership and influence declined steadily.

The development of apartheid ideology

It has frequently been pointed out that, in the debates and controversies associated with the rise of modern Afrikaner nationalism, Christian Nationalism, and the eventual dominance of the National Party as the political organization of the Afrikaner, the question of racial policy was generally used to refer to the relationship between Afrikaans and English speaking whites. As O'Meara has said: "white domination was taken for granted as one of life's certainties" (O'Meara 1983: 167). Until the election of 1943, the NP was content to advocate a racial policy which, while it demanded the more rigorous imposition of the policy of segregation, did not differ substantially from it. It was, in fact, only after the election in 1943, that the question of future policy towards Africans began to move to the centre of the stage. And associated with this was the emergence of the word "apartheid" to signify the National Party's developing racial policy in South Africa.

For a number of reasons it is clear why the state's policy towards Africans should at this stage in South Africa's history become the object of increasing concern for the white minority, and the Afrikaners in particular. The 'reserves',

which formed the basis of the policy of segregation were, by the 1930s, on the point of breakdown. Over-population, soil erosion, economic depression, and a disastrous drought in 1933, had so reduced the productive capacity of these areas that Africans were increasingly forced into the urban areas, regardless of the legality of such a move, to search for the means to survive. In the towns, and on the Witwatersrand in particular, the squatter camps, slum yards, locations, and the few urban suburbs in which Africans still retained legal title.

This movement into the towns was associated not only with the impoverishment of the environment in the reserves, but also with economic growth in the urban centres, and the creation of employment opportunities. The rise in the gold price in the 1930s stimulated general economic development in South Africa particularly in secondary industry and the demands on South African production during the Second World War only intensified these changes in the economy. In order to ensure production, the operation of certain regulations which controlled the movement of African labour in South Africa were lifted and there was some pressure from industry for the government to move away from the migrant labour policy which underpinned segregation to the establishment of a more settled urban-based African work force. By the end of the Second World War, the situation in South Africa was confusing and insecure for many South Africans of different races and social and economic positions. Africans from the reserves were suffering from the consequences of increasing poverty and diminishing resources and the real income of migrant workers was dropping as a result. In the squatter camps and overcrowded slums of the cities, poverty, disease, and crime were rife. The mining companies objected to what seemed to them an increasingly permissive attitude towards the control of labour and the competition for labour resources from secondary industry, while representatives of commerce and industry began to call for the reform required to establish a settled, urban, African workforce. From Afrikaner agriculture, which formed the National Party's support base came protests at the inability of the state to keep cheap, African labour on the farms and stop the migration of workers to the cities.

Economic change and distress soon took social and political forms. In the leading African political organization, the African National Congress, a Youth League emerged which demanded more radical programmes from the leadership. The black trade union movement revived, and in 1946, 60.000 African mine workers came out on strike. For many whites, South Africa appeared to be going through a period of severe social stress in the form of a serious racial crisis which threatened to break down older forms of racial order and control. It is within this context that we have to consider the emergence of the National

Party's racial policy which it was to call apartheid. This in no way denies the need to consider other factors which influenced the development of apartheid ideology - influences from the South African past, from theological and political developments in the rest of the world, and from the sociology of racial fear and race hatred. Nonetheless we must keep in mind the social and economic developments taking place contemporaneously in South Africa, in which apartheid was rooted, and out of which it grew.

The idea of apartheid had been floated in National Party think-tanks since the mid-1930s when Afrikaner nationalist intellectuals had been searching for a word which would suggest a policy which went beyond mere segregation towards the idea of racial separation. At first restricted to the intellectual elite in the Broederbond it began to be used publicly in the early 1940s, formally debated in 1944. and advocated as the policy to secure the future of whites in G. Crone's book *'n Tuiste vir die Nageslag* (A Home for Posterity) in 1945.

It could hardly be called a detailed policy at this stage but it was elaborated somewhat just before the 1948 election when the National Party began to call for an apartheid policy which went beyond segregation in order to achieve the separation of the races. Two major strains in the early formulation of the concept can be identified. Firstly, it drew on the racism implicit in South African history from the slave-owning days of mercantile capitalism, through the racially-structured labour relations in the agricultural systems of the nineteenth century, to the mining industry which dominated South Africa in the first decades of the twentieth century, and which was based on a policy which secured cheap African labour through a system of territorial, racial segregation. Secondly, there is evidence that apartheid ideology was, to a certain degree at least, influenced by the extreme nationalist political ideologies that party intellectuals developed to define their own Afrikaner nationalist ideology and their political goals. The combination of South African segregationist racialism, and nationalist concepts of ethnic identity, gave rise to an ideology which stressed racial difference rather than racial superiority. Cultural and political development of all South Africans would be safeguarded and developed - but in their own historical areas - the 'Native Reserves' associated with the policy of segregation. Africans would be permitted in the urban areas only, in accordance with the demands of the labour market, and under the strictest controls.

In May 1948, the crucially important general election was held in South Africa. In order to avoid an electoral struggle which would divide Afrikaner nationalist forces, the National Party entered an electoral alliance with Hertzog's Afrikaner Party. Many members of the *Ossewa-Brandwag* had joined the Afrikaner Party and were thus able to enter the party-political arena, in spite of the

fact that only a few years previously, as members of a movement sympathetic to national socialism, they had rejected the notion of parliamentary government. On 28 May it was announced that the National Party had increased its number of seats in Parliament by 22, and now held 70 seats to the UP's 65. After fourteen years in opposition, during which time it had suffered serious internal ruptures and reverses, the National Party was again in power.

But it was a very different party from that of the early 1930s. The 'Age of the Generals' was gone. Although still a party dependent on agriculture, its leadership was now dominated by the urban-based petit-bourgeoisie, academics and journalists, who had worked with such energy both openly and through the underground Afrikaner Broederbond, to weld an alliance of Afrikaner workers, farmers, and aspirant capitalists around the idea of the exclusive destiny of the Afrikaner volk, which ultimately won the victory at the polls.

Opinions are divided on the degree to which the policy of apartheid helped to secure this victory. Some authorities have awarded it a dominant role; others emphasize the Afrikaner nationalist ideals as a factor. But, wherever one feels the answer lies, there can be no doubt that, as a political ideology, apartheid was still at an embryonic stage in 1948, and that, for most of those who voted for the NP, apartheid could not have been much more than a racially-comforting 'unifying slogan' (du Toit 1975: 40). This, however, should in no way be taken to imply that it was insignificant: but the years in which apartheid was to be developed, justified, adapted, and put into practice with such terrible consequences for the people of South Africa, were still to come.

Conclusion

We can now return to the question of the influence on apartheid ideology of fascist and Nazi ideas. Firstly I would argue fascism and Nazism cannot be defined simply by drawing up a check-list of attributes, and then marking off those which occur in a particular political system. For example, fascism and Nazism are widely considered to be virulently anti-semitic, anti-intellectual, anti-democratic, anti-communist; they assert the superiority of a master race, believe in the efficacy of spontaneous political action, out of which will emerge the leader who will seize dictatorial powers. But a wide range of societies have displayed a number of these features at different times in their history. Fascism and Nazism is surely more usefully conceptualized within a total historical process, characterised by a class alliance which attempts to mobilize mass support when confronted by economic crisis and a strong working-class movement. While one can certainly identify features of this process in the history of Afrikaner nationalism,

and certain aspects of fascist and Nazi thinking in apartheid ideology, one cannot, without distorting South African history, characterize the general social movement or its ideology as 'fascist' or 'Nazi'.

This is not to say that fascism and Nazism failed to influence the history of Afrikaner nationalism and the development of apartheid ideology. Prominent Afrikaner intellectuals who led the nationalist movement from the 1930s had studied in Holland and Germany, and were influenced by events which occurred in Europe at the time, including the rise of national socialism. Some, like Diederichs and Meyer, had direct contact with the Nazis. However, it seems to me that while the extreme nationalist thinking of men like Diederichs, Meyer, and Cronje certainly shared some of the features of Nazi ideology, (in particular, the idea that there is an essential unity of classes in organic nationalism), the nationalism of these Afrikaner intellectuals should not be considered either a lineal descendant of Nazi thinking, or even a close relative. Rather, both systems of thought descended from a common ancestor - romantic, late, European nationalism - which in the case of the Afrikaners, was heavily overlain by neo-Calvinism, developing and being promoted within the South African historical context and responding to its demands.

Nonetheless, there can be no doubt that national socialism was a political philosophy which did hold a great attraction for many Afrikaners, especially during the early stages of the Second World War. The history of racism amongst Afrikaners, disillusionment with the party-political system as a means to achieve Afrikaner goals, the historical antagonism of the Afrikaner towards the British, and above all, the real prospect of a Nazi victory in the early 1940s, were all factors which pre-disposed many Afrikaners to national-socialism. On the other hand, however, there were factors which worked against this. These included a genuine Afrikaner nationalist opposition to the importation of foreign, non-Afrikaner political ideology, an opposition which increased when a Nazi victory in the war no longer seemed a certainty.

Indeed, it is this rejection of national socialism by the National Party leadership that constitutes perhaps the most formidable obstacle to any attempt to define apartheid ideology as fascist or Nazi, for it was the organized national socialist elements within Afrikaner nationalism, and particularly the OB, which the National Party destroyed in the Second World War. And it was the National Party which insisted on taking the parliamentary road to political power, before propagating an ideology of apartheid which asserted the over-riding significance of racial difference and *not* racial superiority.

However even amongst those Afrikaners most vigorously opposed to national socialism in South Africa, there was an ambivalence in their attitudes as a

result of their sympathy with many of national socialism's ideas. Furthermore, although the National Party destroyed political movements which advanced Nazi ideologies in South Africa, it did not, of course, destroy the men who held these ideas, and many were rehabilitated and re-entered the National Party about the time of the 1948 elections, although they had now abandoned their anti-parliamentary ideas. In this manner, men who might well have been Nazis entered the National Party and undoubtedly influenced its attitudes and policy. Thus, while it does not follow that the apartheid ideology of the National Party could be described as fascist, it does mean that a highly authoritarian, anti-democratic element reinforced the already existing racism in the party. These fascist tendencies were manifested most obviously, not in apartheid ideology, but in the way in which that ideology was implemented in South Africa, the way in which it was imposed on South Africans, and the way in which those who opposed it were treated by the South African State. It is significant that when Vorster became Minister of Justice, there was a marked increase in State violence against critics of apartheid. The ease with which the South African security police turned to torture and brutality has been well-documented, as has the manner in which democratic political processes were ignored or manipulated, and legal safeguards circumvented which might have been used to protect the individual against the State. Racism and anti-Semitism was widespread amongst white South Africans generally, and was particularly obvious in the vast bureaucracy that was created to implement apartheid policy, and to coerce and punish those who ignored or resisted its demands. Furthermore, there was a tendency for the supporters of the South African government to take the law into their own hands if they decided that apartheid's opponents had not been sufficiently punished by the State, with the result that those working against apartheid were frequently terrorised by vigilantes and third force elements.

All these manifestations of social and political violence were rooted in South African history, were intensified by the actions of Nazi and fascist sympathizers, and were undoubtedly exacerbated by the effects of imposing a system of racially-determined labour repression, and the demands this made on those responsible for the implementation of this system. This racial violence, so characteristic of South Africa, could be described loosely as fascist. However, it has been the major aim of this article to argue that apartheid ideology cannot be described in such terms, and its foundations should be sought, not in fascism and Nazism, but rather in the needs, the contradictions, and the historical developments which have occurred within South Africa itself.

Bibliography

As mentioned in the text, this work has drawn heavily on work done by scholars of South African history in the 1970s and early 1980s. This article attempts a synthesis of some of their very different approaches. Herman Giliomee's commentaries on Afrikaner political history were essential. Dunbar Moodie's reading and interpretation of Afrikaner nationalism is original and sensitive, and was of great assistance. But, while he might not agree with my general approach, it is the work of Dan O'Meara, in a series of articles which culminated in the publication of his book *Volkskapitalisme*, which forced me to re-assess my approach to modern Southern African history: it is a book, I believe, to which all serious studies of modern South Africa must refer, whether the authors agree with the interpretation or not. I am in debt to other writers on the Afrikaner as well: in particular, W. A. de Klerk, Howard Simson, Brian Bunting and Alexander Hepple's books on South African politics published in the 1960s were essential reading, together with that exceptional 'essay in contemporary history', *The South African Opposition*, by Michael Roberts and A.E. Trollip.

Postscript: Amongst the important books and articles published since the writing of this article are the new edition of R. Elphick and H. Giliomee, *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652 - 1840*, Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1989. The others are:

Bonner, P., Delius, P., Posel, D., *Apartheid's Genesis, 1935 - 1962*, Braamfontein and Johannesburg: Ravan Press and Witwatersrand University Press, 1993.

Dubow, Saul, "Afrikaner nationalism, Apartheid and the conceptualization of race", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 33, 2, 1992.

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Furlong , Patrick J., *Between Crown and Swastika. The Impact of the Radical Right on the Afrikaner Nationalist Movement in the Fascist Era*, Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1991.

Posel, Deborah, 'The Meaning of Apartheid before 1948: Conflicting Interests and Forces within the Afrikaner Nationalist Alliance', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 14, 1, 1987.

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These books, very different in approach and style, have, in their different ways, influenced the debate on apartheid and its intellectual origins. Nonetheless I feel that this article retains a validity, as long as we keep in mind the caveats I have made in the opening paragraphs. I would still argue for the essential validity of O'Meara's approach and those associated with it. The critiques mounted on these

approaches deal, in my opinion, with details within a framework which still stands. The complex and difficult linking of the economic with the ideological remains an intellectual challenge still to be solved by historians in their practice. Furlong's book is important because it is based on intensive primary research, but does not in my opinion challenge the earlier works theoretically.

Although they should in no way be held responsible for the content of this paper, I would like to acknowledge the work of Catherine Burns, Keith Breckenridge and Maria Arcache for reading the original and suggesting ways in which it could be amended for present purposes.

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FASCISM IN LATIN AMERICA

15

HELGIO TRINDADE

FASCISM AND AUTHORITARIANISM IN BRAZIL UNDER VARGAS (1930-1945)[1]

Introduction

The debate on the concept of fascism in Latin America dates back to the nineteen thirties. At the time when fascism was rising in Europe, the appearance of political movements of a fascist kind was visible in several countries (in particular Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Bolivia and Mexico), and they did inspire a climate of ideological radicalization in the intellectual and political spheres. Thus the question we will pose is less related to the presence of fascism in this area as such, than to the impact of its various manifestations. During this epoch, there certainly were some conditions favourable to the blooming of fascist-inspired movements or parties: The type of the economic transition in the most developed countries, the important influence of European ideologies on the political and intellectual elite, and the presence of significant ethnic minorities from several waves of European immigration (especially of Italians, and of a smaller number Germans), were favourable factors for the political-ideological imitation from and the arrival of fascist movements. From these facts it follows that the debate on the Latin American experiences, and especially the Brazilian one, illuminates two main problems: How can we distinguish, among these various manifestations, those which came from a pure and simple imitation of European fascism, and therefore had a limited signification on the domestic political level, and those which, because of their character of mass phenomena, did become authentic, national, political movements.

[1] Translated from French by Dag Hellesund.

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HELGIO TRINDADE

THE CRISIS OF THE OLIGARCHIC REPUBLIC: VARGISM'S ASCENT TO POWER AND INTEGRALISM

1. *Vargism and the fascist Temptation*

With the establishment in Brazil of Vargas' *Estado Novo* in 1937, and after the election of Perón in Argentina in 1946, the question of fascism in Latin America aroused attention among the specialists. The 'vargist' regime, personalized by the charismatic figure of the 'leader of the nation', seemed to lead to a modernizing and paternalistic dictatorship. It included some fascist potentials, but it lacked the fascist stereotypes which seemed to fit better with the anti-oligarchic aggressiveness of Peronism; a regime associated with a high level of social and political mobilization. The characteristics of these two regimes, together with a well-founded suspicion about their sympathy with the countries of the Axis (Vargas' Brazil stayed neutral until 1943, Argentina until 1945 when the country began to accommodate ex-nazis on its territory), was a reason good enough for many to qualify them as 'fascists'. It would be impossible to solve the debate on the presence of fascism in Latin America by substituting the notion of fascism with the broader concept of 'populism'. And this is even less advisable when you become aware of the fact that, far away from the conditions of the nineteen thirties and the nineteen forties, which may explain Vargism and Peronism, several new authoritarian regimes settled in the countries of the Southern cone in the nineteen seventies (in Argentina, in Uruguay and in particular in Chile), which can not be simply described as fascist.

The debate on fascism in Latin America has always been more associated with the case of Argentina than with Brazil. Perón's ascent to the post of Junior Minister of Work in 1943 initiated however an important mass mobilization, followed by a reorganization of the trade union movement. These facts inspired a wider discussion on the specificity of the Peronist regime. Even though Vargas' *Estado Novo* had been established already in 1937, and he had introduced a new fascist-inspired labour legislation, his regime was less liable to be defined as fascist. He had dissolved the *Integralismo* movement and declared war on the Axis in 1943. The fascist stigma of the Argentinian regime was however widely diffused by the American and the European press in 1946. In the middle of the presidential period, the United States published the famous *Blue Book* which revealed the connection between the regime of Perón and the countries of the Axis. When this document was made public, it had a two-sided political effect. It increased Perón's anti-imperialistic proposals with the slogan "Either Braden or Perón", and in the years after the war it shaped the image of peronism as a

fascist phenomenon. In the meantime Vargas had in 1945 been ousted from power by the liberal opposition with the support of the Allied powers who had brought fascism in Europe to an end.

This perspective, which is strongly marked by the post-war context and the American economic and geopolitical interests, had without doubt an important impact in the present controversy on the concept of fascism and authoritarianism. It has however contributed little to the information which could have clarified the debate on the nature of fascism in Latin America. In spite of the fact that Perón stayed in power until 1955, the fascist mark of his government became an element of permanent suspicion. The debate on Peronism did not change until the nineteen fifties i.e. through the appearance of the systematic studies by Germani and Lipset. Germani insisted on the difference of types of social mobilization in Italy and Argentina, and he conceptualized Peronism as 'national-populism'. By this new analytic perspective, he incorporated in the analysis of the Peronist regime the term 'populism'. Lipset preferred the concept of 'left-fascism', thus introducing the notion that fascism can be seen as different phenomena on the left-right continuum.

If we want to get a better understanding of the political nature of the Vargas and Perón regimes, we first have to establish the correct chronological bases of the period we are studying. The two Latin American leaders became heads of their national governments within an interval of sixteen years. Vargas became leader of the temporary government in 1930 after the victory of the October-revolution, while Perón was first elected president of the Republic in June 1946. Both of them were in power in Argentina and Brazil between 1950 and 1954, but they disappeared almost simultaneously. Vargas committed suicide in 1954, and Perón was overthrown by the army in November 1955.

The political regimes lead by Vargas and Perón developed very differently. The first went through three different political experiences, and it adapted itself to the varying national and international political circumstances. In the first phase (1930 to 1937), it oscillated between an anti-oligarchic 'dictatorship' (1930 to 1934), and the liberal-inspired constitutional government (1934 to 1937). Before the election of its successor it initiated the coup d'état with the support of the armed forces and imposed a personal authoritarian and repressive system (Estado Novo: 1937 to 1945). Finally, after the transition to democracy in 1945, Vargas was elected President of the Republic on the basis of universal suffrage and with the support of the Brazilian Workers Party in 1950.

Perón was without interruption, but through different phases, in control of the nation from 1946 to 1955. The first phase is characterized by the enactment of the Social laws, the First Five-Year plan and the Nationalization of the

railways (1945-1948). In the next phase, from 1949 to 1951, the regime became less liberal when facing the rising economic hardships and reacted with censorship of the press, control of the syndicates and enforced political censorship on the opposition. In the third phase, from 1952 to 1955, the regime was becoming more repressive and changed towards a one-party system. The Second Five-Year plan was realized with subsidies to agriculture, cattlebreeding and special support to the heavy industry.

First, this long span of historical evolution can explain why the analysts in discussing the Brazilian case, which during the period of the *Estado Novo* was influenced by the fascist wave in Europe, have a tendency to use the concept of fascism. Secondly, they however prefer to use the concept of 'populism' for the phase after the war. In the Argentine setting we have a different situation. Perón joined the national government at the end of 1943, and his power was stable from 1946 until 1955. Therefore, the interpretations are in general ambiguous: Those who analyze Peronism from its roots, from the period of syndicalism between 1945 and 1948, prefer to classify it in the family of fascism. Those who compare its 'industrializing' and paternalistic tendency with the second phase of Vargism, rather prefer to call it 'populist'.

Vargas and Perón took advantage of the contradictions between English and American imperialism, as well as of the blocking of the world-wide capitalist system during the war, to change their economies based on agricultural export into a new industrial economy substituting importation with own production. The industrialization process, combined with state interventionism in basic industries, and with the contribution of foreign capital, did not seem to be in contradiction with economic nationalism and the social laws promulgated by the State. The major difference between these two populist regimes seems to be the relationship between the government and the urban middle- and working classes. Vargas developed a gradual strategy in the social sphere favouring a slow and progressive process of social mobilization. The first populist mobilization in Brazil started in the nineteen forties, but was strongly accentuated with the return of Vargas in power from 1950 to 1954. With Goulart, Vargas' political heir, the populism of social reforms between 1961 and 1964 ended. This form of populism was also the major reason behind the military intervention in 1964. In contrast Perón lead an aggressive social policy in the first period (1945-1948) which provoked a reaction mobilizing both the urban stratum and the population in general. But his strategy ended with a gradual demobilization during the final stages of the first period. In the nineteen seventies, after his return to Argentina,

he tried without any success an ideological turn to the left. Therefore it seems justified to consider the regimes of Vargas and Perón during their last periods (1950-1955) to be closer to populism than to fascism.

The remaining question will be: Have there been political movements in Latin America that really could be called fascist? The answer does not seem to come easy. We can not call a movement fascist just because it has the same outward traits as the European movements. The introduction of fascism in Latin America presupposes the existence of a whole series of conditions. An important political mass movement was developed in Brazil between 1932 and 1938, and from our point of view, it fulfilled the conditions as an organization of a fascist type. Therefore, we reject the thesis claiming the existence of fascist regimes in Latin America, but we accept the presence of fascist movements on a minor scale in the nineteen thirties.

Comparative analyses of fascism generally focus on the European experiences. In the last decade, they have proclaimed the existence of fascist manifestations in Latin America. These analyze, which first and mainly bring out historical information, thus being genuine comparative studies, also agree upon the existence of minor fascist movements on the subcontinent. In a comparative perspective the only effort of explaining to the importance of the Latin American movements, comes from Juan Linz. When using a sociological approach in an article on the subject, he includes the Brazilian *Integralismo* as a relevant case.[1] In another study, where he tries to formulate a hypothesis on the growth of fascist movements in some specific Latin American countries, Linz acknowledges the existence of many other movements of anti-liberal, anti-democratic, reactionary or populist regimes, "but only few fascist movements capable of creating a basis in the masses, with the same organization and the same style as their European counterparts".[2] Pierre Milza and Marianne Benteli also conclude in the same way that "only one country has experienced a real mass 'fascism': Brazil",[3] even though they accept that "practically no Latin American country has failed to see the birth of a fascist movement during the inter-war years". In most cases it "is a matter of groups formed by Italian or German emigrants or of pure imitation movements". Hennesy comes to the same conclusion in his

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[1] Linz, J. "O Integralismo e o fascismo internacional" *Revista do IFCH*, UFRGS, Porto Alegre, 1976.

[2] Linz, J. "Some notes toward a comparative study of fascism in a sociological, historical perspective", in Laqueur, W., ed., *Fascism: A reader's guide*, New York, Free Press, 1976, p. 138.

[3] Milza, P., Benteli, M., *Le fascisme au XXe siècle*, Paris, Ed. Richelieu, 1973, p.297.

annotated bibliographic assessment "Fascism and Populism in Latin America."[4] So does also Payne in his work *Fascism: Comparison and Definition.*[5]

Although they mention the possible existence of fascist manifestations outside Europe, these analysts do not take into consideration the historical conditions of the appearance of these movements, (apart from Linz who has already been mentioned) and they do not define the criteria that could classify one single Latin American movement as fascist. A link between these two levels of analysis is necessary in order to demonstrate the presence of authentic fascist movements. A proper definition of fascism would also take account of two important reservations. Firstly, as suggested by De Felice, that "fascism was a European phenomenon that developed during the inter-war years" and that "any comparison with non-European situations ... is impossible because of the radical difference of the historical contexts (in the broadest meaning of the word)".[6] Secondly, given the fact that certain interpretations consider, either by a purist cult of the political ideas, or by a mechanistic conception of the determination of socio-economic factors, that all ideological manifestations in Latin America could be explained simply as direct imitations of ideas by the educated elites. These interpretations therefore deny the possibility of the existence of 'original' fascism on the subcontinent. To answer these two questions, we have to ask: 1) Which are the socio-economic, political and cultural factors that could explain the emergence of a fascist movement in Brazil? 2) Which are the ideological, organizational or sociological components within such a movement, which would allow us to class it as a typical case of fascism? Only the combination of these factors would justify the use of the concept of fascism in a non-European context, and at the same time contribute in a comparative perspective to the advancement of the analysis of this phenomenon.

The integralist ideology was worked out during the period of the political-economic and cultural transformation of the Brazilian society. It was a child of a changing society, and born under the impact of a new international situation marked first by the Soviet revolution and then by the fascist counter-revolution.

The transformation of the Brazilian society, increasing during the post-war period, created new antagonism between the social classes. The development of

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[4] Hennessy, A., "Fascism and Populism in Latin America" in Laqueur, W., ed., *Fascism: A reader's guide*, Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1976.

[5] Payne, S.G., *Fascism: Comparison and Definition*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1980, p. 161-177.

[6] De Felice, R., *Clefs pour comprendre le fascisme*, Paris, Seghers, 1975, p. 264.

an industrial proletariat, and the dissatisfaction of the mobilizing civil- and military middle classes, successively provoked serious forms of crises in the political system of the First Republic.

It is true that the ideological contents of the Brazilian Integralist Action (AIB) was largely based on European fascism, and it can be said that they belonged to the same flow of ideas. Nevertheless, we can not define Integralism exclusively as an ideological imitation. The support of fascism by important sectors of the population and the acceptance of its paramilitary organization cannot be explained without reference to the presence of favourable internal conditions. These conditions can be located in the historical development of the inter-war period: The conjunction of the economic, social and political conflicts which again were seen in the ideological feeling of a crisis within the elite, reflects this reality.

However, the influence of the European fascism was essential and necessary for the explanation of the nature of *l'Ação Integralista*. If we consider the fascist phenomenon in its broadest sense: as a counter-revolutionary movement trying to impose totalitarian domination on society, such a movement could have developed in Brazil and based on a domestic national ideology and on a domestic organization. But reality turned out to be different. Without leaving aside the other possible forms of fascism *lato sensu* in Latin America, the analysis of *l'Ação Integralista* urges us to conclude that its nature, its hierarchic organization, the chief's style and the integralist rituals cannot be explained without referring to the external model. Other possible forms of fascism in Latin America can, however, be of a different origin.

These factors are indispensable - in the view of the global society - to understand the type of historical process which permitted the transformation of the *Integralismo* into a mass movement. Without these conditions, the fascist experience in Brazil would have been limited to small groups emerging from the growing middle strata who were attracted by foreign ideologies. The central element in our explanation, the uniqueness of the Brazilian process in this period, rests on the condition that the global society was in transition. This phrase is however too general and likely to be used to qualify different stages in the historical evolution of the country. Without analyzing all the political and ideological transformations of the nineteen thirties on the basis of infrastructural variables, I would suggest the following hypothesis: the fundamental cause is to be found in the crisis of the post-war Brazilian society. This crisis included the economic, the political and the social arenas, but stricto sensu on the cultural as well. All these factors favoured a situation with political restlessness, which was reinforced by the presence and influence of the existing authoritarian ideas and

movements in Brazil.[7] From the background of significant economic and social changes, developed a process of ideological crisis which was essential for the founding of the *integralista* movement. In this particular formulation, the hypothesis of Juan Linz becomes plausible. The *Ação Integralista* is, as certain types of fascism in Western Europe (the Spanish and Italian fascism and some French movements), "a movement more responding to a political and cultural crisis than to an economic one". Brazil experienced, between 1932 and 1938, a political mass movement in a "society in transition and Brazil thus went through a deep ideological crisis".

VARGAS' ESTADO NOVO: FASCISM OR AUTHORITARIANISM?

2. *The new state (Estado Novo) of Vargas: authoritarianism or fascism?*
The crisis that affected all the capitalist economies in the 1930s provoked a great redefinition of the strategies of the power elites in many of the Latin American countries. The strangulation of the agro-export economies of the peripheral countries had led to the bankruptcy of the oligarchic political model which had prevailed, in Brazil's case, during the first years of the Republic. The extent of the crisis, encompassing the main economies in Europe as well as that of the United States, led to criticism and to discredit liberalism and the classic vision of a non-interventionist State acting on the sidelines. The experiment of the Soviet Union, which was harvesting its first successes under a planned economy, and of Italy organized under the corporatist, fascist aegis of Mussolini, led to the belief that the State could no longer remain above society's conflicts and contradictions, but on the contrary, had to become an active element. A State would be the executor of the dictatorship of the proletariat, or the incorporator of the national will through the figure of a leader - as in the fascist State. Liberalism met criticism from one extreme to the other. From that perspective, representative democracy only represented the perpetuation of chaos, the imposition of the will of the few, and not the representation of the masses.

The proposals for a way out of the crisis were many, and they were well received in Brazil. One of them articulated nationalism, a strong state, and corporatism. Idealized by Manoilesco, corporatism aimed at a society organized

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[7] See: Lamounier, B., "Formação de um prensamento autoritário na Primeira Republica: uma interpretação", in *História Geral da Civilização Brasileira, III, Brasil Republicano*, tome 2, são Paulo, Diefel 1977. Santos, W. G. dos, "Paradigma e história: a ordem burguesa na imaginação social brasileira", in *Ordem burguesa e liberalismo político*, São Paulo, Duas Cidades, 1978. Medeiros, J., *Ideologia autoritária no Brasil*, Rio, Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 1978.

along professional or functional lines, with the system of division of labour deciding social logic itself. Manoilesco also affirmed that what established the differences between various countries and brought riches to some and poverty to others was the fact of being either industrialized or net exporters of agricultural products. For the countries farther behind, industrialization was a means to reduce the situation of dependence.[8]

Authoritarians of all shades such as Francisco Campos, Oliveira Viana, Azevedo Amaral, along with the integralists Miguel Reale and Plínio Salgado, believed that changes were necessary in order to bring the 'real state' closer to the 'legal state'. The old criticism of the oligarchic and pretentious elites became more strident and bruising. The new State proposed by these intellectuals and politicians would have to be a State that took into account the irrationality of the great masses in modern society. For a long period of disassociation from the true Nation, the State would have once again to meet its function as a promoter of this new contract, adjusting its institutions to truly national necessities. Azevedo Amaral stressed the economic function as a priority of this new State, well beyond the purely political functions which the State had traditionally occupied. In the new modern society, the State would arbitrate conflicts between capital and labour - moderating the former and domesticating the latter. However, the political control of the old oligarchies, entrenched in power, would only be broken through the reinforcement of public administration.

The authoritarian tendencies would be even more enriched by those giving tribute to the 'Castilhist' model, whose roots could be found in the positivism of Auguste Comte.[9] Getúlio Vargas was like a number of politicians who played an important role in the post-1930s era, from the state of Rio Grande do Sul. During the Old Republic they had been characterized by their establishment of a government that followed the principles of Comtean philosophy. Júlio de Castilhos established a positivist Republic with a constitution which gave all au-

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[8] Manoilescu, M. *Le siècle du coperativisme*, Paris, 1934.

[9] In the *castilhista* model the *gáucha* reference is connected to political positivism which had its most characteristic roots from within the 1890 period - after the proclamation of the Republic when the Parti Républicain Riograndense (PRR) assumed power in the state of Rio Grande. Different from the 'the typical positivism' they replaced it with the principles of *casthilism*. Comte, however, resisted to introduce 'the republican dictatorship' and the idea of order as basis for the government and foundation for social progress. Therefore they adopted the legend of *conservar melhorando* while also condemning slavery. They defended the idea of separation of Church and State and believed in universal education as the dominant factor for the formation of the new consciousness. They also favoured the idea of incorporating the proletariat within the society to produce functional harmony.

thority to the executive, making the leader of the government something akin to the figure of a republican dictator. The Castilhist experience of political centralization, along with the belief in the incorporation of the proletariat into the society, gave also the Castilhist authoritarians a pragmatic vision of politics.

Won over to the authoritarianism then currently around, was also a good part of the Armed Forces. The military leader of the 1930 Revolution would defend the idea that it was correct to "carry out the politics of the army, and not politics within the army". This meant that the participation of military men in party politics would bring a challenge to the organization's loyalties. It would be necessary to preserve the authority and prestige of the upper hierarchy, and for this a process of centralization and nationalization of the military body would be needed. The authoritarian project emerging in the New State converged with the interests of these sectors.

Into this picture, the experiment of the New State was introduced. Brazil in the 1930s was living through the diverse changes promoted by the October Revolution led by Getúlio Vargas.[10] Internally, the revolutionary group had suffered a very clear split between the authoritarians (lieutenants and more radical groups) and the liberals (groups still linked to the regional oligarchies). The growing influence of the lieutenants' group, which counted Vargas as a sympathizer, led to serious ruptures such as the 1932 Constitutionalist Revolution in Sao Paulo. Even after the 1934 promulgation of the Constitution, which clearly mirrored the country's internal conflicts between the proposals for political centralization and state intervention, and those looking back to classic liberalism, the regime's tendency was to continue on the path towards greater political control. The legislative body itself would little by little concede more powers to the executive and reduce the scope of civil liberties. The 1935 banning of the National Liberation Alliance (ANL) - a left-wing group that brought together Communist Party members as well as intellectuals and defenders of democracy - and the National Security Law decree, were indicators that the process of repression of political movements had begun. The trend got sharper with the outbreak in November 1935 of the Communist plot led by Luís Carlos Prestes

[10] The 1930-revolution, also called the October Revolution, broke out in Rio Grande do Sul on the 3rd of October 1930 with the support from the States of Minas Gerais and Paraíba which also stayed behind the proposal of nominating Getulio Vargas as president of the Republic that year. With the support of the military ('tenetes') a group of civilian politicians did assume power and began to introduce a series of institutional changes like the founding of a Ministry of Works and a Ministry of Industry and Trade. During the same year, and in connection with the legislation on labour relations, it also intervened with increasing powers in the economic life of the country.

and other party members.[11] It gave the government the proof it needed to show that there did exist in Brazil an international plan for the establishment of a communist regime. The same arguments would be used when the Cohen plan denounced a few days before the New State coup, a plan organized by the integralists.

The Brazilian Integralist Action group (AIB) was permitted a longer life by the government. The similarity of objectives between the New State and Integralism made the latter believe that they had arrived to power; but their dreams was frustrated by the abolishment of the political parties in December 1937. The AIB had much in common with the ideals behind the New State, besides being of great help in the fight against communism. From the beginning the AIB had been seen as a potential threat. Its doctrine was considered too mobilizing, its paramilitary organization fearful, and its espionage service and close ties to the German and Italian governments were alarming. Also its autonomy of action and its members' devotion to leader Plínio Salgado were all looked upon with suspicion by the group linked to Vargas and which was responsible for the organization of the new regime. Integralism also had a considerable presence in the Armed Forces and Salgado was the candidate to succeed Vargas in the presidential elections. However, all this would not prevent Salgado from being consulted before the coup, informed of the events to come, and offered the Ministry of Education. It was a recognition of how much the AIB had co-operated with the government, mainly on the two fronts of anti-communism and anti-liberalism. Meanwhile, integralism's vocation for the establishment of an autonomous political power was in conflict with the New order. At no time are there references to the AIB as having assisted the regime in power, and the ban on the party was a clear signal that there would be no more room for other than demonstrations of official political power.

The New State whose establishment Getulio Vargas announced over the radio on November 10th, 1937, wanted to 'implant order' in the entire territory, contain the 'radical abuses' and integrate the Brazilian people into a 'strong

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[11] The *L'Intentona Communista revolt* started in the barracks on November 1935 with a plan to conquer the State and was lead by Luiz Carlos Prestes. The movement had began in Natal, Reife and Rio de Janeiro where the revolutionaries intended - by a surprise attack - to capture the Palace du Catete where the president of the Republic was expected to reside. The plan was to be the first step in a more important strategy drawn by the inner circle of the Executive Committee of the Comintern (where Prestes was admitted) and which aimed at the installation of a Soviet form of government with the basis on the proletariat and the farmers in Brazil.

nation-State'. Its political structure was embodied in the 1937 Charter, edited by Francisco Campos, which reproduced the central points of Mussolini's Labour Charter (ital.: *Costa del Lavaro*). The corporative, centralized State centered around the figure of the Leader was being created. The Charter which was supposed to be submitted to a plebiscite, something that never actually happened, foresaw a corporative representation and created a series of bodies which directly articulated the productive sectors seen as most important to the state. Its institutional framework dated back to the political proposals of the Revolutionary Legions (later incorporated into the 3rd of October Club) as well as from the integralist vision of an all-powerful State.

In practice the New State wanted to break what still remained of regionalism and centrifugal tendencies. As an immediate measure it closed the Congress and abolished the political parties, but did not institute a single party system as in 'classical' fascisms. It created state Registers (with registrars nominated by the President of the Republic), annexed the state militias to the national Army, and consolidated a political-administrative structure with a centralized technocratic apparatus (DASP) which had its branches in the states - the 'daspinhos'.[12] It also created numerous technical councils, autarchies, and specialized institutions, whose aims were to bring the productive sector closer under governmental control. It was a way of creating a nationally centralized bureaucratic network, and a public service which it could isolate from the control of the traditional oligarchies.

A fundamental element in the understanding of the New State is to look its social policies. It derived directly from the policies already applied in the early 1930s with the creation of the Ministry of Labour and the labour laws. An eight hour work day, regulation of female and child labour, unionization, paid holidays, and minimum wages (in 1940) were among other measures taken by the regime which closed more firmly the links between the government and the unions. The labour-unionized masses, recently urbanized, would see these advantages as gifts from those in power and did become one of the basic elements in the regime's support. The corporative system that established this trilateral relationship between State, proletariat, and the bourgeoisie was also the base for the maintenance of the 'populist pact' within which it was prepared. Labour Justice and the union laws, compulsory union membership, minimum wages, and other measures, were finally formalized in the Consolidation of the Labour

[12] DASP (the Administrative Department for Public Services) was organized in 1937 with the aim of rationalize, centralize and simplify the activities of the public services. From its first institutionalization it became a very modern and practical system of administration.

Laws (CLT) in 1943. May 1st commemorations were introduced with long parades, speeches by the minister of labour and the president, and donations for the workers, all in the best fascist style. These would become regularly from 1939 on. The personality cult of the President was also instituted and Getúlio Vargas's birthday was celebrated every year. His image as the happy president ('The smile of the President'), father of the Country, father of the poor, example of patriotism and hard labour (school pamphlets about Vargas's childhood), were spread everywhere. His photograph was to be found in all public places, in the homes of workers - whom he frequently addressed via radio - introducing new policies, sending Christmas and New Year's messages etc. The 'Voice of Brazil', instituted by the government, communicated daily on the radio at seven in the evening giving the regime's latest directives.

The DIP (Press and Propaganda Department) regularly took charge of disseminating whatever image and ideology the regime wanted to spread. The DIP's duties also included the control of intellectual production, and censorship became a frequent practice. Although it initially concentrated on leftist movements and leaderships, soon decimated by torture and persecutions, the regime would end up enclosing in the circle a good number of liberals and democrats who earlier had adopted more critical outlooks and positions.

Able to succeed in establishing itself quite solidly (until 1941 there were no internal changes, not even in ministries), the New State benefited indirectly from a difficult international atmosphere. The time preceding and including the Second World War offered particular economic determinants for the internal options of policies. The difficulties in import of industrial products from Europe, as well as from the United States, ended up benefiting local industries which began to use their idle capacity which was growing with internal demand. The State's action also stimulated broad scale industrialization. The State had already intervened in the economy, but only within the agricultural-export sector (coffee). From 1930 on, with the organization of the National Coffee Council and later the Sugar and Alcohol Institute (others were soon to follow), the state wanted to lead and be responsible for many other sectors of production and commercialization (financing, price control, etc.). In the search for a stable standard of relations between workers and employers (in one of his speeches Vargas emphasized the need for the antagonistic classes to collaborate in opposing the class-war preached by the Left) the New State created means for involvement with business, establishing not only a policy of credit, but also creating technical organs within the State apparatus, guaranteeing the direct representation and communication of the relevant sectors. Direct mechanisms

were duly created between the State and the socio-economic groups instead of the former traditional channels such as the political parties, typical of the classic liberal systems.

Thus a form of national capitalism emerged that liberated Brazil from the dependence on the help from external capital (mainly in the more complex sectors) and which did not hide its autonomous function. One example was the iron industry, which was considered of fundamental importance by Vargas and the military sectors. It was set up with American help after lengthy negotiations in which Brazil used its strategic geographic position during the war in Europe and North Africa, as well as the possibility of future negotiations with Nazi Germany. The profound economic modernization focusing on investment in the industrial sector would led to a complementary expansion in agriculture. The 'Westward March' was one of the ideological elements used in the discourse - the occupation of the national territory (mainly in Amazona and the Central Planalto) - to make Brazil awake of its 'great power potential'. According to the authors of the epoch Brazil was the 'country of the future' - the meeting-point between the 'real country' and the 'legal territory'. This nationalist and authoritarian vision mobilized not only ordinary people for the development of a great country, following a leader (Getúlio the 'father of the poor'), but was also able to rally many intellectuals who saw it as the framework for the rise of something new and genuinely national.

The regime made ample use of radio, the press, and the cinema as means of propaganda. Technology developed and used by the nazi-fascist regimes it was efficiently imitated for ideological propaganda.

Finally, the New State had to face the external political challenge of the Second World War. In political-institutional terms and possibly identified with the successful European fascist regimes, the New State under Vargas' leadership was able to keep what could be called a pragmatic equidistance, maintaining diplomatic relations with the Axis countries after the war had begun. Pressured by the United States, which defended a 'Pan-American' approach to the Latin America, Vargas was able to successfully maintain favourable economic relations with the Axis (mainly Germany), while politically aligning himself with the American proposals. There were many nazi/fascist sympathizers among the higher echelons of the New State, just as there were supporters of pan-americanism. Initially wavering and then going radical (until the declaration of war), Vargas defined himself in terms of pan-americanism in external policies. But this created a new internal problem: Brazil was now fighting overseas against regimes which had the same characteristics as the New State. This contradiction became a problematic point within the power system and the opposition began

to feel sufficiently strong enough to contest the regime. When the war ended, and with the democratization that followed, the authoritarian structure of the New State broke down and Vargas was deposed before the year 1945 was over.

In this new phase Brazil proved to become profoundly changed. It was a country experiencing an accelerated urbanization process. For the most part it had a strong industrial base, as well as a centralized, bureaucratized State with a nation-wide network of public services, solid trade unions, and institutions with ample retirement and pension services. All this meant not only strengthening of an active working class but also a strong of the middle classes linked to the service sector. The New State also left behind the memory of personality-based politics (which would serve as a base for the populism that followed) together with the Armed forces' interference in the country's political life. It had been brought to power by a military-supported coup d'etat in 1937 just as it would be overthrown by another one in 1945 - significant occurrences in light of future events.

Now as a centralized National State, supported by a dynamic economy (in the center-south), Brazil would in the 1946 maintain democratization but with important traces of the preceding authoritarian structure. This was especially true in matters concerning corporativism, government-union relations and the rapid growth of the executive. These were institutional mechanisms of control over politics and control over the entrance of new actors on the political arena.

The illumination of politics and life under the New State brings us back to the question: was it a fascist or a traditional authoritarian regime? The main elite that came to make up the regime had its origins in either the Catholic, spiritual tradition or the authoritarian castilhist tradition. They believed in the creation of a strong National State (the idea of a Nation previously disassociated from that of the State), in the project of the development of industrial sector's, and in the incorporation of the newly emerging social sectors mainly the proletariat. But there was no totalitarian project, nor a strong single party, and the perspective of a politically mobilized society was never around. Propaganda with the new means of communication was heavily utilized as was the overt use of the image of the leader. The New State was close to integralism on broad concepts such as: anti-communism, anti-liberalism, nationalism, anti-socialism, corporativism, and traditional authoritarian values (family, primary group, etc.). In this way it was similar to the fascism. However, it never approximated any of the fascist regimes, or domestic integralism in matters having to do with the coherence of the groups in power, their activities, or even the political control which was exercised over the society.

3. *Integralism and political radicalization*

In Brazil the influence from the rise of fascism in Europe made the thirties a period marked by the radical right wing ideas.[13] The generous supply of fascist literature among intellectuals and the birth of several journals on the far right which particularly dealt with the problems of the nation, presents a clear proof of the European influence.[14] At the same time several regional movements on the far right were formed, often inspired by fascism or monarchism. Later they converged in the formation of the Integralist Action. The importance of these groups was thus characterized by the attempts of ideological influence on the Interim Government by spreading the ideas of the growing fascist regimes in Europe.

Therefore, the foundation of the Brazilian Integralist Action in the thirties was not an isolated incident, but a result of the crystallization of the radical ideas of the far right, and of the convergence of the previous movements that also Salgado tried to integrate.

a) *The Anti-liberal Generation*

If the revolution of 1930 had only limited consequences on the political, economic and social development of Brazil, it led at least to one of the most fertile periods when it comes to intellectual production. A similar growth of political and sociological analyses of the Brazilian society had never been seen before.

The anti-liberal attitude of this generation originated from the impact of the Soviet revolution, and in the weakness of the liberal democracies facing the rise of fascism. These two phenomena together were considered as signals of the existing decadence of liberalism. But this anti-liberalism also arose from the effects of political centralization after 1930. Furthermore, the most acknow-

[13] During this period it was Italian fascism and the new Portuguese Estado Nova which gained the strongest influence.

[14] The Marxist literature was not the least important in this context.

ledged national authors of the period: Alberto Torres,[15] Oliveira Vianna[16] and Azevedo Amaral,[17] and their works were all influencial by spreading their anti-liberal conceptions.

The characteristics of this generation was unrest, skepticism and anti-liberalism, and these traits were as common for the youth of the right as for those of the left.

We know how this anxiety, influenced by the aesthetic revolution, the spiritual revival, and the political challenges, contributed to criticism over the traditional ways of thinking. The economic and social transformation in Brazil also reflected the international impulse of change. The young generation was thus gradually becoming more skeptical to the existing situation.

A year after the Revolution of 1930, Salgado exposed this frame of thinking of his generation:

> What gave us the illusion of clarity was the false character of our institutions. After the overthrow of the old Republic by the revolutionary movement of 1930, we found ourselves more than ever in the dark.[18]

Motta Filho did not camouflage his skepticism when he asserted that: "All times have had their beliefs and myths. We have no myths and no beliefs." (ibid: 12).

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[15] This period coincided with the rediscovery of d'Alberto Torres. The book which had the most important influence on the young intelligencia was written by Motta Filho: *Alberto Torres a o tema de nossa geração*, with a preface by Plino Salgado (1931).

[16] The works of d'Oliveira Vianna had perhaps the strongest influence during the period. They were: *O caso de Império* (1926), *Idealismo da Constituicão* (1927), *Problemas de Política Objectiva* (1930) *and Populacões Meridionais do Brasil.*

[17] The main books from this author are: *Ensaios Brasileiros (1930); O Brasil na Crise Atual* (1934); *A Aventura Política do Brasil* (1935); *O Estado Autroitário e a Realidade Nacional* (1938).

The main books from this author are: *Ensaios Brasileiros (1930); O Brasil na Crise Atual* (1934); *A Aventura Política do Brasil* (1935); *O Estado Autroitário e a Realidade Nacional* (1938).

[18] Motta Filho, C., *Alberto Torres e o tema de nossa geração*, Rio, Schmidt, 1931, Préface, ix.

Virginio Santa Rosa[19] experienced the same perplexity in *A Desordem* (The Disorder). As epigraph he chose a pessimistic phrase of the young right-wing intellectual Otavia Faria:

> For us, the generation of this tragedy, all optimism concerning Brazil, seems not only to be absurd but almost criminal. It is responsible for an infinity of destructions.[20]

The right-wing anti-liberalism in the intellectual and student environments of Rio and São Paulo spread as a result of the publication of some journals, and particularly from the founding of the Integralist Action Party. These journals were: Hierarchy (*Hierarchia*), Journal of Law and Social Studies (*Revista de Estudos Jurídicos e Sociais*) both in Rio and Politics (*Política*) in São Paulo.

Some future integralist leaders and intellectuals, like Santiago Dantas, Helio Vianna, Olbiano de Mello, Madeira de Freitas and Antonio Galotti, contributed to the journal Hierarchy as well as monarchists from the *patrionovista* movement (Sebastião Pagano). The name of the journal was inspired by Italian fascism, and together with some of its articles it left no doubt about its political orientation.[21]

The Journal of Law and Social Studies was edited by students from the Faculty of Law in Rio de Janeiro, and expressed the far right tendency among an important group of the new intellectual generation. In an interview with a representative former member, we can clearly find these tendencies:

> We were a group of students from the Faculty of Law, he declared, accused of fascism because we were anti-Communists, because we were interested in the problems of corporatism and because we had some sympathy for Italian fascism.[22]

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[19] He had made one of the most brilliant analyses of the *tenentista movement* in: *O sentido do Tenentismo*, (Rio, Schmidt 1933).

[20] Santa Rosa, V., *A desordem*, Rio, Shmidt, 1932, p.5.

[21] One may illuminate it with a few examples of the titles of some important articles: "The hierarchy of individual life and the collective", "Democracy and corporatism", "Hitler and German fascism", The problems of the new organization of Brazil", and " The decade of fascism".

[22] Lacombe, A., *Conversations with H. Trindade*, Rio, 1969.

The majority of the contributors to this journal belonged to the group of intellectuals from Rio whom Salgado established contact with after the Revolution of 1930. This happened after the failure of the Revolutionary Legion of São Paulo. Later they were important for building the Society for Political Studies (SPS). Most of these young intellectuals became members in the Integralist Action.[23]

Politics, the third journal, was run by Candido Motta Filho.[24] It's first issue appeared in São Paulo in January 1932, and the orientation of this journal was less inspired by a fascist sympathy compared to the Hierarchy. The poet Menotti del Picchia, who was a contributor to Politics, developed in its two first issues a study on "the failure of political democracy" where he argued that "the modern world is a stunned witness to the collective crisis of its political regime which is built upon the archaic forms of universal franchise. Democracy has collapsed".[25]

At the same time several radical far-right movements were born: '*Ação Social Brasileira*', '*Partido Nacional Fascista*', '*Legião Cearense do Trabalho*', '*Partido Nacional Sindicalista*' and the monarchist movement of '*Patrionovismo*'. The ideological convergence of the far-right, which took place during the early thirties, was reinforced by the regional diffusion of these organizations. They were born outside the revolutionary forces in power and were managed by civil or military leaders hostile towards the Revolution of 1930, but who nevertheless recognized that it had opened new options for political action.

The Brazilian Social Action ('*Ação Social Brasileira*') of J. Fabiano emerged from the failed attempt to organize a 'National Fascist Party'. Its program may be characterized as:

> a nationalistic political party whose goal is to struggle in carrying out all measures that favours the moral, intellectual and material strengthening of Brazil (...). To the ASB, which puts discipline into the service of the people, Law is above Order and the Country is above everything. The ASB is willing, by reason or by force, to carry out all necessary measures for its victory.[26]

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[23] Thiers Martins Moreira, Américo Lacombe, Antonio Galotti, Helio Vianna, Otávio de Faria, Santiago Dantas, Chermond de Miranda and Vinicius de Moraes.

[24] He was one of the most important members of the Society for the study of politics together with Salgado and he participated in the effort of renewal of the Parti Répulicain Paulista (PRP).

[25] Picchia, M. del, "A fallencia da democracia política", *Politique* 1 (1), 1932.

[26] Fabrino, J., "Programa do ASB" in *Seconda Republica*, São Paulo, Difel, 1974, p. 322.

The general goal of the party was to replace the federal regime whose dissolving forces had partitioned Brazil into twenty-one different units from a former homogeneous, unified society. Thus they wanted to re-establish 'the national union into a corporate system' and to take steps to 'strengthen the race'.

The Ceará Legion of Work (*'Legião Cearense do Trabalho'*) was an important regional movement in the State of Ceará, which also had its roots in the masses. The leader of the movement was the young lieutenant Severino Sombra, an orthodox catholic, who out of anti-liberalism refused to participate in the Revolution of 1930. After its initial foundation on August 23. 1931, the Legion counted 9000 legionaries. It reached 15.000 recruited members when it began organizing in the other cities in the State of Ceará. According to their leader, approximately twenty labour organizations and comparable associations were associated with the Legion. Some months after its foundation a list showed forty associations registered.[27]

Even though the Legion was not organized and disciplined as the Brazilian Social Action, its militants did wear uniforms: White trousers and workers' jacket in cotton. They had a sign on their left arm showing a worker holding the pair of scales of justice. Before the leader spoke, the members greeted him, all answering "Ready!". The Legion offered a program which included the traditional, social, catholic doctrine and simultaneously the fascist inspired elements.[28]

The National Syndicalist Party (*'Partido Nacional Sindicalista'*) was created by the young journalist Olbiano de Mello from Minas Gerais.[29] But this party only existed in theory. It represented a more elaborated conception of a fascist inspiration than the other organizations. Just as Salgado, Mello came from a small town and he was at the same time a militant in the ranks of the Republican Party.

Olbiano Mello did not hesitate to admit that he had opted for fascism. His ideological evolution was associated with the awareness that the Revolution of 1930 was "one stage in the social Revolution in the world",[30] and it took shape

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[27] Sombra, S., *O Ideal Legionário*, Ceará, Tipografia Gadêlha, 1931, p. 30, 48.

[28] The two texts which had their strongest influence were the 'Syllabus' and the papal encyclica 'Rerum Novarum'.

[29] Olbiano de Mello, who much later joined the Integralista, lived in the small village of Teofoli Otoni in the North-east of the State of Minas Gerais.

[30] Mello O. de, *A marcha da Revolução social no Brasil*, Rio, Ediçôes O Cruzeiro, 1957, p. 41.

in a context contaminated by fascism. He did not deny his definite inclinations: "Inside the State of Minas Gerais, I have embraced fascism because I am convinced that the implantation of this system in Brazil will solve our social problems" (ibid.: 24).

The program and the organization of the National Syndicalist Party was the main theme of his essay "*Up with Brazil!*". Here, he defined the PNS as an organization against Bolshevism, the political parties and Social Democracy.[31] This movement was an instrument of "force and action" which would carry "in its veins, and in its essence, the aristocratic character of a true social revolution".[32]

The program proposed:

> Introduction of a corporatist syndicalist state in Brazil with abolition of universal suffrage and substituting it with representation by occupational groups; protection of private property recognized by the State; respect of the concepts of the family, the country and God; syndicalization of all occupational groups; introduction of a unitary, federal regime in the form of a nationalistic, syndicalist and corporate state with a system of constrained vote for each occupational group and with separation of powers in judicial, executive and legislative sections combined in a harmonic and independent system.[33]

All details of the party's organization were planned, from the commanding institutions to the rituals, the uniform, the flag, and the syndicalist hymn. Membership of the National Syndicalist Party was available for everyone of both sexes above 21 years of age. But "minors above 17 years could join with the permission of their parents or tutors".[34] The obligatory uniform worn by the militants was a shirt, a collar, a navy blue tie and a cap. They also wore black trousers and leggings and with a sign on the left representing a handshake

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[31] "It is", he wrote, " the democratic-socialists, who will to try everyting new, who in the actual situation arouse the enthusiasm in Germany, and fortunately it seems that Hitler's National Socialist Party will liberate it gradually". See Mello, O. de: *Levantate Brasil*, Rio, Tipografia Terra de Sol, 1932, p. 28.

[32] Mello, O. de, ibid, p. 29.

[33] Mello, O. de, *Communisme ou Fascisme*?, Rio, Tipografia Terra de Sol, 1931, p. 30-31.

[34] Mello, O. de, ibid, p. 39.

[35] Mello, O. de, ibid, idem.

[36] Mello, O. de, ibid, idem.

surrounded by a blue and black circle with as many white stars as there are states and territories in Brazil.[35] The handing over of the sign of honour to a new member was only done at the party's headquarters "standing in front of the national and syndicalist flags" and taking the oath "for the Family, for the Country, and for God".[36]

The Brazilian Patrionovist Imperialist Action (*Açao Imperial Patrionovista Brasileira*) was the fourth and last mentioned movement. It was a neo-monarchist and catholic movement founded in 1928 in order to restore the traditional monarchy; that is a regime relying on the king, the catholic church and the medieval corporations.[37] It was made clear that "without true belief, without a king, there is no corporatism".[38] The 'Patrionovismo' refused a return to a Brazilian empire which, imbued with liberalism, had abolished in its constitution "the judges, the clerks and the masters".[39]

The corporatist organization of this State was meticulously described by the *patrionovitsa* Paím Vieira within the context of an "organic and integral monarchy" (ibid.: 205). This militant personality speaks very highly about the medieval corporations in which "moral perfection was an essential quality for promotion within the hierarchy". Work was considered as a 'noble' duty and the catholic religion was "the foundation on which this majestic economic, political and social structure rested" (ibid.: 163). In order to face "anarchy in work, provoked by liberalism", the author proposed the corporatist Christianity as the solution:

> The corporate organization does not by itself bring harmony between the classes. It is simply the instrument for its creating force; Christianity. There is no secular corporatism. Without God, there is no harmony, no discipline, because there is no authority. Syndicalism without God is absurd' (ibid.: 158).

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[37] This was important because a large group of its members participated in the Society for the Study of Politics (SEP) which preceded *L'Action intégralista*. Among the most prominent members were: Sebastião Pagano, Arlindo Veiga dos Santos, Paím Vieira, João Carlos Fairbanks and Ataliba Nogueira.

[38] Vieira, P., *Organização profissional (corporativismo) e representação de classes*, São Paulo, Revista dos Tribunais, 1933, p. 257.

[39] Article 179, paragraph XXV in the Constitution of the empire (1824).

A study of the religious ideas in Brazil therefore confirms the hypothesis of an ideological convergence between certain movements in the thirties and integralism.

The patrionovistas did not have a great success with their program, but soon another movement developed. This movement went further with the ideals of corporatism and representation of the classes: namely Integralism. Politically more objective and more in keeping with the ways of its time, the movement of Plínio Salgado took off and imposed a corporatist model more or less like the *patrionovista* program.[40]

b) *The political path of the Leader and the foundation of the AIB.*

The intellectual training and the political apprenticeship of Plínio Salgado developed in a society which in the twenties was in a period of rapid transition. His father was a local political leader, and he was a part of the old Republic's political system. Salgado himself also served this system until the Revolution of 1930. The rupture away from the dominant republican policy and his new ideological engagement were influenced by the ideas of the modernist movement. Before 1930 he had at the same time been member of a traditional political party and actively participated in the 'aesthetic revolution'. His political past seemed to pressure him towards integration within the oligarchic circles, but his literary activity incited him to pass outside these established frames. As many other 'Young Turks', Salgado decided slowly and reluctantly, and after having tried without any success to renew the Paulist Republican Party, he went on to try out a new experience.

The most important influence on Salgado's intellectual training came from the modernist group. His participation during the modernist literary revolution in 1922 imbued him with the national problems and reinforced his nationalist inclinations. Although his political engagement was affirmed in the '*Partido Municipalista*', the modernist experience would bring him to a break with his former political activities as they were a compromise towards the First Republic. He was becoming aware of the necessity to create a political movement independent of the traditional forces.

Salgado joined those who wanted to renew the old PRP from the inside. This movement called itself 'National Action' in order to reconcile the old re-

[40] Oliveira Torres, J. C., *História das idéias religiosas no Brasil*, São Paulo, Editora Grijalbo, 1968, p. 195.

publican party with the ideas of the current situation: "It was a matter of revival of the power and the youthfulness from the past of the Party".[41]

Despite the failure of the endeavour to renew the Party, Salgado stayed within the PRP until the Revolution of 1930. Thanks to the success of 'The Stranger' in 1926, he was invited to run in the general election. He was elected representative for the Assembly of São Paulo together with Menotti del Picchia. Then he saw another opportunity for renewal, and he followed the newly elected president of the State of São Paulo, Julío Prestes. But once again he was misled. However, Salgado's evolution towards ideological action and break with the traditional parties was more guided by the literary revolution and aesthetical evolution than by his political activities. Salgado also recognized the effects modernism had on his political views:

> The literary and artistic revolution of 1922-23 lightened a blazing spirit of rebellion with which we have started to overturn the old defenders of form, and broke the political rhythm of the country.[42]

Disappointed by the traditional republican policy and stimulated by the modernist literary revolution, Salgado decided in April 1930 to leave for Europe and the Orient as a private tutor for the son of a São Paulo lawyer.[43] This journey should play an important role in his decision to launch an autonomous ideologically movement.

From then on, two elements could be seen which indicated the birth of the Brazilian Integralist Action: Firstly, the concern in elaborating new ideas that were to be adapted to the reality of the country. Secondly, the existence of a predisposition for 'áction'. Yet, he did not see the fascist option as the right choice. Two ideas are expressed with force when he defines the role his generation has to play:

> As it is more a movement of action than of thought, it will certainly be the great awakening of a final national idea, which will have a less important place than it has deserved in the political and social development of Brazil.[44]

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[41] Motta Filho, C., *Témoignage sur l'AIB*, Rio, 1970.

[42] Salgado, P., *Despertemos à Nação*, Rio, José Olympio, 1935, p. 7.

[43] Alfredo Egydio de Souza Aranha with whom he worked during 1926-27 and who in 1932 did finance the establishment of the journal A *Razão* (the Reason).

[44] Salgado, P., *Literatura e Política*, São Paulo, Edit. das Américas, 1927, p. XIII.

The 'pre-integralist' phase started when Salgado integrated the dominating nationalist themes of modernism into his vision of political action. This phase, after Salgado's break with the Republican party, was characterized by elaborating a new political doctrine. His conceptions were shaped during his journey to Europe and to the Orient, from late April until October 1930. While studying the European political experiences and being disappointed with his old party, Salgado was thinking of the future of Brazilian politics. Then the ideas of fascism as a possible solution came to his mind.

From that moment, he started to incorporate new themes into his political visions. He finished his book *The Hope*, and he sketched out a political manifesto which later could be the basic doctrine of the Revolutionary Legion of São Paulo in its first phase.[45] When he returned to Brazil, as he was the chief editor of *A Razão* (The Reason), he wanted to create a political movement as his principal goal. The writing of a daily 'political note' allowed him the opportunity and hope to build up a political consciousness within public opinion. In 1932, with a group of intellectuals under his influence, he founded the Society of Political Studies (SEP).

The visions of integralist leader thus emerged from conflicts in his inner, personal contradictions. Nationalist, catholic and republican from his youth, Salgado later found himself caught in these social-political tensions and ideological worries. Disappointed by the Liberal republic, he offered his energy to the literary revolution that had urged him into political action. Fascinated by the European fascist experience and the rise of the far-right in Brazil, Salgado felt stimulated to create the Integralist Action and to try to give it an ideological basis close to the Revolution of 1930. The rapid rise of integralism and its ideological penetration into the middle class, but also among segments of the working classes, made this movement influential enough to become the main mass organization of Brazil.

Salgado knew about fascism in Europe, and in one of his letters he told about his conversation with 'Il Duce':

> I told Mussolini what I was planning to do: he found reason to admire my proposals, given the different situations of our two countries. He thought as I do, that *before the organization of a party, a movement of ideas is necessary.*

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[45] The Revolutionary Legions were the political movements which, in some States and after 1930, organized themselves and kept alive the ideas of the future Revolution.

He finished his letter with the affirmation of nationalism which aims at hegemony:

> I have thought of the necessity of giving the Brazilian people an ideal which will lead them to their historical position. A goal that can arouse the enthusiasm of the people consisting of nationalism, order and discipline in the country and *our hegemony in South America*.[46]

Four days later, after he had been to three biennial expositions that 'honoured Italy and the fascist government', he wrote a letter from Venice where he repeated the project of forming a 'movement of ideas':

> I leave Italy with a program of action. This holy light will not burn out even in this magnificent France which otherwise absorbs all strange characters. I will bring it to Brazil. I will come back full of enthusiasm to start working for our country.[47]

The journal *The Reason* was created in the middle of 1931. It was founded by Alfredo Egydio de Souza Aranha, a lawyer and banker from São Paulo and also an admirer of Salgado for whom he had already paid a voyage to Europe as the private tutor of his son. *The Reason* was to play a decisive role for the formation of the Integralist Action.

During a talk with the Minister of Justice of the Revolutionary Government, the founder of *The Reason* did not hesitate to say about Salgado: "This man can be the ideological founder of the Revolution".[48]

The political orientation of the journal was then entrusted to Plínio Salgado and Santiago Dantas. On May 23. 1932 the premises of the journal were sat on fire by followers of the Paulist Revolution. However, his goals had been reached: Thanks to the publication of approximately 300 articles, Salgado had established contact with a diversified group of intellectuals and persons 'of action' all over the country.

Salgado began to formulate the political basis of his autonomous 'political action', apparently in complete freedom from interference from the political

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[46] Collectif, *Plínio Salgado*, São Paulo, Edição da Revista Panorama, 1936, p. 21.

[47] Callage, F., "Alguns aspectos da vida de Plínio Salgado" in Collectif, *Plínio Salgado*, São Paulo, Edição da Revista Panorama, 1936, p. 174.

[48] Silvia, H., *Os tenentes no poder*, Rio, Civilização Brasileira, 1966, p. 76.

establishment. This was the beginning of *pre-integralism* which became manifesto within the Society of Political Studies (SEP) in March 1932.

The first 'political note' was written on May 5. 1931 with the title "Mistakes of Today, Dangers of Tomorrow" and clarified the program of Salgado:

> In Brazil, there is still no common feeling of national interest. It is our responsibility to declare from the beginning, in the discussion of the problems that this period creates, that there exists no interest above the supreme national interests. From this integral and nationalistic point of view, we shall start our journalistic action in these difficult moments in the life of Brazil. In this daily note we will outline our political thoughts and try to indicate the objectives that seem to us to be of the outmost necessity and our basic needs.[49]

To direct the actions of the young people, he presented some basic criteria. He appealed and he made some affirmative statements about the future: "This paralyzed and deaf Brazil will wake up one day, with weapons in hands, thanks to the strong consciousness of the new generations".[50] What was the nucleus of this new doctrine? It was a philosophical vision of the society directed towards a higher morality and based on a new conception of the State:

> The Modern State, which is a synthesis of all the material, moral, intellectual and spiritual energy of the people, cannot stay indifferent towards the struggle between the two apocalyptic monsters (capitalism and communism). We must define a new conception of the State, an organization and a propaganda based upon the superior aim of Man.[51]

From April 1932 Salgado did not communicate with the Provisional Government any more. Before that he published a series of articles in February on the 'Orders to the Dictatorship'. His language revealed a disillusionment vis-à-vis the dictatorship and about his intention of creating an autonomous political movement. Moreover, from the end of February 1932, the organization of the Society of Political Studies (SEP), which was a real waiting-room for the Integralist Action, came into being.

In a new series of articles entitled "National Construction" beginning on April 20. 1932, he announced the necessity of a *revolution within the Revolution*. He stated that if the Revolution meant a return to the past, it had failed.

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[49] Salgado P., "Erros de hoje perigos de amanhã", *A Razão*, 5 juin 1931.

[50] Salgado P., "O Baile de Máscaras", *A Razão*, 25 novembre, 1931.

[51] Salgado P., "Rumos à Ditadura (VIII)", *A Razão*, 14 février, 1932.

He declared that a "new revolution was being born". Brazil would not return into the past because "if it is not the one of 1932, it will be the one of a future date: it is as unavoidable as was the movement of 1930".[52] Therefore his plan was to establish the ideological basis for the new revolution.

c) *Fascism.*

Salgado's now favourable position towards fascism makes it easier to capture the development of his thought.

Analyzing the international political situation, and especially the case of Germany, his first observation was that in a moment of crisis, there is no place for indecisive persons. "The crowd is not interested in those who want reconciliation and delay. It is the courageous ones that should lead the masses".[53]

In 1932, he wrote that the modern world was facing two interpretations of society, thus he envisaged a polarization of two extremes:

> Either we stay with Marx' thesis and adapt the principle of historical materialism, as well as the process of social revolution, or we stay with the far-right thus maintaining that man and society will live through economic contingent changes led by the superiority of ideals and with intellectual, moral and spiritual standards.[54]

This choice in favour of the far-right did however put him in a specific dilemma. He had a more distinct sympathy for fascism than before, but at the same time, he wanted to invent a genuine regime for Brazil. Salgado therefore considered that:

> Italian fascism is the *state synthesis* where the state in particular carries in itself all the national features and realizes all the desires of the nation in its harmonic structure.[55]

However, Salgado wrote in a later article that:

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[52] Salgado P., "Construção Nacional", *A Razão*, 20 avril, 1932.

[53] Salgado P., "A Marcha para os extremos", *A Razão*, 16 décembre, 1931.

[54] Salgado P., "Federação e Sufrágio (XXVII)", *A Razão*, 3 février, 1932.

[55] Salgado, P., "Regimens políticos", *A Razão*, 21 octobre, 1931.

> what exists of essentials in the fascist doctrine is directly acceptable, as an absolute conception of the state ..., what's formal in this regime cannot be used in Brazil.

It is therefore proper to follow the thinking of Alberto Torres who:

> already in 1924, before the appearance of the fascist concept of the state had advocated a form of republican government that included the doctrines today accepted by Rocco and Gentile.[56]

Salgado's position, despite all his efforts of making distinctions, therefore integrated into the fascist stream. He tried desperately to take Brazilian specificities into account, because he believed that:

> only strong governments with a position of a genuine authority, could realize a policy of imposing their rhythm on the world of today.[57]

Salgado's journalistic work in *The Reason* and his organization of the *Society of Political Studies* (*Sociedade de Estudos Políticos*) offered him the opportunity of integrating all these factors into his emerging ideological organization. The journal was the instrument that spread his ideas, and the SEP became an arena of ideological reflection, from where the Integralist Manifesto arose.

Salgado himself recognized the role of the journal as his instrument, and his articles attracted the attention of intellectuals and leaders who refused the return to the liberalism of the 1891-constitution.

The first meeting of the *Society of Political Studies* was held on the initiative of Salgado on October 24. 1932 in the headquarters of the journal in São Paulo. Among the group of young intellectuals from the city who came to this meeting were: Candido Motta Filho, Ataliba Nogueira, Mario Graciotti, João Leães Sobrinho, Fernando Calage and several students from the Faculty of Law.

The founding assembly of the *SEP* took place on March 1932, and was presided by Salgado. In his introductory statement, he defined the role of the association:

> Gentlemen, everywhere I hear the word 'revolution'. From every place we receive echoes of complaints which, in the middle of the confusion that dominates the country since October 1930, call for *a revolutionary spirit*. Actually, everything indicates that Brazil wants renewal, wants to regain its self-control, and

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[56] Salgado, P., idem.

[57] Salgado, P., "Democracia e Nacionalismo", *A Razão*, 12 décembre, 1931.

> wants to march firmly into history. We call for better social justice and a more human redistribution of material necessities, in order to readjust the abuses of ardent individualism. At this moment, I convene you in order to examine the national problems so that we can point out the correct way to a sound political solution ...[58]

After this event Salgado started to melt the fragmented movements and the scattered intellectuals of the far-right into one unit. In his eyes, the pioneering role of São Paulo should reappear and thus save the nation. He took contact with the former known group of intellectuals from Rio through his old friend the poet Augusto Frederico Schmidt and Santiago Dantas who edited *The Reason* together. One of the members of this group of young intellectuals from the *Journal of Law and Social Studies* was the director of *Hierarchy*, Lourival Fontes, and he was later joined by two future integralist leaders, Raimundo Padilha and Madeira de Freitas.[59]

Salgado was able to reach, with the organization, into the north of the country and to the state of Minas Gerais and to Ceará. A few days after the first meeting of the SEP, Salgado sent a letter to Olbiano de Mello who had dreamt of creating a *National Syndicalist Party*. After expressing thanks for the book *The Syndicalist Republic of the United States of Brazil*, Salgado informed him of his activities in the journal and the foundation of the SEP.

When the SEP organized its third session in São Paulo on May 6. 1932, Salgado, supported by the majority, suggested they should create a "new technical council called Brazilian Integralist Action".[60] Its goal was to "transmit to the people, in a comprehensive language", the results of the studies and the basic doctrines of the SEP.

Even though the decision of creating the AIB was made in May, it did not begin to function until five months later, visibly with the publication of the *October Manifesto* of 1932.

The SEP organized two meetings in June in order to debate the outline of the Manifesto as it had been presented by Salgado. During its first meeting, Salgado explained his proposal to the assembly, and inspection copies were given to the members of the SEP for possible modifications. At the next meeting, the Mani-

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[58] Salgado, P., *O Integralismo na vida brasileira*, Rio, Livr. Clássica Brasileira, 1958, p. 143.

[59] They were the coming chefs of the integralist in the State of Rio and in the federal District, and also members of the Supreme Council and the National Secretariat of the l'AIB.

[60] Salgado, P., *O Integralismo na vida brasileira*, Rio, Livr. Clássica Brasileira, 1958, p. 17.

festo was approved without serious modifications. However, the contemporary launching of the 'Constitutionalista' Revolution of 1932 in São Paulo, forced Salgado by caution or by political strategy, to publish the document a few weeks later than intended.

Salgado thus benefited from the foundation of the integralist movement: The AIB was to become the main far-right movement during the thirties.

INTEGRALISM AS A FASCIST MASS PARTY

1. *A bureaucratic and totalitarian organization*

Fascist parties are generally organized hierarchically with an emphasis on the training and efficiency of its militants. The aim of the integralist organization went even further than this instrumental function. Beyond the vertical and strict structure and under the influence of the bodies of training and ideological socialisation, integralism added a new element of ideological integration and organization: The structure of the AIB portrays the Integral State. By conceiving the organization on this model, the relationship between the leader, the functions and the different organs constituted a pre-state structure. The organization provided not only a functional means for the political action, or a frame for the ideological training of leaders and members, it was also an instrument for development and experimentation, on a limited scale, towards the Integralist State.

The integralist organization had a triple function: It offered the leader the power to control the entire movement, it was intended to realize a pre-state experience designed after the theoretical model of the Integralist State, and finally it was an instrument for political-ideological socialization of the members.

These aspects defined its fascist contents: The leader was the source of legitimacy in the system, its pre-state structure and its means of ideological socialization characterized its bureaucratic and totalitarian nature.

Inspired by the fascist model of the thirties, the integralist organization was controlled by a 'national leader'. All the written founding material entrusted to him the total and unchallenged leadership of the movement. His power was at the same time *centralized, total and permanent. The centralization of the power of the leader* was so pivotal that all the bodies and functions of the movement were out-lined as delegations from his absolute power. Finally they always depended upon his decision. The statutes of 1934, which created the national departments (1), specified that "the national leader will direct and command the entire movement in all the provinces through the national departments". In each department, the leader will "name a national secretary under his direct control to assist him" (Estatutos 1934: art. 9 and rules of the departments).

The power of the leader ('chef') was total, since he was present in all the important spheres of the movement. The *power to define the doctrine*, the *political decision-making* and the *control of the action* laid in his hands. When needed, he defined and clarified the integralist idea. "He had the sole right of resolution in any ideological and practical matters" (ibid.: art. 3, § h and § m). He had "all the rights" of nomination to positions, the governing of the movement and he had the exclusive power to name the secretaries of the national departments, the leaders in the provinces and the members of the National Council. Finally, he decided the political-ideological direction among the integralists because he was "the commander-in-chief of the integralist forces" (ibid.: art. 3, §6).

The nature of his power is best defined by its permanent character. Nobody can, without the risk of exclusion, "comment upon any action done by the leader in his functions", neither question him on any subject without soliciting him first, nor intervene on the range of his exclusive powers (ibid.: art. 4 to 8). During the interpretation of the *Protocols and Rituals of the AIB* in 1936, the nature of the powers of the leader had not changed compared to the initial documents, but the text was designed to depersonalize the basis for this form of unlimited power. The legitimacy of the power of the leader was due to the fact that "he was the synthesis of the aspirations of all the integralists, the supreme exponent and defender of the doctrine", and, more than a person, he was "the idea within it" (Protocols 1937: art. 11).

Despite this change in terminology, the submission to the personalized leader remained, giving unconditional loyalty to Plínio Salgado. Faithfulness to the chief was therefore a consequence of his unlimited power. All new militant integralists had solemnly to take this oath in front of the portrait of the national leader: "I swear by God and my honour to work for the Brazilian Integralist Action and execute the orders of the national leader and my superiors in the hierarchy without arguments".

Always when the leader went on an assignment, the integralists had to be present at his departure. In accordance with the ritual, after singing the integralist hymn, they had to greet the chief: "Up with Brazil! Up with the Integralist State! Faithful in life and death to our national leader, Plínio Salgado!" Then they raised their right arm and shouted out three times the word of greeting, which originally was Indian: "Anauê! Anauê! Anauê!" (Protocolos 1937).

The basis for the power of the leader can be found in four different elements. Firstly, nobody had the right to question his authority. A leader who tolerated any questioning of his authority would experience a crisis of power, and give signs of weakness. Secondly, and linked to the first: There can not exist any

contradiction between the leader and the political doctrine. This principle was absolute in integralism, since the chief was at the same time the founder and the interpreter of the political principles. Thirdly the logic of the concept of the leader and the two corollaries of his authority was perfect, and fourthly the charisma of Salgado can largely be explained from his rhetorical capacity: In his conception, the leader needed a 'liturgy' for external communication. If it is true that presentation does not replace eloquence, it did, however, create an auspicious atmosphere for the transmission of messages and symbolic attachment to the leader. Salgado shaped the outward appearance and the contents of rituals, and this explains the entire 'protocols and rituals' assigned to the ceremonies of the integralists.

a) *The pre-state structure*

The general power-principle of the organization was derived from the position of the leader and went in his name. The hierarchically organized structure was designed to accomplish the system of delegation from the leader and under his direct responsibility. At the same time, it was a bureaucratic entity protected against the challenges of practical decisions and matters of detail. Thus, the organization was an instrument of action for the leader and also functional as a protective screen. The history of the movement shows, however, that Salgado's temperament and the ambiguity of his commands proved him less able to steer and control the machinery than envisaged. On the other hand, the impact of bureaucratization was reinforced when the machinery was in crisis. Therefore, the screening function predominated and Salgado became more and more an isolated leader. His speeches, articles and works were the only direct means of communication between the members and himself.

The integralist congress at Vítoria established the organizational structure of the AIB which lasted until the reorganization in 1936. Its basic structure was the leader, the national council and the national departments which constituted the executive body. These organizational elements became the embryo of the pre-state structure.

As in any government, the leader had a civil and a military council at his disposal. The council was divided into several branches. One of the most important ones was 'the Military Department and the Commander of the Special Services Troops', which was responsible for Salgado's protection. It was made up by four aides-de-camp at the leader's service and two more from the Military Department and the Special Services Troops. The other branches of the Council were the Secretary, the Official paper (*Monitor Integralista*), the Press department and the Department of foreign affairs. The latter established contacts with

authorities and political movements abroad, more precisely "the organizations in the world which had affinities with the integralism", "the consular and diplomatic authorities". They also got the responsibility for "the propaganda among Brazilians abroad".[61] The competence and responsibility of the leader resembled that of governmental functions. It permitted him to institute 'honorary orders' for integralist personalities giving them a distinction of high 'moral, intellectual and civic' standards.[62]

The National Council had an advisory role, with no autonomous power of decision. It was a secondary organ composed of secretaries to the national departments, the provincial leaders, and members appointed by the national leader.

The executive organs were led by a national secretary, and the national departments were under the direct control of the national leader. The first model of the AIB organization was divided into six departments: Political Organization, Ideology, Propaganda, Culture and Arts, Militia and Finances. The leader headed himself the Department of Justice.

In 1936, the entire model was reorganized. New bodies were added to the formerly mentioned. Resolution 165 (January 1936) created two new bodies of representation: The Chamber of Forty and the Supreme Council. It also instituted one of the most important units of the AIB: the Court of Sigma (*Côrtes do Sigma*).

The *Chamber of Forty* was an advisory body comprising 'individuals of high moral and intellectual standards' of the AIB (*Monitor Integralista* October 36). It was subdivided into specialized committers which gave their opinion on problems raised by the national leader. The Supreme Council was defined as an 'auxiliary body' of the national leader, and replaced the National Council. The latter had a more advisory than executive role because it was composed of the national secretaries and the provincial leaders. But the composition made it difficult to assemble because of the geographical distance between the states. Salgado also needed a consultative body close to him, composed of important

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[61] Resolution no 19 of the statutes for the internal Cabinet of the national Chef. (*Moniotor Integralista* no 6, May 1934). The development of these international reports gave later, in 1936, birth to the Secretariat for External Relations.

[62] Resolution no 2, creation of Orders of honor (*Monitor Integralista*, 1 (6) May 1934). The orders were the following: 1. The Cross of 'Ancieta', 2. The Star of 'Guararapes', 3. The Order of 'Cacador de Esmereldas', and 4. the Order of 'Sigma'.

integralist leaders. That is why he created the Supreme Council and then nominated ten members among the old secretaries of the national departments.[63]

The most important body of representation was the *Court of Sigma*. It comprised the highest leaders of the hierarchy: The members of the Supreme Council, the national secretaries, the Chamber of Forty, the provincial leaders (later the Chamber of Four Hundred), and individual co-opted members. Its first meeting was held on October 15. 1936.

The reorganization in 1936 had increased the number of executive bodies and widened their functions. Thus the old departments strengthened their staff of secretaries. In June 1936 the leader created new divisions: Division for Moral, Physical and Civic Education (*Militia*), Division for Feminale and Youth organization (*Plinianos*) and Division for Foreign Affairs (*Monitor Integralista*, October 1936, Resolution 168).

This change marked the beginning of a strategic transformation of integralism and the beginning of a process of negotiation with the Brazilian establishment. The movement left the 'revolutionary' line and pretended to become a regular political force. The Department of Militia changed name to the Office of Education (moral, civic and physical); the composition of the Chamber of Forty changed and expressed willingness to legitimate the economic elites, thus to gain prestige and respectability for themselves. However, this transition from confrontation to negotiation proved fatal for the movement. President Vargas utilised his machiavellian insight given by this change in the AIB,[64] and obtained, if not the co-operation of the integralists, the at least their proven complicity in the coup of November 1937, which he launched before the end of his mandate. By this manoeuvre and in line with the Cohen plan, the AIB provided him, consciously or not, the opportunity to implant the *Estado Novo* ('the New State'). It was a faked staging of so-called communist subversion in Brazil, and according to the integralists it was presented as a document of an 'internal study' by the leader of the Militia staff. He was at the same time a member of the Secret

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[63] The national departments were lead by: Everaldo Leite (Political organization), Miguel Reale (Doctrine), Madeira de Freitas (Propaganda), Rodolfo Jesetri (Culture and Arts), Gustavo Barroso (Militia), Maciel Ramos (Finance), and Jehovah Motto (Justice). All the secretaries were appointed to the Supreme Council. The only one who belonged to the former National Council was Raimundo Padilha.

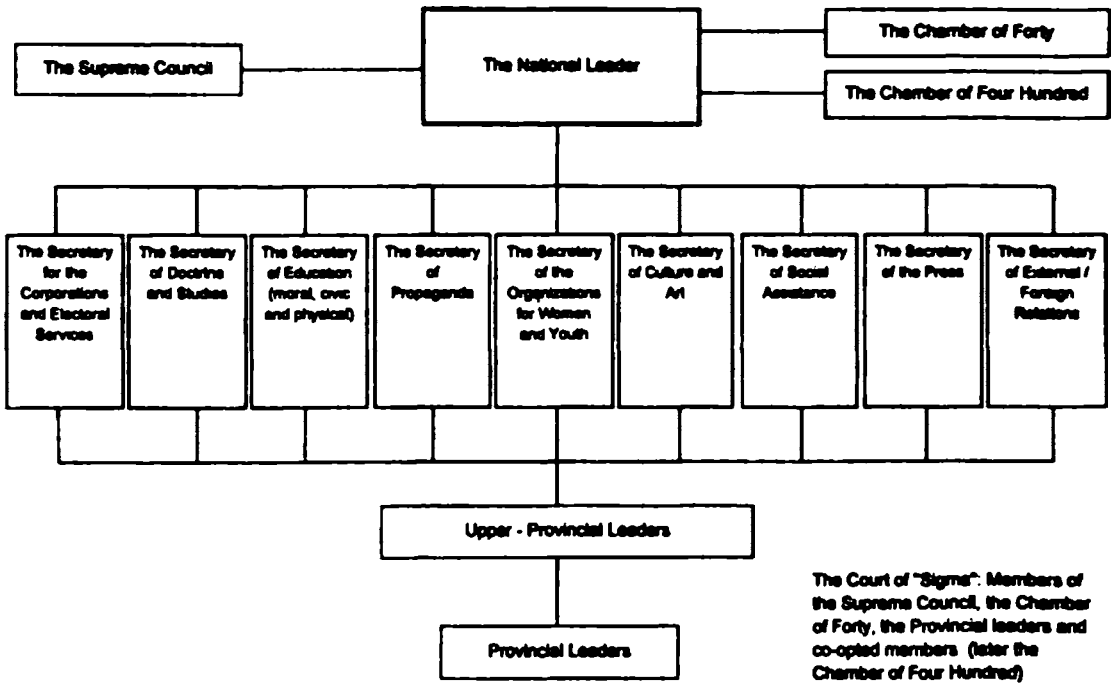
[64] Getulio Vargas became the 'chef' of the provisional Government, set up by the Revolutions of 1930 and 1934, and he also wanted to become president of the Republic under the new constitution.

[65] Salgado, P., Conversations with *H. Trindade*, Brasília, 1969.

services of the army, Captain Mouãro Filho. This plan was given by a friend to the Minister of War, General Goes Monteiro. The government made it public and pretended it was a real plan disclosed by the army. Salgado recognised it when he heard it over a national radio station. However, he did not deny it publicly in order not to make people believe a document disclosed under the authority of the staff of the army was a fake: I could not demoralize the only organized force we still had available in our fight against communism.[65]

Fig 1.

Organization of AIB
(June 1936)


The Supreme Council
The National Leader
The Chamber of Forty
The Chamber of Four Hundred
The Secretary for the Corporations and Electoral Services
The Secretary of Doctrine and Studies
The Secretary of Education (moral, civic and physical)
The Secretary of Propaganda
The Secretary of the Organizations for Women and Youth
The Secretary of Culture and Art
The Secretary of Social Assistance
The Secretary of the Press
The Secretary of External / Foreign Relations
Upper - Provincial Leaders
Provincial Leaders
The Court of "Sigma": Members of the Supreme Council, the Chamber of Forty, the Provincial leaders and co-opted members (later the Chamber of Four Hundred)

[65] Salgado, P., Conversations with *H. Trindade*, Brasília, 1969.

b) *The Militia and ideological socialization*

The *Department of the Militia* directed 'all the integralist forces (F.I.)' (Regulamento 10: art. 1) and imposed a paramilitary organization on the movement. It was inspired by the organization of the regular Army, according to its architect, Captain Mourão Filho.[66] The Militia was organized in a 'top command' and with 'troops'. The first was the steering body and the second the executive. The supreme command of the Militia belonged to the national leader who was head of the "Integralist Forces of the Army, the Navy and the Air force", assisted by a national secretary from the integralist Militia and the Protection Troops. The chief of the military staff, who was nominated by Salgado, was responsible for "the preparation and the execution of the decisions made by the High command" (Regulamento 10: art. 11). The same structure was applied to the regional level with local branches.

The Militia was organized into four sections: The first took care of correspondence, control of the organization (statistics, members), of discipline, and of justice (inquiries and promotions). The second was responsible for information, and the third of equipment and other services. Finally, the fourth section was in charge of military instruction and preparation of plans for military operations.

The role of the last section was not only to prepare the integralists for parades and physical education, but also to ensure that they got a relevant military training. The education was "technical, tactical and moral", and it ranged from physical education to elaboration of combat plans. Moreover, this training corresponded to the five armed sections of the 'Troops': Infantry, cavalry, pioneers, artillery and air force.

The Troops were structured in three categories: Militia of the first front line, militiamen of the second line, and youngsters. The Hierarchy of the Militia included three grades: The Guard (*Second Decurion*, the *Decurion* and the *Second Instructor*), the Non-commissioned officers (the *Instructor*, the *Bandeirante* and the *Camp Chief*) and the Officers (the *Brigadier*, the *Lieutenant-General* and the *National Chief*). The command lines in each unit were exercised directly within the local groups of militiamen. In the first system created in 1934, the different groups were organized as follows: The *decuria* was composed of six militiamen and a commander (*decurion*), the *terço* was made up of three *decurias* under the command of an *Instructor*, the *bandeira* comprised

[66] General Olympio Mourãa Filho was the main responsible for the military operations leading to the coup d'etat against the government of president Goulart in 1964. In the pre-war period he was 'Chef for the l'etat-major of the intégralist Militia', under the command of (the historian?) Gustavo Barroso.

four *terços* and was directed by a *Bandeirante* who carried the integralist flag. Finally, the most important unit, the *Legião* consisted of four *bandeiras* and was lead by a *Camp Leader*. This was the only one permitted to carry the national flag (See fig. 2).

It was obligatory for the militiamen to wear uniform: A green shirt, a black tie, black and white trousers, a green cap and black shoes. The AIB symbol: The Greek letter 'sigma', surrounded by a black circle which symbolized the will of union of all Brazilians, was placed on the right arm and on the cap. The different format of the symbols showed the ranks within the hierarchy.[67]

2. *Structure of the integralist militia*

Every integralist aged from sixteen to forty-two, after having chosen which militia category he wanted to participate in, was obliged to join the Integralist Forces. If he chose to be a 'front line militiaman', he was enrolled in a training program for sixty days, after which he was integrated into a *decuria*. At the beginning of the training he would fill out a form with all his personal data. Afterwards, in front of the Militia command and a group of witnesses, he took the following oath:

> As I now become engaged in the Militia, I swear in the name of God and by my honour to obey in absolute discipline my leaders and commit myself to total solidarity with my comrades. I swear to give my life, if necessary, for the Integralist Revolution, to love, respect and make respected the national leader (Regualmento 10).

When the training of the militiaman was over, he had to participate in the ceremony of the 'oath to the flags'; a public and solemn event in front of the AIB headquarters. On this occasion a new statement of loyalty was given, collectively. Even though it was called the 'oath to the flags', it was an oath of absolute submission under the discipline and the leader. After a military ritual, the militiamen proclaimed:

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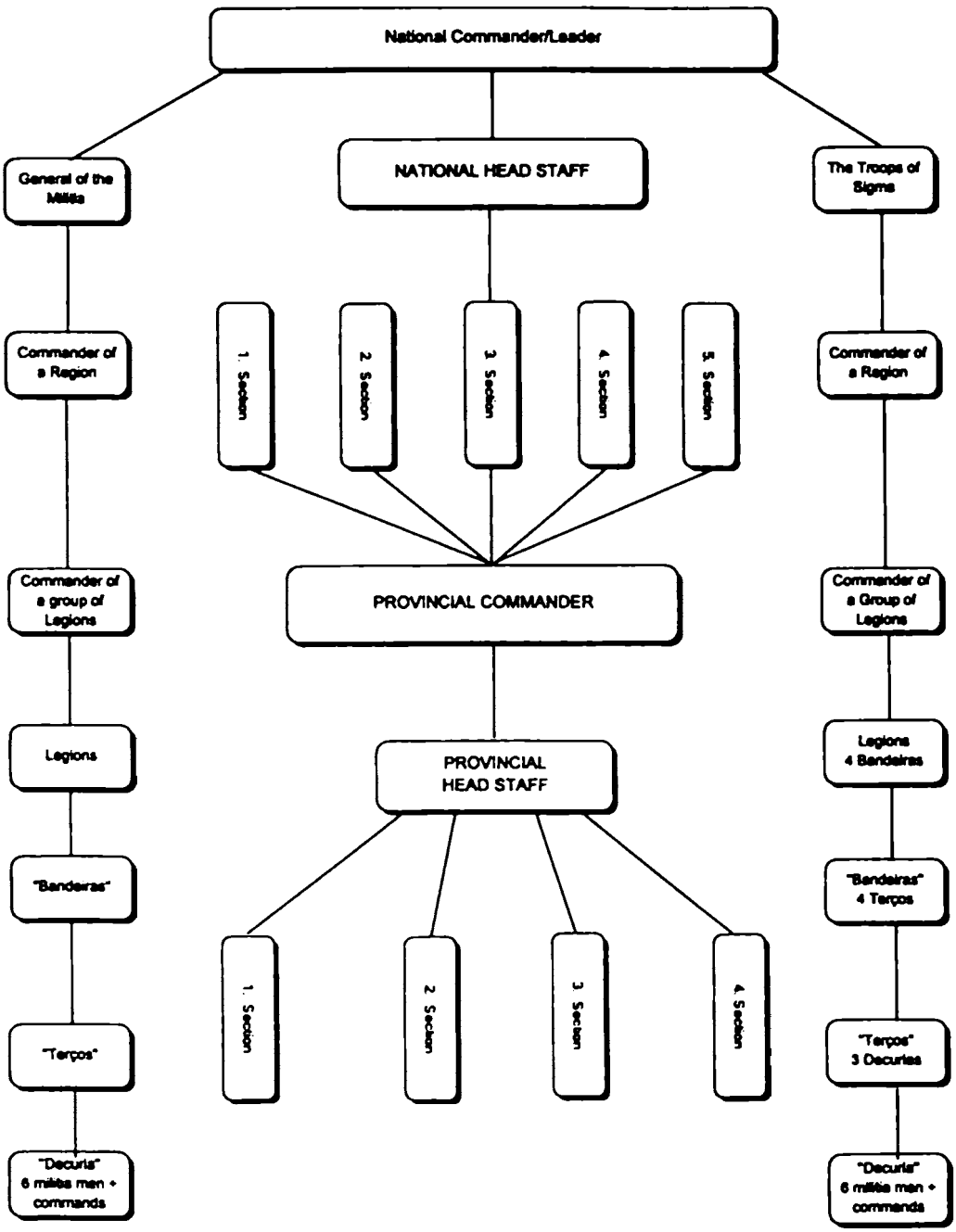
[67] The duty to wear uniform was very rigourously written into the Manifesto of the Integralista. In article 32 of 'The Protocol of Rituals' it was stated that "all integralists are obliged to have a green shirt ready to wear in any moment of importance". Even if he was on a private voyage he was obliged to carry "the green shirt with him in his suitcase". The respect for the shirt demanded every one, in the event when an integralist was arrested, that he shall ask the authority arresting him to get the opportunity to take off his shirt before he entered the prison, except when it conserned an arrest for political reasons.

Fig 2.

STRUCTURE OF THE INTEGRALIST MILITIA



after Barroso 14: 154 - 156

> In the name of God, our country, our family and by our honour, we swear to give our life, if necessary, for the Brazilian Integralist Revolution. We swear to love, respect and defend the national flag and the integralist flag, the symbols of our glorious country. We swear loyalty to the integralist doctrine and absolute, submission without any argument, to the leader (ibid.).

The integralist organization thus became an instrument of political-ideological socialization of the militants in accordance with the internal needs of the organization. It also served as a basis for moulding the citizens of the future Integralist State. Apart from its role of classical ideological education, which mainly was the responsibility for the bodies in charge of doctrine, press and propaganda, the AIB structure allowed for several activities directed towards the transmission of values, symbols and behaviour compatible with its conception of the society and the state. These means of socialization were linked from birth to maturity, through rituals and means of intellectual, moral, civic and physical education, in order to assure the relevant political-ideological training. The integralist leaders were undoubtedly aware of the importance of these 'totalitarian' means of forming the personality, and inspired by European fascists they had meticulously developed such instruments. They found that similiar means were necessary to teach obedience to the leader and submission to the authoritarian structures. It was not only, as some integralist leaders pretended, a blueprint of 'some superficial frames of fascism', but the adoption of mechanisms suitable for fascist totalitarianism.

Integralism often underlined the importance of symbols. The supreme mark was the Greek capital letter Σ: 'sigma'. This was chosen because it symbolized 'the whole', 'the sun', and because: "It reminds us that our movement will integrate all the social forces of the country into the supreme expression of our nationality". For the integralists it also signalized that: "The first Christians used it to symbolize God", and this mark also represented "the polar star in the Southern hemisphere" (Protocols 25: art. 12).

This Greek symbol was placed in the center of their flag and in all integralist emblems. The flag itself was blue with a white section in the mid point, encircling a black capital sigma. All the militants should wear an emblem with a small black sigma in the center of a silver-coloured circle painted on a blue map of Brazil. The obligation during meetings and official ceremonies to display the symbols was very strict. The AIB motto itself demonstrated attachment to the specific values of: "God, Country, Family", and the integralist greeting was done with the right arm raised shouting "Anauê"!.

The shouting "Anauê!" could also be used "during the parades to stimulate the integralist's enthusiasm, in the wagons during transportation, or as a horn of

combat and victory in serious moments of fighting," (ibid.: art. 56). In collective greetings, the national leader had to be saluted with three "anauês". The Supreme Council members, the Chamber of Forty, the national secretaries, the arch-provincial leaders and the provincial leaders got two, and the regional and local authorities one single "anauê". During important ceremonies it was also foreseen that "God, the creator of the Universe, should be greeted by the national leader with four 'anauês'" (ibid.: art. 76).

The first oaths were taken within the Youth organization, the *plinianos*, to inculcate the worship of the national leader. The socialization process started when the child was four years old, and went on until he, at the age of fifteen, was accepted in the militia. During this period, the *plinianos* were recruited into four different groups, depending on their age: From 4 to 6 years they were in the category of *infantis*, from 6 to 9 *currupiras*, from 10 to 12 in the group of *vanguardeiros* and at last from 13 to 15 the *plinianos* became pioneers.[68]

Typical for an authoritarian training program the 'integral' method of socialization of children was its intentions to cover their total set of activities. The instruction aimed at developing the civic feeling among the pupils, to strengthen their personality, to stimulate their physical activity (sports, hiking and walks) as well as giving them intellectual education (primarily, moral and professional education) (Regulamento 17: art. 38). The *plinianos* organization was split into divisions: The division of schooling (nursery schools, to read and write, and technical schools), the training division (special integralist education with the 'pliniano alphabet primer', moral and civic education, integralist law, health training and sports), the holiday division and finally the scout division ('paramilitary' training with a technical section for the development of strategy, 'operations' and a 'camp-school' to learn how to become a leader (ibid.).

The authoritarian submission was secured by the rigid hierarchy which was established in all categories, and by the obedience to the leader. The worship of and the loyalty to the national leader was initiated with the oath they had to take

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[68] This organization resembled very much the fascist one in Italy: From 4 to 8 years, all young Italians form the *Fils de la Louve* (established in 1931). A 8-year child begins with more serious things. The boys enter *the Balilla*. They receive a uniform, artificial weapons and participate in parades. One tries to give them the feeling of how to live in communal contexts and being involved in military activities. During this period the girls receive physical and civic education in the *Small Italians*. From 14 years of age the boys enter *Avanguardisti*, and the girls *Young Italians*, until they reach 18 years of age, when all of them are integrated into the *Young fascists*. (Berstein, S and Milza, P: *L'Italie fasciste*, Paris, Arman Colin, 1970 p. 213-14).

at the age of seven! The *infantis* (4 to 7 years) were received according to the scout rituals, but the *currupiras* (7 to 9 years) were obliged to take this oath:

> I promise to be a little soldier of God, my country and my family. I promise to obey my parents, to be a good friend to my brothers, my colleagues and my comrades and to study hard in order to become useful to God, my country and my family (ibid.: art. 34).

A new oath was to be taken when the child became a *vanguardeiro*. It was an oath to the national flag, which demanded the child at ten to be prepared to make sacrifices:

> My country's flag! I swear to serve Brazil, in time of joy and in time of suffering, and in days of sacrifices... (ibid.: art. 33).

After two months in the ranks of the *vanguardeiros*, the youth would take the same oath as the militiamen to the national leader and the flag.

2. *The social and ideological origins of the militants*

The analysis of a fascist party cannot be limited to the study of its organization. It would in addition be necessary to answer two main questions: Which was the social origin of its militants, and what were their motivations to join?

a) *The social basis of the militant leaders*

The conceptualization of the Integralist Action as a fascist movement may also indicate a similarity of social structure compared to the European fascist models. Data on the social basis of the European movements reveal that at least Italian fascism and German national socialism were dominated by certain social groups comparable to integralism.

Information collected through a survey among former integralists and through the official documents of the AIB gives us the opportunity to reconstruct, in approximation, the social origin of the leaders and the militant integralists.[69]

On the national and regional level, the Integralist Action was composed of upper middle class persons (liberal professions and officers). At the local level the leaders and militants comprised two social categories: The majority came

[69] A distinction must be made between the social origins of the national and regional leaders, and those of the other leaders and militants. It is justified to treat the two latter ones together, because in smaller societies, recruited leaders and militants were, in general, from the same social groups.

from the lower middle class (small landowners, employees and civil servants), but also some from the working class (workers, mostly from small and medium-sized enterprises), farmers and farm workers (generally in zones with small farms), and some craftsmen.

This general profile seems to come rather close to European fascism. Seymour Lipset concluded from information on fascism in different countries that "fascism, in its original form, was a movement of the middle class, mostly former followers of liberalism and who as such were opposed to conservative milieus".[70] These findings are especially valid for Italy and Germany.[71] An overall analysis of movements of a fascist kind shows, however, many deviant examples with different social bases. The most paradoxical case is called by Lipset "fascism of the left". The most typical examples were 'peronism' in Argentina and 'vargism' in Brazil both of which were heavily supported by the lower classes.

The general social basis of the AIB was, as in the European fascist movements, dominated by the middle class, although with a strong recruitment from the working class. But what about the structure of the social strata during the thirties in Brazil compared to Europe?

For Nazi Germany Lipset formulated the hypothesis, based on three sociological analyses on electoral behaviour, that "fascism was particularly attractive to the middle classes, and among them primarily to those in liberal professions" (Lipset 1960: 163, 182). The middle classes were also the basis for the Belgian Rexism:

> It was the middle class that was going through a rather difficult period, and they had the impression that the regime wanted them to disappear. By voting for a new party which promised to defend them against Communism and hyper-capitalism, they thought they could avoid it. This is probably why the lower middle class and particularly the shopkeepers came to fascism.[72]

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[70] Lipset, S. M., "Some social requisites of democracy: economic development and political legitimacy", *American Political Science Review*, 53, 1960, p. 193.

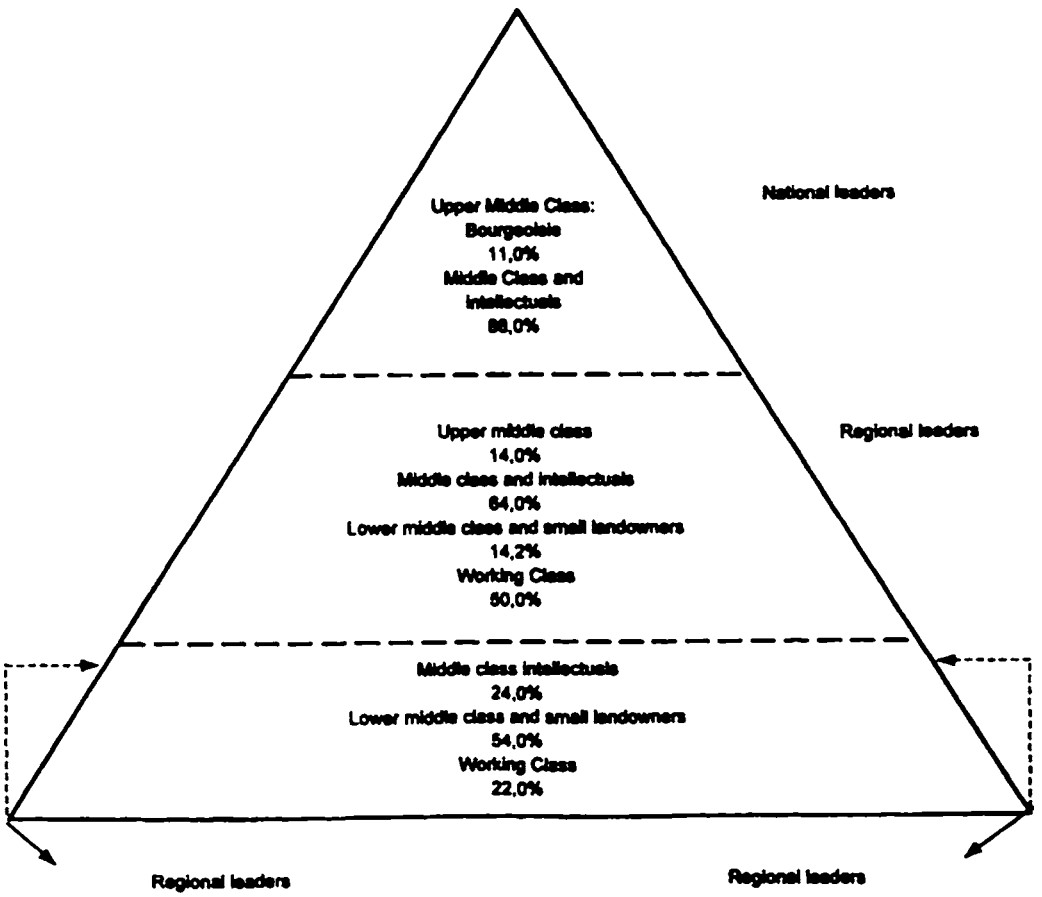
[71] Concerning Italian fascism, Lipset noticed that it strongly maintained the alliance between the anti-democratic traditionalism and the populist authoritarianism of the middle class. These were opposed to the left-wing milieus in the cities and in the countryside. Many specialists believe that fascism was born in the lower middle class (see Tasca 1964: chap. VIII; and Paris 1968).

[72] Etienne, J. -M., *Le mouvement rexiste jusqu'en* 1940, Paris Armand Colin, 1968, p. 66.

In Europe the middle classes felt threatened by the crisis of the economy, they were afraid to lose their status, and they felt oppressed by the aggressivity of the working class. In Brazil, on the contrary, they constituted a climbing social class aiming at political power. The same middle class, however, opted both for the right (AIB) and the left (ANL - National Liberating Alliance).

Fig 3.

The Pyramid of the social structure of the AIB



Their main goal, however, was to strengthen their social position which was blocked by the grip from the traditional classes. This situation of not having their own political movement, combined with the influences from the European ideological climate of the period, put them in the dilemma: Fascism or Communism? Therefore, the middle classes began to join either the right wing or the left wing. Both seemed to represent valid political options, being autonomous from the dominating system. Those who felt Communism as a threat were fascinated by nationalistic themes. They looked at the rise of fascism with interest and went to integralism.

The social structure of the AIB as a whole can be seen as a pyramid in three layers with recruitment to the organization conforming to the national, regional and local divisions. The upper layer, the national leaders, came exclusively from the bourgeoisie and the middle classes, with the intellectual elite as the majority. The middle layer comprising the regional leaders was also dominated by the intellectual middle class. Three quarters of the leading positions were held by the upper middle and the middle classes. Integralists from the lower middle class, and some representatives of the working class comprised the last quarter, most of them in advisory positions. Finally, on the lowest layer, three quarters of the militants came from the lower middle and the working classes. Seen as a whole, this stratification corresponded with the scheme of the militia in the para-military organization: The intellectual elites were in command, and the non-intellectual middle and working classes were at the bottom: they were 'the troops'.

b) *Identification of fascist ideology*

The analyses of fascism are in general confined to the study of the ideology and the organization of the movements. This classical approach may be sufficient for movements whose nature is indisputable. Nevertheless, to determine the nature of a party of the fascist type, its seems necessary to introduce a new dimension: The study of the ideological beliefs of the militants. An inquiry among the national, regional and local leaders and the ordinary militants has given us the opportunity to disclose their attitudes on some ideological issues.

The aim of this inquiry was to verify if attitudes of a fascist type were present in Brazil during the inter-war years: Did the integralists identify themselves with fascism? Was there a high correspondence between the main beliefs of the militants and the principal elements in fascist ideology?

We worked out a set of propositions in order to evaluate the integralist attitudes. The measures were based on ideological propositions while attempting to reduce the Italian model of fascism to its principal elements, and adding some elements from National socialism. Consequently, the fascist attitude was not

treated as done in the studies directed by Adorno on the 'authoritarian personality', but it tried to grasp the attitudes of the integralists, and to compare them with a control group.[73]

The degree of identification by the integralist with fascist ideologies does not imply a moral judgment on the relationships between integralism and European fascism. We only tried to find out how these two ideological universes were related. By using an ideological profile which integrates the principal fascist themes and values, we can use it in order to establish the degree of comparative similarity.[74]

The first dimension is *nationalism*, included in all fascist movements. Often nationalism is not explicitly mentioned in the basic texts, but we know that fascism mobilizes essentially on exaggerated national sentiments.

The results revealed a very high degree of identification with nationalism among the integralists. The idea that Brazil had to accomplish a historical mission was more than a belief. It became a myth mover in the sorelian meaning of the concept. The ideological nucleus of this nationalism was organized around a worship of the past, by the independence of and the future of the nation. The origin of these feelings was the wish to rediscover the past of the nation, and the glorifying of the primitive inhabitants, the Indians, who were there before the Portugese colonization.

Even though some fascists claimed some adherence to socialism (Mussolini was a former militant socialist), one common element in this ideology was the rejection of socialism in any form. During the period when fascism was born in Italy, the struggle of the working class was very violent, and anti-socialism had a concrete content. For the second generation of these movements, it became first and foremost a rallying theme or a source of inspiration for 'preventive' actions. Under the threat of the Soviet revolution the struggle of the working class was met with a general expression of *anti-communism*. When this threat did not

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[73] The themes we focused on were nationalism, anti-socialism, anti-liberalism, anti-plutocratism, international anti-capitalism, corporatism, national socialism, anti-semitism, the hierarchic visions, anti-freemasonry, the pessimist vision of history, exaltation of the authoritarian, spiritual and traditional values, increasing of the value of ethnic groups, of military arts, the fascist code of ethics (loyalty, discipline, friendship, sacrifices), the mystic of the social transformation and solidarity with European fascism.

[74] Our analysis used a comparison between the persentages of answers given to each question, constructed as an ideological subset on purely theoretical criterions. Although the analysis of this part is a comparison of the marginal distributions, we tried to construct scales of attitudes in the section of ideological radicalism.

prove real, fascist propaganda created and exaggerated it. One of the functions of anti-communism was therefore to invent an external enemy and to intensify a willingness to fight.

The answers confirmed the intense anti-communism among the integralists. The depreciation of the Cuban revolution and the defense of the private property against socialization, revealed an anti-socialist attitude both on the historical and on the theoretical level. Three quarters of the answers were favourable to struggle against the socialist movements, to resist them, or to defeat them with violent means, which proves the strength of anti-socialism. The combination of these two elements, ideological anti-socialism and anti-communist mobilization, provides the basis of fascist anti-socialism. The first attitude was common among the liberal and conservative right and fascism. The second supposed a predis-position for direct action which generally did not exist in the first group. Despite the anti-communist actions of the Italian 'black shirts', who were examples to other fascist or nationalist movements, we cannot consider Italian fascism as an exclusively anti-communist movement. Still, this violent mobilization distinguished the classical right and the nationalist or fascist far right.

The question "Is there no substantial difference between Socialism and Communism?" wanted to measure the degree of distinction that the integralists made between the two ideologies. Even though socialism after the Second World War had developed towards Social Reformism, more than two thirds of the integralists asserted that socialism and communism were identical, and that the 'democratic socialism' had to be defeated by all means.

The third dimension common to all fascist movements was *anti-liberalism*. The authoritarian conception of the fascist state represented an antithesis to the classical non-interventionist, liberal state. Two aspects can be distinguished in fascist anti-liberalism: The first one came from their analysis of history and emerged from the ideals of the French revolution and the neutrality of the liberal state. The second refused, in the name of the unity of the nation, to accept the liberal and democratic mechanisms being responsible for this separation.

The questions formulated to evaluate the attitude of the integralists towards liberalism had two dimensions: The integralists asserted their disagreement with liberalism, which they thought of as "one of the most noxious elements of our civilization", and they considered that the liberal state was responsible for the disorder in the world of today. Furthermore, most of the integralists found that political parties and elections divided the nation, and they approved to sacrifice democratic procedures as elections in order to realize the 'aims of the nation'.

The *anti-plutocratism* and the international *anti-capitalism* were included in the fourth dimension. These two aspects are related since a study of the fascist

ideology compared to historical experience clearly revealed such a contradiction. If the role of fascism was to revive liberal capitalism in crisis, by using national capitalism controlled by the corporative state, the ideological language still often had an anti-capitalistic tone. When going deeper into the nuances in the ideology, we discovered once again its internal logic. Behind the anti-bourgeoise- and anti-plutocratic attitude, fascism was aware of the strategy that in order to save the weakened capitalism, it had to get rid of liberalism and try to control capitalism by a strong state.

The result became a mixture combining an anti-plutocratic attitude hostile towards international capitalism, with the exaltation of the strong corporative state, which should be capable of bringing capitalism out of the economic crisis and prevent the social revolution.

The answers almost unanimously condemned oligarchic domination and bourgeois ideas of the role of elites. Two thirds considered the capitalistic plutocracy to be the most favoured class in history. Almost all responses showed an anti-capitalistic attitude well linked to their nationalism.

The fifth ideological dimension integrated the *myth of social transformation*, symbolized by the idea of a 'fascist revolution'. Despite its general conservative position, the fascist action accepted social reformism. The implicit hypothesis was that fascism was a movement of social conservation, but not necessarily reactionary, since it permitted some changes. If the corporative solution and the exaltation of the ideas of the past are traditionalist ideas, then a return to the roots of the nation signified a search for energy to construct a mythical future. Even though it did not go further than Social reformism, the transformation of the state was one of the characteristics which distinguished fascism from traditional nationalism of the far right, as for instance the *Action Française* in France.

The answers from almost all the integralists brought out a belief in social change. We noticed that the large majority of interviewed did not oppose state intervention in the economy at the expense of the interests of private initiative, neither did they oppose agrarian reforms with expropriation of land. A certain resistance against the 'nationalization' came from the fact that this measure originally 'tapped' socialism. Still, what is striking was that though almost all the answers were in favour of a total change in society, there was a certain polarization when it came to measures of social reform: That was the myth confronted by reality.

The sixth dimension was *spiritualism*. Even if it cannot be considered as an essential ideological aspect of fascism (National Socialism did not claim to be attached to any specific spiritual values), spiritualism often appeared in the ideo-

logical texts of Italian fascism, and especially in Spanish Falangism and Belgian Rexism. The references to spiritualism in fascism were vague, but its importance in the history of religious values and moral principles were recognized. On this theme Falangism and Rexism were more explicit. These two movements believed in a society based upon Christian principles and the spiritual transformation of man. In integralism, the Catholic tradition of the Brazilian people and the Catholisism of Salgado led to the incorporation of spiritualism within the doctrine.

The seventh dimension was at the centre of the 'fascist revolution': The *transformation of the state*. In fascism, the state was not only a means to realize Social reformism, but also an end in itself. Fascism declared that if there was no transformation of the State, there was no revolution. We also had to consider the different reform plans of the fascist State in order to compare it with the attitudes of the integralists.

Almost all the integralists agreed that a strong state, a new elite and a corporative organization were necessary. The ambiguity in two other questions, which mixed the leader with an essentially messianic personality, explained why a part of the interviewed rejected the idea of a 'providential man'. It explained at the same time the polarization among the integralists when they were confronted with the false dilemma in the contradiction between the State and the Nation, conceptualized in abstract terms. In Italy more than in Germany, the organization of the nation was the responsibility of the State, but according to the fascist conception, the State was created in the name of the Nation.

We had to add one more question concerning the ideological dimension. We tried to find a connection between the integralists' perception of their ideology and the idea that fascism finally was a form of National Socialism which went beyond Marxism and internationalism. Inasmuch as the integralists feared to be qualified as 'National Socialists', the question tried indirectly to discover if they accepted that the right ideology was a combination of the *concern for social justice and the nationalist spirit*. The positive weight in the answers showed that the use of the term 'socialism' combined with the idea of 'social justice' did not lead to a refusal of the content of the question. National Socialism therefore seemed legitimate in this context.

Another dimension in the ideology was related to some prejudices in the fascist ideological universe. They were systematically incorporated into the ideology, particularly in National Socialism: The *anti-semitic* and *anti-masonic* attitudes, and the idea that men from nature are not equal. The fight against masonry was clearly demonstrated in Italian fascism: Mussolini was anti-masonic from his socialist period. Anti-semitism was one of the principal ele-

ments of Nazism. These two prejudices had existed latent or manifest and in various degrees within the majority of fascist ideologies. The same was true for the hierarchical vision founded on the inequality between people, and upon which National Socialists based their racist world view.

The results proved that anti-semitism and anti-masonry were very deeply implanted in the old integralists, even though the fear of Jews was not too strong. As regards the hierarchial vision and the natural inequality of men, this was rejected by one third of the integralists when the question of inequality implied a right of domination over other people. This demonstrated, however, that there was a certain National Socialist influence among some of the integralists.

Another dimension comparable to European fascism was the *pessimistic vision of history*. As the contradictory position to the liberal philosophy of history, fascism was not imbued with the optimism founded on the classical liberal feeling of happiness and progress. Their positions were determined by a heroic and at the same time a tragic conception of history. (According to Manicheism, the historic process is the result of a permanent struggle against the elements of disintegration challenging our societies continuously, since this phenomenon is rooted in the nature of man.)

Two thirds of the integralists did not believe in an indefinite moral or technical development, and almost all of them rejected the hypothesis that political development based on the democratic idea or that of social development would be capable of eliminating conflicts and wars.

After having taken an inventory of the main dimensions of the ideological fascism and its prejudices that were current among the integralists, their degree of attachment to some values that were exalted by fascism must again be taken into consideration. This set of values were not always explicit in their ideological texts, but they were part of some sort of a moral code for fascist behaviour. Therefore, we cannot dissociate the ideological aspects out of a bundle of particular values.

The first issue is the *exaltation of authoritarian values*. Not only did fascism support the restoration of authority by the state. The fascist organization was a school of individual leaders, and at the same time predisposed individuals for submission to authority. The three dimensions needed for the acceptation of the authoritarian values are: the pre-eminence of the role of the leader, the importance given to the hierarchy, and the acceptance of the submission to the authority. The homogeneity in the answers to these three questions proved the degree of support to authoritarian values.

Nevertheless, other values were incorporated in the fascist ideology. One of the most important was *faithfulness*. The importance given to oaths in the inte-

gralist rituals proved this. Another, which was directly linked to the first, is what we could call the *ethics of friendship*. If the faithfulness to the leader was essential to the effective functioning of the organization, the spirit of comradeship was, according to Brasillach, the founding value of life in community and of the feeling of loyalty among individuals. Therefore the youth organizations had an important role in community life by stimulating friendships and group spirit. In this same sphere, it also fostered enthusiasm for intellectual- and physical discipline, and the taste for adventure and a risky life in order to realize their ideals. The answers from the integralists were almost all in favour of these three elements, which finally were the basis for the worship among fascist youth.

One of the paradoxes of fascism was that it represented an attempt of rebirth, and at the same time a nostalgia to the past. Besides the exaltation of the youth and the myth of the new society, there was a willingness to *worship the traditional values*. This traditionalism was not necessarily reactionary: Fascism did not simply want to return to the past, but tried to conserve parts of the traditional values making them relevant for today. Fascism wanted to realize a symbiosis between a traditional element, which was corporatism, and a modern element, the Interventionist state.

The last dimension was founded on a fundamental suggestion decisive to conclude on the fascist nature of integralism. We have to understand the Brazilian character of the AIB, in deciding whether or not there was a feeling of affinity to the fascist movements in Europe. To call a movement fascist, it is not sufficient that there were traits similar to European fascism. The militants themselves must also be subjectively aware of the affinity. The previous analysis showed that the integralist theorists and their partisan press, as well as the 'motivations' of adherence, did not conceal this feeling of direct contact. But we also had to measure the degree of moral 'connectedness' among the integralists towards the movements that fought similar battles in Europe at the time. This is not only a question of having a purely intellectual or affective attitude. It is also necessary that there are common aims beyond the national particularities of every movement, which unites them in a sort of 'fascist internationalism'. The answers to our questions seemed to confirm this hypothesis.

We can therefore conclude, by using a psychosociological approach, that the analysis of the integralist ideology has made us able to verify the hypothesis of its fascist content. In the first place, an analysis of the texts showed fundamental elements of typical fascist ideology, especially on themes as the definition of the 'enemies' and the social and political model which was proposed. Furthermore, the attitudes reveal a high degree of fascist inclinations. However, if we can

affirm that the AIB ideologically belonged to the fascist family, this does not mean that other ideological aspects of the traditional right or of the social Catholicism were not part of the integralist ideology. Yet, this does not change the overall judgment of its fascist nature.

3. *The integralist political project*

The composite, integralist ideology spread in three different directions. It is therefore appropriate to study its doctrinal basis, from which it developed a certain conception of man, society and history, and also to understand how the social and political organization of the movement was based upon the perception of the transformation of the state. At last, it is important to examine its antagonistic positions: Against liberalism, socialism, international capitalism, and the Jews.

a) *The doctrinal foundings*

In Italian fascism, 'the fact preceded the doctrine'. Integralism was an ideology which pretended to lean on a conception of the Universe and of man. The integralist theorists made a systematic effort to define the philosophical basis of the movement, which, despite its eclecticism, helps us today to understand their ideology.

Integralist ideology was built on a conception of man and of society which was outlined in the *October Manifesto* edited by Salgado. This conception was based on two postulates: Spiritualistic humanism and social harmony.

The first sentence of the *Manifesto* asserted that "God guides the destiny of the peoples" (Manifesto 1932: 1). This conception of history implied a belief in the moral progress of human beings: "on the Earth, human beings must practice the virtues which raise them to a higher level and lead them to perfection" (ibid.). As a consequence, integralist ethics, inspired by Christianity, evaluated the value of a man "by his work and his sacrifice in favour of the Family, the Country and the Society" (ibid.).

This conception of social life, which consisted of a dream of return to medieval ideals of social harmony, was conceptualized on the basis of spiritualist humanism:

> The individuals and the classes can and must live in harmony (...) All their dignity comes from a superiority which exists above the human beings: Their common and superior aim (ibid.).

Social harmony was thus a result of the hierarchic organization of society, according to the natural differences between people. In the social structure, har-

mony and hierarchy merged. Consequently, the spiritualist foundation of integralist ideology was inspired by the traditional conception of the Catholic social doctrine. This ideological foundation brought integralism much closer to Portuguese- ('salazarism'), Spanish- ('Spanish Falange') and Belgian- ('rexism') conservative and Catholic fascism, than to the vague spiritualism of Italian fascism, or to German National Socialist agnosticism.

The integralist *Manifesto of October 1932* gave an important position to nationalism. It wanted to "affirm the value of Brazil" and unite all the Brazilians into one single 'mind' and to build an "organized, united, indivisible, strong, powerful, rich and happy" nation (Manifesto 1932: 1).[75] This confession of faith indicated an ambitious project: That integralism intended to create "a true Brazilian culture, civilization and a way of living" (ibid.: 3).

The principal ideological statement which emerged from the Manifesto was nationalism, and the weight of the contents was more on culture than on economics. The nationalistic idea was thus essentially a call for national consciousness: "Up with the nation!".[76] This integralist slogan, founded on the understanding of the basic needs of the nation and on the imperialist exploitation of all the resources on the earth, represented the transition from the sentimental nationalism of Salgado and the coming of the more aggressive expressions of integralist nationalism.

It is interesting to compare the nationalism defined by Salgado in the *Manifesto* ("the deep awareness of our needs, the character of the 'tendencies', the aspirations of the nation and the value of the race") and the nationalism of later integralist theorists with their emphasis on economic and anti-semitic issues. The nationalism of Salgado was attached to the national roots in the thinking of the twenties, and despite his growing politization, he stayed faithful to the same themes: The exaltation of man and of the Earth, the birth of the new race and the search in the past for the foundations of the Brazilian society.

The dream of an empire was a new dimension of his nationalism. It was based on the myths of the disappeared civilization of Atlantis. In the Brazilian context, the idea of an imperialistic expansion was meaningless because of the

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[75] The concept of the greatness of the nation was clearly inspired from Mussolini: "What does the concept of the greatness of the country mean to us, this word which impassionate us when we pronounce it? It consists of the feeling of well-being, prestige, and power of the Italian nation". (Benito Mussolini: *O Euvres Completes*, Paris, Flammarion 1935-1938, p. 113).

[76] *"The celebrations of the Nation!"* is the title of a collection of articles published during this period which is marked by a more defensive nationalism than an aggressive one.

great size of the national territory. Nevertheless, we have to see how the idea of an empire developed, considered as an essential feature of fascism.[77] This theme existed in Salgado's works in the form of the idea of an expansion of the integralist views on the Latin-American continent:[78]

> I will not be content with the establishment of the Integralist State in Brazil. I want this idea to spread all over South America (...). When all the countries of South America will be pulsing with the same rhythm, the time has come to realize this vision. The integralist revolution is the revolution of the entire continent.[79]

The integralist nationalism also had an anti-imperialistic economic dimension. This dimension was not the most dominating one in the writings of Salgado, but it appeared clearly in the books of Reale and Barroso. The difference was that in Barroso's work economic nationalism took an anti-semitic flavour, while in that of Reals, who was marked by being a former Marxist, it took an essentially economic materialist flavour.

b) *The social and political model*

The integralist theorists all agreed that the aim of the movement was to establish the Integral State. The basic idea was that an integralist revolution should aim at a transformation of the state. Mussolini had defined the central concept of the state in fascism as follows:

> the force of fascism, he said, consists of this: It takes the vital parts of all the programs, and it has the power to realize them. The central idea of our movement is the

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[77] During a speech in June 1925 Mussolini declared that "the concept of the empire is the base for our doctrine" (Benito Mussolini: *O Euvres Completes*, Paris, Flammarion, p 98). This idea as considered by H. R. Southworth in his analysis of the essential aspect of fascism in general: " The fascist movement in Spain - the Falange - aimed at successively achieving three goals for their activity in Spain. First to organize a fascist movement. Secondly to conquer the State with this movement, and third to - the final goal - conquer the Empire". (Soutworth, H. R.:"What is fascism?", *Esprit*, 1969, p 423-426).

[78] Barroso also refers to the idea of the Empire: "The Brazilian Integralism wants to create a large imperial Republic, a large christian Empire and its integral doctrine will influence the overall fate of the humanity". (Barroso, G.: *O Quarto Imperio*, Rio de Janeiro, Livr. José Olympio, 1935, p. 175).

[79] Salgado, Plínio *O que é o Integralismo*, São Paulo, Edit. Star, 1933, p. 143.

[80] Mussolini, B. *O Euvres Complétes*, Paris, Flammarion, 1935-1938, p. 129-130.

> state: The state is the political and legal organization of the national societies, and it is reflected in a series of different institutions. Our slogan is as follows: Everything within the state, nothing outside the state, nothing against the state.[80]

However, the Integral State may have been 'strong' in the Italian meaning of the word, but it wanted to be a spiritualistic state in the Spanish meaning:

> It is a totalitarian and missionary state, asserted a text of the Falange. Totalitarian in its structure and missionary in its Catholic inspiration and its work of education and orientation.[81]

If we compare the *Manifesto of 1932* and the *Alphabet Primer of 1933*, which were the two first official ideological documents, the gap is evident. In Salgado's Manifesto the Integralist State had a secondary position, and was described in a rather obscure way. In the *Alphabet Primer*, of which Reale was the author, the state was the key element of ideological reasoning, and its content was drawn in more detailed legal terms.

The comparison of the two documents brings face to face two different conceptions. The idea of the state which emerged in the *Manifesto* was one of authoritarian suprastructure. This idea became the spiritualistic nationalistic conception and was the nucleus within the ideological reasoning. The state was only a regulator of the social balance necessary for the accomplishment of man in society. On the other hand, *The Alphabet Primer* considered "the co-operation of the national producing forces for the progressive realization of the Integralist State" to be the fundamental principle of integralism.[82] This finally became the forming principle of the integralist ideological universe.

But how was the Integralist State to be organized? The representative state organs were the President of the Union, the National Corporative Chamber and the National Council or the Senate. The general principle of the system was based on a restricted and hierarchical suffrage at all levels, apart from the local level.

At the local level (município), every profession should form a union, since only a union was to be recognized by the integralist government. The elections

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[81] Pré de Saint-Maur, J. *La Phalange espagnole*, thèse IEP, Paris, 1951, p. 50.

[82] Salgado, p., Reale, M., Mendes de Almeida, J. C., Leires Sobrinho, J., "A cartilha do Integralismo Brasileiro", São Paulo, 8 mars 1933, p. 8, in *A Doutrina Integralista*, Porto Alegre, AIB, Provinica do Rio Grande do Sul, s.d., 8-14.

were to be made within every union, which all had one representative in the Town Council. Then the representatives of all the unions indirectly elected the mayor.

In the provinces, the union federations were made up by all the union representatives for one profession, who then chose their provincial representatives. All the representatives of every federation formed the Provincial Council, which elected the governor of the province.

All the federations of the same profession formed the unionist confederations. The corporations were organized at the same level, which were made up by representatives of different professions constituting one important, national task-area.[83] The corporations were the most important sources of the Corporative integral state. Every corporation elected representatives to the National Corporative Chamber.

Also a National Council or Senate existed in the integralist state. This comprised the non-economic corporations (social and cultural) and controlled and emphasized their specific problems, so that the National Corporative Chamber could give priority to them as national problems. The National Corporative Chamber together with the Senate formed the National Congress, which elected the national leader. In this state, the political parties were abolished because they could not be justified in a "nation where all the economic and cultural forces were organized within the state".[84]

Integralism intended to fight liberalism, socialism, international capitalism and the secret societies connected to the Jews and to masonry. The lack of concern for the development of the society in the liberal state created favourable conditions for international capitalism and the growth of socialism. Therefore, the integralists did not think of socialism as an antithesis to capitalism, as the natural result of its evolution, but not in the Marxist meaning. Socialism was not necessary because of the internal contradictions within the capitalistic system, but because they both were based upon the same materialistic base. An important part of the integralists believed that all these enemies were united under

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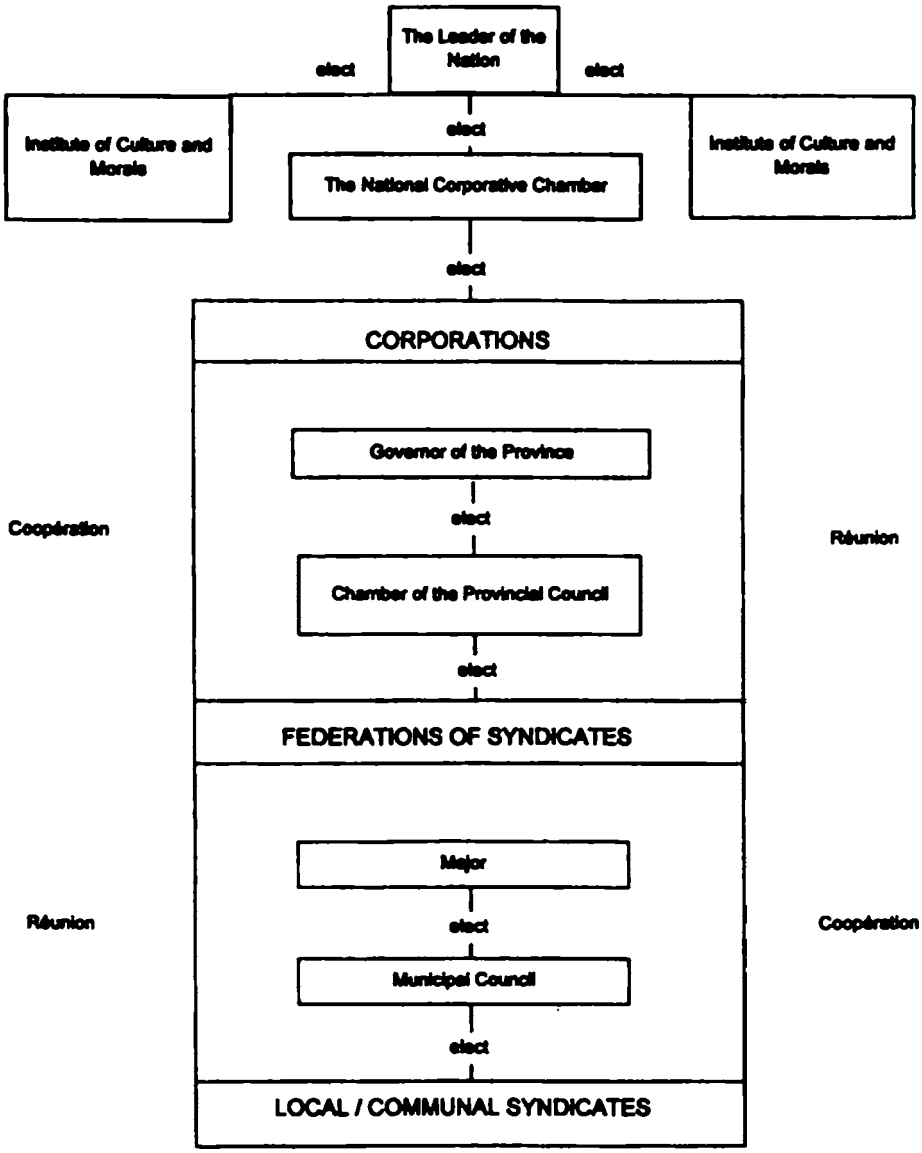
[83] The corporation of the coffee branch, does for example unite the representatives from the producers' and the worker's associations in the sector of coffee business: export as well as production.

[84] Salgado, p., Reale, M., Mendes de Almeida, J. C., Leires Sobrinho, J., "A cartilha do Integralismo Brasileiro", São Paulo, 8 mars 1933, p. 10, in *A Doutrina Integralista*, Porto Alegre, AIB, Provinica do Rio Grande do Sul, s.d., 8-14.

Fig 4.

The Corporate Organization of the State



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Jewish domination. This anti-semitic stream was not dominant among the integralist theorists, for reasons of principles or tactics, but because of the simplicity of the idea it was very widespread among the average militants. Everything from the international finances to the Soviet Revolution was controlled by the Jews' conspiracy and they tried to hold the whole world in their hands.

Conclusion

To decide on the fascist nature of the integralist movement (and this could also be inferred to other Latin-American movements of similar type), we have to analyze it on three typical components of European fascism: The ideology, its social basis and the organization. The presence of these three elements, even with some national peculiarities, is a necessary condition outside Europe to firmly establish the fascist character of a political movement. In the case of the Integralism, we have analyzed the ideology on different levels: the theoretical formulation of the ideology, the publications of propaganda and ideological popularization, and the ideological attitudes of the leaders and the militants. We have underlined the various aspects of the ideology in order to better understand the contents of an ideological reasoning mainly elaborated in a different historical context. Furthermore, how the manifestation of the ideology of a political movement can vary depending on the position of its adherents in the 'ideological pyramid' (the ideology of the theorists, the leaders, the militants, etc.). The internal cohesion of the ideology has empirically been confirmed and tested by the hypotheses developed on the basis of the theoretical model of European fascism.

With regard to the social origin of the militants, comparison of the social structure of the Integralism with European fascism was the main criterion to decide on its fascist nature. Information obtained from old militants, by our survey, or thanks to official documents of the AIB, has allowed us to make a rather precise reconstruction of the social basis of the movement. The profile of the social composition of Integralism demonstrated that it was quite similar to the European model. It compared especially well to both Italian fascism and German National Socialism. This also corresponds to the analyses made by Juan Linz.[85]

The type of organization of the Integralism was another important characteristic to define the nature of this movement. In a fascist movement, ideology and organization cannot be separated, since there is an explicit connection be-

[85] Linz, J. "Some notes toward a comparative study of fascism in sociological historical perspective", in Laqueur, W. ed., *Fascism: a reader's guide*, New York, Free Press, 1976, 1976, p. 59-87.

tween the structure of the latter and the contents of the former. Authoritarian political organizations are hierarchically structured in order to efficiently educate and supervise their militants. However, the *integralista* movement played a double role both as an instrument of mobilization, training, supervising and ideological socialization, and as the possible forerunner of the Integralist state. The structure of the AIB, from its leader down to its militants, formed a bureaucratic and totalitarian organization. The bureaucratic structure of the organization appeared through a system of bodies, functions, roles and behaviours which in minute details had been written down in rules, been manifest in the commands of the leader and prescribed in the rituals. Totalitarianism appeared through the strict relations between the bodies of training of the militants (from the youth organizations to the militia), and in the unconditional submission and the faithfulness to the superiors in the hierarchy.

The range of authoritarian movements in Europe during the inter-war years makes integralism an eclectic ideology. With roots in an earth-bound nationalism and founded on the mythical messianism of the historic destiny of the new cross-breeded race, it integrated into a new synthesis the social and religious traditionalism of Lusitanian integralism and Salazarism, the Roman state control and corporatism of Italian fascism, as well as anti-semitism of National Socialist inspiration.

Two convergent doctrinal elements, nationalism and spiritualism, associated towards a common enemy, permitted the coexistence of two juxtaposed ideological tendencies into one single movement. The conciliatory role of the integralist leader saved the unity of the integralism from its birth to its dissolution.

However, integralism, which was believed to be the answer to the aspirations of a young country open to outside influences, was finally rejected by Brazilian history as a part of the nightmares of the thirties.

The analysis of the Brazilian case could be the answer to the objections of Renzo De Felice, who insisted upon the European limit to the fascist phenomenon.[86] Integralismo reproduced the characteristic features of the European fascist movements without being a plain imitation of them. The situation in Brazil during the inter-war years favoured the development of Integralism as a mass movement, and made it a threat to the traditional political establishment. Because of its importance at the time and its effects on the development of the Brazilian society, this fascist political experience probably constituted a special

[86] De Felice, R. *Clefs pour comprendre le fascisme*, Paris, Seghers, 1975.

case. Only by a continued effort of research and analysis on fascism in Latin America, particularly by monograph studies and by comparison of the various cases of fascism in Latin America, will we manage to obtain a final answer regarding the true limits of the phenomenon.[87]

[87] Meyer, J., *Le sinarquisme: un mouvement fasciste mexicain (1937-1947)*, Paris, Hachette, 1977; Potashnik, M. *Nacismo: national socialism in Chile (1932-1938)*, Los Angeles, University of California, 1974; Campbell, H., *The radical right in Mexico (1929-1939)*, Los Angeles, University of California, 1968; Trindade H. *L'Action intégraliste brésilienne: un mouvement de type fasciste des années 30*, 1971, thèse de doctorat, Paris I. Translated in Portugese: *Integralismo: o fascismo brasileiro na década de 30*, São Paulo, Difel, 1974.

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ALBERTO SPEKTOROWSKI

THE FASCIST AND POPULIST SYNDROMES IN THE ARGENTINE REVOLUTION OF THE RIGHT

Introduction

On June 4, 1943, the armed forces led by General Rawson assumed power in Argentina. Although the coup surprised the Argentine public, it was in the words of the nationalist intellectual Marcelo Sanchez Sorondo, the "revolution we announced"[1]. This comment indicates that the military upheaval represented the consummation of an ideal expected by nationalists of the right and left. Interpretations of the revolution's fundamental goals differed, since officials with democratic ideals participated in the coup, but one thing was clear from the outset: this was not merely an authoritarian military coup d'etat intended to eradicate political liberalism, but rather an attempt to introduce a new order in Argentina. Based on a new, regenerative ideal, a political model synthesizing state corporatism, social justice, and anti-imperialist politics was presented as the alternative to what the nationalists saw as a decadent society rotted by liberal politics and cosmopolitan culture.

In contrast to Felix de Uriburu's abortive revolt in 1930, the military upheaval of 1943 produced a radical change in the political and economic development of Argentina. The basis for this change, however, was largely, if not solely, the ideological development of right wing and left wing nationalism during the 1930s. Indeed, for more than a decade both the Argentine constitutional order and the ideology of the conservative liberal and reformist socialist parties had

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[1] See Marcelo Sanchez Sorondo, 1945: *La revolucion que anunciamos (The Revolution we anticipated)*, Ed. Nueva Politica, Buenos Aires.

been delegitimized in the intellectual laboratories of left wing and right wing nationalism, which dominated the intellectual and ideological climate of the thirties.

Consequently, at the end of that decade the revolution's military leaders viewed the political and social situation through the ideological prism of growing radical nationalism. In their eyes, only a strong, industrialized and nationalist state could maintain Argentine neutrality during the Second World War. Only an autonomous state independent of the parties of the political oligarchy could develop a full program of social reform that would mitigate social unrest. Thus, the new military regime initiated a period of populist authoritarianism in Argentina by synthesizing the most important ideological elements of right wing nationalism - political authoritarianism - economic autarky, and traditional Catholicism - with the 'left-wing' national-populist ideology which centered on economic and cultural anti-imperialism. The result was an Argentine brand of integrationalist, mobilizing fascist ideology that inclined towards autarky, industrialization and emphasized issues of social justice. This ideological formula, adopted by the military revolution of 1943 and by Peron during his first administration, effected a radical change in Argentina's socio-economic development[2]. In this article, I will trace the intellectual sources of what can be defined as a local fascist ideology, confirming thereby that the fascist phenomenon was universal rather than merely European.

Some Aspects of the Theoretical Discussion of Modernization and fascism in Latin America

In Europe, fascism was the product of an ideological synthesis between a new socialism stripped of Marx's economic and rationalist basis, and a new concept of radical nationalism based on cultural- and blood ties rather than rational self-determination[3]. In 1911, writing for *Les Cahiers du Cercle Proudhon* in France and *La Lupa* in Italy, Edouard Berth and other followers of Georges Sorel found themselves in agreement with intellectuals like Georges Valois, who belonged to the left wing of *Action Francaise*, that democracy had been the greatest mistake of the last century[4]. From this ideological synthesis, between antiliberal natio-

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[2] See Carlos Waisman, 1987: *Reversal of development. Postwar counterrevolutionary policies and their structural consequences*, Princeton Universities Press, Princeton p. 256.

[3] Zeev Sternhell, "Fascist Ideology," in W. Laqueur, ed., 1976: *Fascism: A Reader's Guide*, Pelican Books, London, p. 349.

[4] Zeev Sternhell, Mario Sznajder, and Maia Asherri, 1988: *Naissance de l'ideologie fasciste (The birth of fascist ideology)*, Ed.Fayard, Paris, p.11.

nalism and the anti-Marxist socialism derived from Sorel's revision of Marxism, was to come a new, national, syndicalist formula. As an alternative to liberalism and Marxist socialism, fascism proposed another solution to the problems the technical and intellectual revolution presented to European society at the turn of the century.

The appeal of fascist ideology was not limited to Europe, however. As Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera said: "Fascism is a universal attitude to return to one's [national] essence..."[5] The spiritual revolt embodied in fascism influenced intellectuals of different parts of the world who adapted the new message to their local problems. This is why strong fascist movements emerged even in countries with no significant left wing revolutionary movements and where the working classes were not organized, as in Romania and Hungary. There, however, they served a different function from similar movements in the West. They were able to act freely as national revolutionary movements, a threshold of political action never reached in the West[6]. In Argentina such movements combined a demand for national emancipation with the concept of fascism as the ideological framework for a New world order. For them, dependence was a direct function of liberalism, while a new authoritarian order would be the base for real emancipation.

Some scholars, however, have used the concept of Latin American fascism to describe what they perceive as the authoritarian and exclusionary corporatist characteristics of 'dependent fascism,' the term they use to define the authoritarian regimes of the 1960s[7]. Social scientists like Theotonio dos Santos, Celso Furtado, and Marcos Kaplan have argued that the military dictatorships of the

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[5] Stanley Payne, "The Falange," in N. Green, *Fascism, An Anthology*, (Illinois: H.M. Publishing Corporation, 1968), p. 273.

[6] Eugene Weber, "The Men of the Archangel," *Journal of Contemporary History* Vol. 1 (1966), p. 103.

[7] See Theotonio dos Santos, "Socialismo y fascismo en America Latina hoy" (Socialism and fascism in todays Latin America), *Revista Mexicana de Sociologia* (January - March 1977); Marcos Kaplan, "Hacia un fascismo Latino-americano (towards a Latin American fascism"), *Nueva Politica* [Mexico] (January-March 1976); Gunther Frank, *Capitalism and under development in Latin America* (New York, 1969). These scholars have written about the 'dependency theory,' which is a variant of general theories of imperialism. The dependency theory sees the social and economical development of underdeveloped countries as being conditioned by external factors. Underdevelopment can be explained in terms of relations of domination in exchange for an analysis of forces and relations of production.

sixties and seventies represented a new type of fascism, one based on a hegemonic crisis and an authoritarian form of response to the tensions of modernization.

Whatever its validity, this approach fits within an established tradition - one which, although not necessarily Marxist - often uses Marxist insights based on the premise of Latin America's peripheral, dependent position in the global economy and its consequent condition of permanent underdevelopment. By using the concept of 'dependent', or 'atypical' fascism, these scholars try to link the demobilization of the working classes by the military rulers of the sixties and seventies to the monopolistic interests of US capitalism. In their view, the essential element of fascism is its 'class nature,' while its unique political style and ideological synthesis are of secondary interest. This analysis also overlooks the possibility of achieving a high level of industrialization despite the limitations 'imposed' by the dependent character of peripheral countries, a possibility that Guillermo O'Donnell perceived and analyzed in his model of the bureaucratic authoritarian state[8].

In any event, the term 'fascism' is not appropriate in the cases cited by proponents of the dependency theory. Fascism sought to establish an autarkic economy, while its political style - its vitalistic spirit and reliance on mass mobilization and proletarian rhetoric - made it something very different from a political system based merely on the need for efficiency, or one bent on ensuring the country a role in the modern transnational capitalist system.

Some scholars are reluctant to apply the term 'fascism' to any authoritarian political development in Latin America, and they are especially cautious when analyzing the populist movements of the 1930s. In fact, they use the terms 'authoritarianism' and 'populism' in an effort to differentiate the sociohistorical process of Latin America from that of Europe[9], observing that Latin America did

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[8] On the bureaucratic-authoritarian state, see G. O'Donnell, *El Estado Burocratico Autoritario, 1966-1973* (The Bureaucratic-Authoritarian State, 1966-1973) Buenos Aires: Ed. de Belgrano, 1982). For a discussion of O'Donnell's typology, see David Collier, ed., *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979).

[9] For a discussion of fascism in Latin America, see Alistair Hennesy, "Fascism and Populism in Latin America," in W. Laqueur, *op.cit.* Juan Linz has made a valid distinction between the authoritarian characteristics of certain regimes as opposed to the totalitarian characteristics of fascist regimes, with their mobilizing ability and ideological assets. Franco's Spain was a clear example of the authoritarian conservative regime. See Juan Linz, "The Party System of Spain: Past and Future," in Seymour Lipset and Stein Rokkan, eds., *Party System and Voter Alignments* (New York, 1967), and "An Authoritarian Regime: Spain," in E. Allardt and V. Littunen, eds. *Cleavages, Ideologies and Party Systems* (Helsinski, 1964).

not share with Europe the moral crisis and mass mobilization of World War I. Thus, they reject the fascist label applied to Vargas's regime in Brazil and Peron's regime in Argentina.

In my analysis, however, which in the Argentine case is clearly substantiated, fascism was a new cultural and ideological synthesis providing an innovative solution to the tensions created by political and social modernization. Neither right-wing nor left-wing, the fascist orientation appealed to a new generation of nationalist intellectuals who, unwittingly, were part of this deep cultural and political revolution. In short, the Argentine regime was based on a local variant of fascist ideology, directly related to nationalist populism.

Roger Griffin defines fascism as a palingenetic form of populist ultranationalism[10], while Roger Eatwell sees it as a spectral-syncretic ideology that synthesizes what could be seen as a wide range of opposing issues[11]. Both definitions, however, emphasize the appearance of a new populist nationalism and the myth of rebirth and renewal. As Eatwell suggests, this rebirth could have a conservative or reactionary dimension, or it could be a radical revolutionary symbol of the need to create something new[12].

To sum up, during the 1930s Argentine leftist and rightist intellectuals raised fundamental issues that defined the contours of a new national ideal: an innovative nationalism that stood in opposition to liberal conservatism, socialist Marxism, and bourgeois politics, and which promoted a new regenerative myth and a synthesis between tradition and modernity. In contrast to other works on Argentine nationalism, I suggest that Argentine nationalism was neither antimodernist nor nostalgic. It was revolutionary, and propounded an alternative

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[10] See Roger Griffin, "The Nation Reborn, A New Ideal Type of Generic Fascism," discussion paper prepared for presentation to Special Session 22 of the XVth World Congress of the International Political Science Association held in Buenos Aires, July, 1991.

[11] See R. Eatwell, "Towards a new model of generic fascism," *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 4, No. 2 (1992), p. 189.

[12] Ibid., p. 173.

formula for national modernization. Far from being unrelated to Peronism, it began a process of ideological development that would reach its apex under the government of Juan Peron.[13]

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[13] In contrast to most of the works on Argentine nationalism, the thesis I present here radically defies the perception of Argentine nationalism as nostalgic and reactionary. Among the works that sustain the thesis that Argentine nationalism was nostalgic and anti-modernist, the best is Cristian Buchrucker: *Nacionalismo y Peronismo, Argentina en la crisis ideologica mundial* (Nationalism and Peronism, Argentina in the world ideological crisis (1927-1955)). (Buenos Aires: Ed. Sudamericana, 1987). Other works, such as J.J. Hernandez Arregui: *La Formacion de la Conciencia Nacional* (The formation of national consciousness) (Buenos Aires: Hachea, 1960), and Jorge Abelardo Ramos: *Revolucion y Contrarrevolucion en la Argentina: Las masas en nuestra historia* (Revolution and counterrevolution in Argentina. The masses in our history) (Buenos Aires: Amerindia, 1957) present integralist nationalism as a nostalgic movement associated with the liberal oligarchy. In their view, the populist nationalism developed by the left wing of the Radical party (FORJA) was the same populist nationalism that supported Peronism, which is perceived as left wing nationalism. Those works attempt to rehabilitate Peronism as an authentic revolutionary, anti-imperialist, nationalist movement, a precursor to the left wing anti-imperialist struggle in Latin America.

These two books were in fact an answer to other 'ideologically' minded books that appeared during the 1950s and 1960s, which were influenced by the modernization theories predominant in the United States during those years. Some of these works pointed to the direct connection between Argentine reactionary nationalism and Peronism, which they considered a reactionary fascist movement. Among these studies is John Johnson, *Political Change in Latin America: The Emergence of the Middle Sectors* (Stanford University Press, 1958). A slightly more sophisticated analysis is Kalman Silvert's *The Conflict Society: Reaction and Revolution in Latin America* (New Orleans: The Hausser Press, 1961). Similarly, James Scobie, in *Argentina: A City and a Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), describes the Argentine nationalist uprising as the result of patriotic feeling against foreign economic penetration. A more important work reflecting this distinction between populist nationalism on one hand and the nostalgic, traditionalist trend of nationalism on the other is Arthur Whitaker's essay, "Argentina. Nostalgic and Dynamic Nationalism," in a book published with David Jordan, *Nationalism in Contemporary Latin America*, (New York, New Press 1966). Unlike other works, which point up the differences between the different strains of nationalism, this book identifies the ideological elements shared by both populist and integralist nationalism, which together produced an alternative, unified nationalist line. This thesis although based in an ideological political analysis, accepts the sociological explanation of Peronism developed by S. M. Lipset in his *L'Homme et la politique* (Paris Le Seuil, 1963, translated from *Political Man*). Lipset considered Peronism a 'fascism from the left'. While typical fascism is characterized by the support of the middle classes and could be considered a expression of the 'extremism of the centre', the peronist movement was a nationalist movement supported by the lower strata, similar to Brazil's G. Vargas one.

For the English reader, two other important works appeared lately. One is David Rock's *Authoritarian Argentina. The Nationalist Movement, its history and impact* (University of California Press, 1992) and Sandra Mcgee Deutsch and R. H. Dolkart *ed. The Argentine Right. Its history and intellectual origins* (Wilmington, Del. 1993). Both books deal with Argentine right nationalism over the *'longue duree' (up to the military regimes of the 1960's*

Cultural Nationalism and the Emergence of a Regenerative Myth

Argentina's progress towards modernization was guided by the utopian views of the 'generation of 1837.' Alberdi, Sarmiento, and Echevarria, influenced by the positivist philosophical and sociological thought of the time, tried to fit their own reality into an analytical framework reflecting their faith in linear economic and political progress, in conformity with the European experience[14].

That generation's political thought was summed up in Sarmiento's book *Civilization or Barbarism.* Civilization meant the import of Western liberal values through education, foreign immigration and economic development, while the barbaric heritage that was to be eradicated was represented by Juan Manuel de Rosas's tyrannical regime and its populist *caudillo* mentality. Political liberalism and the free flow of capitalist investment did indeed propel Argentina into rapid economic growth at the beginning of the century. However, the practical result of the ideology of modernization as defined by the liberal elites was a disintegrated society, an unbridgeable gap between the state and the people, and an economic development dependent upon foreign demand for agricultural export products.

The production system was the basis for a sociopolitical organization intended to serve the singular combination of British interests and their Argentine 'liberal partners.' This system was supported by a an ideal of civilization shared by both the European-oriented oligarchy and the immigrant working class and their social movements. In fact, although the anarchist and socialist movements that arose at the beginning of the century disturbed the liberal elites' utopian dream, they proposed no fundamentally different project of national development.

From the beginning of the century, Argentine syndicalism had been influenced by foreign ideas, represented as it was by immigrant newcomers who attempted to revolutionize society rather than being absorbed by it. The anarchists catered to the subjective needs of the 'labor aristocracy' of craftsmen, simultaneously establishing a profound division between skilled 'European'

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and 1970's) As other books on Argentine nationalism they are focused on right wing nationalism and attempt to emphasize the limited relationship between Peronism and that rightist tradition. The thesis exposed in this article instead, relates Peronism to a right left synthesis, which resembles in some ways the fascist synthesis between an anti-conservative right and an anti-marxian left.

[14] See Tulio Halperin Donghi, "Un nuevo clima de ideas," (A new climate of ideas) and Marcelo Montserrat, "Una ideologia del progreso" (An ideology of progress), in G. Ferrari and E. Gallo, eds.: *La Argentina del Ochenta al Centenario* (Argentina from the eighties to the centenary) (Buenos Aires: Ed.Sudamericana, 1980).

workers and unskilled 'creole' workers. Their vision of a utopian, progress-oriented and internationalist working class was suited to the needs of the highly politicized proletariat then existing in Argentina. It could not, however, satisfy the requirements of the mass mobilization that began during the thirties and reached its height under Peron in the forties[15].

The Socialist party, founded by J.B. Justo, proposed another analytical insight, although within the same cultural parameters. In his book *Theory and Practice*, Justo describes a process of development by stages in Argentina in which the capitalist stage and the formation of a national bourgeoisie are preconditions for the development of a socialist society. For Justo, the Bernstein hypothesis of socialist evolution was valid for agro-export as well as industrialized countries. More important in this context, however, Justo, like other socialist leaders, attached no special value to anti-imperialist politics. For them, in fact, a dependent economy was a temporary stage, a step in the process of modernization[16].

In short, neither the socialists nor the anarchists challenged the liberal elites' positivist philosophy of progress. There was no real attempt to delegitimize the elites' model of political modernization until a new nationalist concept based on different cultural parameters appeared at the beginning of the century. It was around that time that, influenced by new philosophical trends in Spain and France, and by indigenous Latin American sources, new magazines, literary clubs, and study groups formulated the antipositivist critique that was to be the basis for a new nationalism with two faces: a European-influenced, integralist one and an authentic populist one. Although opposed to each other in certain ways, both trends contributed to the development of a single concept of radical, antiliberal nationalism during the thirties.

The best Argentine interpreters of this nationalist cultural renaissance were Ricardo Rojas and Manuel Galvez, whose books *La Restauracion Nacionalista* (The nationalist Restoration) (1909) and *El Solar de la Raza* (1913), respectively, became cornerstones of an authentic Argentine nationalism. Ricardo Rojas's book, *La Restauracion Nacionalista*, was commissioned by the Argentine government to present an educational plan for Argentine schools. Its publi-

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[15] On the origins of the anarchist movement in Argentina, see Yaacov Oved, *El anarquismo y el movimiento obrero en Argentina* (Anarchism and the workers movement of Argentina) (Mexico: Ed.Siglo XXI, 1978).

[16] On the history of the Argentine Socialist party, see J. Oddone, *Historia del socialismo argentino* (History of Argentina's socialism) (Buenos Aires: Ed. La Vanguardia, 1934).

cation in 1909 elicited considerable public response, putting the book at the center of an ideological discussion that was in some ways the local equivalent of similar discussions in Europe.

Not surprisingly, the first reactions to the book came from the Spanish intellectuals Miguel de Unamuno and Ramiro de Maeztu. A series of articles by Unamuno appeared in *La Nacion* in 1910, expressing warm approval of the book: "how could I not applaud [Rojas's] nationalism, since I, like him, ... have tried to prove all the egoistic contents of humanism"[17]. The book's basic message was a devastating critique of the liberal elites' project of national modernization and its cosmopolitan consequences. Rojas protested against the excessive liberalism that since the beginning of the century had led Argentina to adopt the principle of freedom of education from countries entirely different from Argentina in both situation and destiny: "an adaptation of the same [political and ideological] system would help 'the commerce of adventurers without homeland ... and the invasion of imperialist powers"[18].

The connection between immigrants and economic and cultural imperialism was a classic formula guaranteed to motivate integralist as well as populist nationalists in Argentina. In fact, Rojas's attitude towards immigrants reflected the radical stance of most nationalist thinkers at the beginning of the century. The novelist Manuel Gálvez, one of the most important intellectual figures at the time of the 'centenary' in Argentina, confirmed this point. His own central theme was the antagonism between the traditional village and the cosmopolitan city, or, in other words, between culture and civilization. According to Gálvez, the national spirit was not dead, but merely hidden under a cosmopolitan veneer[19]. In fact, he claimed, it was local provincialism, with its love of tradition, its rejection of anything foreign, its American spirit, that inspired the resistance to denationalization[20].

This assumption inspired a whole generation of nationalists who understood

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[17] Ricardo Rojas, *La Restauracion Nacionalista* (The nationalist Restoration) (Buenos Aires: Ed. Peña Lillio, 1971) [1st edition 1909], p. 18.

[18] Ibid., p. 131.

[19] Manuel Galvez, *El diario de Gabriel Quiroga - Opiniones de la vida argentina* (The diary of Gabriel Quiroga - opinions on Argentina's life) (Buenos Aires, 1910), p. 55.

[20] Ibid, p. 153.

that the Argentine nationality was spoiled by the materialist spirit of the liberal generation, whose interpretation of national history bore the stamp of its cultural and economic world conception. That generation:

> seemed to be marching ... towards universal happiness, without suspecting the future conflicts that would derive from the industrial revolution, and from the expansion of capitalism .... Given this universal faith, the liberal interpretation of national history was the antecedent and justification of the political action of our oligarchies ... in other words of the party of "civilization"[21].

For the new generation of nationalist intellectuals, however, the utopia espoused by the party of 'civilization' was to be replaced with the revolutionary mobilization myth.

Thus, in contraposition to the enlightened utopia of the liberal elites, a new regenerative myth appeared, inspired by the heroic, energetic life of the *gaucho*, who represented the preliberal past. According to Georges Sorel, the "revolutionary myths of our days are almost pure; they allow us to understand the acts, the feelings and the thoughts of the masses that prepare themselves for the definitive struggle"[22]. Although it was the myth of the general strike that mobilized the proletariat to revolutionary action, the power of tradition - the mother of the social instinct - also played a decisive political role. It was the historical myth, the myth of the Argentine pre-liberal tradition with its social and cultural configurations, which became the new mobilizing myth that accompanied the economic denunciation of Argentine liberalism.

In fact, the revisionist interpretation of Rosas's era became the cornerstone of the ideological and political rebellion against the liberal state, and served as a comprehensive denunciation of the Argentine political culture and economic process. The reconstruction of Argentina's self-identity, based as it was on the Rosas myth of resistance to the great imperial powers, France and England, in the first half of the eighteenth century, also symbolized national unification under a violent, authoritarian, traditionalist regime.

The identification of liberal political culture with economic dependence was most clearly expressed in a book by the brothers Irazusta - *La Argentina y el imperio britanico* (Argentina and the British Empire) - published in 1934 at the

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[21] Ernesto Palacio, "La historia oficial y la historia," (The official history and the history) *Revista del Instituto de Investigaciones Historicas Juan M. de Rosas* Año 1, No. 1 (January 1939), p. 9.

[22] G. Sorel, *Reflections sur la violence*, (Reflections on violence) in Z. Sternhell, *The Fascist Thought and Its Variations* [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv: Sifriat Hapoalim, 1988), p. 72.

time of the Roca-Runciman pact - which constituted the most direct intellectual attack on the Argentine liberal oligarchy's version of history. This book analyzed the reasons for Argentine dependence on Great Britain throughout the political and economic development of the oligarchy. In fact:

> the mistakes committed by Roca's mission ... are so huge that they cannot be explained by a simple personal formula ... Personalities which the universal consensus [defines] ... as skillful could not have represented the country so badly, were it not because of a transcendental reason. That reason is the history of the oligarchy[23].

This historical approach was indeed a purely ideological and political one. "Making politics is almost unavoidable when doing history"[24], commented Julio Irazusta. Coming to terms with the Rosas period meant much more than doing proper historical research. Although, unlike other nationalist interpreters of history, J. Irazusta did not claim to be "using the example of Rosas in order to dream of dictatorships based on the Rosas precedent"[25], he sought the historical antecedents of the new concept of antiliberal and antirationalist populist democracy, which was based on social justice and the heroic revolutionary power of tradition in Argentine nationalism. In short, he represented the communion between traditional populism, social justice, and anti-imperialism which linked the populist and integralist versions of nationalism.

Two Concepts of Radical Nationalism: The Populist 'Left' and the Integralist 'Right'

The first political expression of the intellectual rebellion against the liberal oligarchy's modernization project was the populist Radical movement, which from its inception in 1890 changed the rules of the game of the conservative establishment. The Unión Cívica Radical took as its ideological cause the need to open the political system to the new native middle classes that were evolving in tandem with the process of economic development. Advocating a violent,

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[23] Rodolfo y Julio Irazusta, "Historia de la oligarquia Argentina," (History of Argentina's oligarcy) *Nuevo Orden* (August 1, 1940). This essay was included in *La Argentina y el imperialismo britanico* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Argentinas Condor, 1934).

[24] J. Irazusta, *Ensayo sobre Rosas: En el centenario de la suma del poder, 1835-1935* (Essays on Rosas: On the centenary of the seizure of power; *1835-1935)* (Buenos Aires: Coleccion Megafono, 1935), pp. 28-29.

[25] Ibid.

in tandem with the process of economic development. Advocating a violent, intransigent struggle for demo-cratization and the rescue of the Argentine 'authentic' national identity, Radicalism was synonymous with rebellion and a new morality, opposed to bourgeois materialism and the cosmopolitan spirit of the oligarchy.

By granting universal male suffrage in 1912, the oligarchy had made some concession to the new reality of the 'native middle classes' - children of immigrants, young, urban professionals and the urban proletariat. At the same time, the conservative politicians believed that only by participating in political elections could the Radical movement be 'civilized'. This view allowed the Radical party to attain power in 1916 under the leadership of Hipolito Yrigoyen.

What set Yrigoyen apart in liberal conservatives circles was his political style and innovative view of nationalism. Yrigoyen, heir to the rebellious tradition of the *caudillos*, attempted to integrate the politics of regional federalism with the constitutional order. His penchant for operating through party committees produced a new direct democratic style that challenged his own party bureaucracy as well as the alienated conservative parties of the oligarchy. This, however, proved to be his downfall, for he challenged the political culture of the oligarchy without trying to change the agrarian-based economy that supported it.

Yrigoyen, in fact, had no intention of promoting any essential structural change in the economy. But his political message was rejected by both the oligarchy - who despised his political style - and the corporatist national right - who felt that his brand of constitutional populism was not a valid answer to the current economical and political challenges[26]. At the end of the 1920s, during the height of the widespread economic depression that was devastating agricultural interests, these diverse elements formed a broad coalition to promote Felix de Uriburu's 1930 coup d'etat. It must be emphasized, however, that, apart from the desire to bring down Yrigoyen's regime, the members of this coalition had almost nothing in common, and the alternative regimes they favoured were conflicting: the conservatives demanded a return to the old liberal system, without the populist rhetoric, while the national corporatists aspired to a corporatist state in line with the new integralist revolutionary currents in the world. Although Yrigoyenist nationalism had antipositivist, antiliberal, and antimaterialist roots, the new generation of nationalist intellectuals who contributed to the

[26] On the antipositivist roots of the Radical party and its theoretical debt to Frederich Krause, see Gabriel del Mazo, *El Radicalismo, Ensayo sobre su historia y doctrina* (Radicalism; Essay on its history and doctrine) (Buenos Aires: Ed. Gure, 1957), pp. 52-58.

journal *La Nueva Republica* believed that this sort of populism was anarchical and disintegrationist. The nationalist intellectuals of *La Nueva Republica*, disillusioned with the old conservative parties, found their main local source of inspiration in the poet Leopoldo Lugones. Lugones, one of the main proponents of military nationalism, had since 1925 been heralding the "hour of the sword." This was a reference to the Argentine army, which had fought for independence and, in Lugones's view, was the only reliable organism that could serve as an example of hierarchy and order. For Lugones the army did not represent the means of preserving the current bourgeois order. Only the army could insure the future of the nation, since it synthesized tradition with technical advancement. Lugones's teachings to the new nationalist generation can be summed up by the concept that "[l]ife does not triumph by means of reason and truth, but by means of force."[27]

When the newspaper *La Nueva Republica* was founded in 1927, it became a focal point for a group of intellectuals who, under Lugones's influence, were to elaborate an integralist political program as an alternative to "inorganic democracy." Ernesto Palacio, Cesar Pico, the brothers Rodolfo and Julio Irazusta, Roberto de Leferrere, and Juan Carulla edited the paper. Their political alternative was termed

> nationalism, that would represent the organized and corporatized collectivity, in which individual interests are subordinated to the Nation. The common good of the people, which is the end of all government, is contrary to these abstract principles of popular sovereignty, freedom, equality or proletariat redemption[28].

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[27] Leopoldo Lugones, *La Patria Fuerte* (The mighty Homeland) (Buenos Aires: Ed. Circulo Militar, 1930), p.40. The poet Lugones was one of the most prominent Argentine nationalists, belonging to an older generation than the members of *La Nueva Republica (The new Republic)*. He grew up politically in the Socialist party, and turned from radical revolutionary socialism to radical nationalism. His famous Ayacucho speech, delivered in 1924 on the anniversary of the famous battle of Ayacucho celebrated in Lima, Peru, was known as "the hour of the sword." In it, he expressed his belief that the Argentine army was the only organism that could instill a new sense of life and order in Argentine society, which had been putrefied by liberal democracy.

[28] *La Nueva Republica* (September 22, 1928). The Irazusta brothers belonged to a wealthy family of the province of Entre Rios which supported the antipersonalist wing of the Radical party. They began to study law in Buenos Aires in 1916, but did not pursue a legal career. In 1923 they went to France, where they were influenced by articles by Charles Maurras, published in the journal *L'Action Francaise*. The Irazustas, like Ernesto Palacio and other contemporaries who wrote for the journal *La Nueva Republica*, were part of the new generation of radical nationalists. Most of them grew up in well-established aristocratic families that were unable to cope with the modernization process in Argentina. The waves of

Those ideals were the intellectual base for the unsuccessful revolutionary attempt led by General Felix de Uriburu in September 1930. Although that attempt did not lead to a corporatist state as the nationalist intellectuals had expected, it opened a new era of ideological struggle that delegitimized the liberal democratic order. In fact, although the oligarchical establishment remained in power, supported by the government of General Agustin Justo, the intellectual preparation for a second round began immediately[29].

From Uriburu's Corporatist Project to a New Synthesis of Populist and Integral Nationalism

The Justo era, although characterized by a certain industrial modernization, was in fact a period in which the dependence of the Argentine economy and society was greatly felt. It was during this "infamous decade," as it was defined by the nationalist Jose Luis Torres, that the government entered into controversial commercial agreements with England that favoured the interests of the wealthiest ranchers[30].

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immigration, the increasing materialism and technicality of Argentine society, and the social unrest left these intellectuals with no representation in the political system. The liberal conservatives represented the oligarchical elites that dominated the political and economic processes in Argentina. It may be assumed from a sociological point of view that the new radical ideas of French nationalism suited the social status of both the members of *La Nueva Republica* and the participants in the *Cursos de Cultura Catolica* (Curses of Catholic Culture). Ernesto Palacio began his political career as an anarchist. Like other members of his generation, he was attracted to nationalism because the nationalist movement promised a new regenerative ideal. He was a founding member of the cultural magazine *Martin Fierro*, which represented a cultural breakthrough for Argentine intellectuals. From literary avantgardism he passed to fervent adherence to the Catholic faith, becoming a leading light among those ideologists who saw fascism and Catholicism as virtually united in a common struggle.

Like the Irazustas, Juan Carulla was a prominent contributor to *La Nueva Republica* (The New Republic), and also founded the journal *Bandera Argentina* (Argentine Flag). He, too, arrived in Europe during World War I. His gradual acceptance of the ideas of *L'Action Francaise* resulted from conversations with its principal members and from reading Charles Maurras.

[29] On the political developments that led to the September Revolution, and on the role played by Felix de Uriburu, see J.J. Sarobe, *Memorias sobre la revolucion del 6 de Setiembre de 1930* (Memories of the 6th of September Revolution) (Buenos Aires: Gure, 1957), and Juan Orona, *La revolucion del 6 de Setiembre* (The 6th of September Revolution) (Buenos Aires, 1966).

[30] The prominent nationalist Jose Luis Torres called the 1930s "the infamous decade." See also Arturo Jauretche, *FORJA y la decada infame* (FORJA and the infamous decade) (Buenos Aires: Ed. Pena Lillio, 1962). The era was marked by the bilateral pact between Great Britain

The thirties provided an objective opportunity to unify the values of the 'authentic' and the 'foreign,' the modern corporatist system of mass control proposed by the integralists and the populist rebel tradition manifested in Yrigoyen's movement. For the integral nationalists of the right, the concepts of anti-imperialism, industrialization, and social justice were interrelated. They also had a clear ideological conviction that the revolutionary political style of fascism could well be integrated with the concepts of economic and cultural emancipation. That was the reason that a new fascist style of politics and a new anti-imperialist rhetoric characterized the nationalist groups that proliferated during the thirties. In fact, quasi-military leagues like the Legion de Mayo, the Legion Civica, the Liga Republicana, and the Accion Nacionalista Argentina were the proofs that a new, hitherto unknown political style had developed in Argentina.

La Liga Republicana and the *Legion Civica* were the Argentine promoters of the new fascist trend. Before Uriburu's military revolt, the *Liga Republicana* had pursued its new style of revolutionary activist politics against Yrigoyen's regime. Founded by Roberto de Laferrere and Rodolfo Irazusta in 1929, this organization was responsible for preparing the public to accept the necessity of a revolution through direct street confrontations with *the Radical party* militias called the *Klan Radical*[31].

The Liga was the first nationalist movement to apply a revolutionary terminology more significant than a mere appeal for a coup d'etat against Yrigoyen's constitutional government. The basic goal was "to promote the revolution of spirits ..."[32], and to announce the "imperious urgency of opposing the actual government and its system ..."[33]. The main feature of *La Liga Republicana*,

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wealth protectionism. The pact allowed for a stable but markedly reduced level of Argentine beef exports to Britain, and a loan to cover Argentine debts. In return, Argentina was to reserve 85 per cent of the reduced beef for British packing enterprises in Argentina.

[31] The *Klan Radical* was a paramilitary shock troop organization of the Yrigoyenist wing of the Radical party, established in July 1929 to combat party dissidents. *Klan Radical* groups, composed by party committee members organized by Radical congressmen, clashed with *La Liga Republicana* in several street confrontations. However, in spite of the violent rhetoric used at some organizational meetings and isolated propagandistic political acts - such as the disruption of the speech of Agricultural Minister Juan B. Fleitas at the Sociedad Rural - no violent acts by the League were cited.

[32] C. Ibarguren (hijo), *Roberto de Laferrere, periodismo, politica historia* (Roberto de Laferre; journalism, politics, history) (Buenos Aires: Ed.Coleccion Argentina, 1970), p. 41.

[33] F. Ibarguren, *Origenes del nacionalismo Argentino, 1927-1937* (Origins of the Argentine Nationalism: Buenos Aires: Ed. Celcius, 1969), pp.31-32.

however, was its insistence on ideological purity. Contrary to the *Legion Civica*, which was created by the provisional government after the military coup, the *Liga Republicana* understood ideological purity to mean that it should not compromise with the military government, should the latter abandon the basic revolutionary ideas.

The *Legion Civica*, on the other hand, had been created as a paramilitary group directly attached to the government when General Felix de Uriburu realized that his corporatist plans had entered a blind alley. Its goal was to propagate the ideology of the revolution. Less dogmatic than the *Liga Republicana*, "the *Legion Civica* [was] an a-political force" that would collaborate in carrying out the program of the revolution, although remaining under the control of the military government[34].

In spite of their different approaches, both organizations presented a radical message and a political style which challenged the very political establishment that had called for the end of Yrigoyenism - but had not bargained for its replacement by fascism. This new style represented a new ideological wave based on the assumption that war "more than a function of armies was a function of peoples, and no component of the nation ... could (afford) not to participate in it"[35].

In keeping with its paramilitary status, the *Legion Civica* was organized on military lines, in brigades and divisions that paraded in columns of eight. The Legion also mobilized women and children, and gave them military training[36]. But beyond its military activities, the *Legion Civica* sought an ideological and social role based on a new concept of solidarity. This solidarity symbolized the spirit of the organic concept of nationalism in Argentine society. In August 1932, for example, the Legion used the fascist model to organize its own syndicalist movement, the *FONA* (*Federacion Obrera Nacionalista:* Nationalist Workers Union). At the same time, it provided free food and housing to unemployed

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[34] F. de Uriburu addressed officers at a luncheon of the Armed Forces, July 7, 1931. See A. Rouquie, *Poder militar y sosiedad politica en Argentina*, (Military power and society in Argentina) vol.I, 7 edition (Buenos Aires, Emecé, 1983) p. 245.

[35] Lautaro Montenegro, *Origen de la Legion Civica Argentina y la Doctrina de su constitucion* (Origins of Argentina's Legion Civica and the doctrine of its constitution) (Buenos Aires: no pub., 1931), p. 5.

[36] As demonstrated by the research of Fernando Garcia Molina, Graciela Etchevest, Ana Maria Galibert, and Omar Cerdeira, "La Legion Civica Argentina (1931-1932)", Catedra de introduccion al conocimiento de la sociedad a cargo del prof. Ruben Berenblum, Universidad Nacional de Buenos Aires, 1985, p. 14.

workers in various parts of the capital, an activity in which the women's branch of the Legion was particularly prominent. Nevertheless, the *Legion Civica's* welfare activities should not obscure its more important political functions, described by the police as follows: "diverse commissions of the organization tour the city in order to push members to ... maintain surveillance over worker centers and the domiciles of the principal Radical (party) leaders ..."[37]. Although occasionally the police collaborated with the government-supported militia, it detected and disapproved of what it wrongly considered to be the organization's "putschist" characteristics, fearing that it could be transformed from a civil auxiliary group supporting the provisional government into an uncontrolled revolutionary force. In fact, since the nationalists questioned the legitimacy of the liberal constitution, the legionaries' function of helping the security forces to maintain order in the cities could well be viewed as maintaining a revolutionary order rather than the actual legal one.[38]

The legionaries demonstrated their new political path by means of street confrontations and vandalism. These acts were reported by the national press, and it was clear that a spirit of violence was taking over Buenos Aires and the provinces. In the province of Cordoba, the legionaries collaborated with the local police to close down the newspapers *El Dia* and *Cordoba* because of the papers' criticism of the legionaries' vandalism[39]. Such actions were tacitly supported by the government.

Accordingly, Felix de Uriburu's resignation in 1931 initially seemed likely to deal a mortal blow to the Legion's activities. That it did not was due to the permissive attitude of Agustin Justo, Uriburu's successor, towards the *Legion Civica* and the activities of other proponents of nationalism. In order to minimize the nationalists' resistance to the restoration of constitutionalism, Justo persuaded the members of the *Legion Civica* that the most important goal was the struggle against leftist communism which loomed behind the imminent social revolution.

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[37] Policia Federal, "Prontuario Carulla", (Carulla's file) Legajo 1, Exp.1, Folio 52, Leg. *Legion Civica*, June 15, 1931.

[38] Policia Federal."Prontuario Carulla", Leg.1, Exp.1, Folio 198, Leg. *Legion Civica*, June 12, 1932.

[39] *La Prensa* (September 30, 1931), p.4. The motto declaring "With the revolution or against the homeland" was representative of the revolutionary totalitarian ambitions of the legionaries, which echoed the frustrated ambitions of General Uriburu.

This created a dilemma for the nationalist movement of the time: was the final goal of the nationalist struggle the fall of Yrigoyenism, or was it in fact an all-out assault on the entire liberal state? The answer to this question was found amid the ideological developments of Argentine nationalism in the aftermath of *Uriburismo*, and it was reflected in the initial reactions against what appeared to be the Legion's appeasement of the liberal state. The conviction that began to take hold of the rank and file of the nationalist groups was that the end of Yrigoyenism was not enough. It was evident to the nationalists that "after the September revolution, ... another revolution is unavoidable ..."[40]. That conviction, of course, demanded a more decisive revolutionary action in which all the political and economic institutions of the liberal establishment would be destroyed. The new revolution, however, should be led by a popular movement; this appeared to be the new conception of Argentine nationalism.

Although the *Legion Civica* had succeeded in attracting many recruits by mid-1931 - there were between 10.000 and 30.000 brigade members scattered throughout the capital, eleven provinces, and one territory - it never constituted a mass movement. The search for a mass movement would represent a radical change in the political style and ideological message of Argentine nationalism. While the militarily oriented movement represented a new set of values that promoted the militarization of society as the necessary remedy for a decadent, bourgeois society, it had a long way to go to establish itself as a popular movement.

For Argentine nationalism, becoming a popular movement signified the sacrifice of ideological doctrinarism. That ideological process, which would reach culmination under the next military government in 1943, was begun during the 1930s, when, in a new socio-economic framework, the nationalists of *La Nueva Republica* decided to 'nationalize' the counter-revolutionary movement. Accepting the masses into the political game was an additional step towards synthesizing the ideological elements of the fascist revolution with the indigenous republican tradition of the Yrigoyenist movement.

As noted by Galvez, fascism had a social, modernizing aspect: "fascism [in Italy] is a doctrine of the right, which opposes democracy and socialism; but socially it belongs to the left ..."[41]. The fact that, in Argentina, the people responded to Yrigoyen's radical party, a populist and nationalist movement, led

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[40] *La Vanguardia* (September 16,), p.1. F. Ibarguren, *Origenes del nacionalismo*, (Origins of nationalism) pp. 86-87.

[41] Manuel Galvez, "Perspectivas de fascismo en Argentina," (Prospects of fascism in Argentina) in *Este Pueblo Necesita* (Buenos Aires, 1934), p. 119.

him to conclude that "an authentic radical could not be far from fascism ..."[42]. Galvez's reconciliation with the Yrigoyenist tradition had important ideological consequences for Argentine nationalism. Up to that point, the nationalist integralist revolutionaries had been able to visualize a corporate authoritarian society, antiliberal and anti-oligarchic, brimming with youthful vitality; but they were unable to envision the people's function in that schema, since everything connected with the people would be understood as Yrigoyenism, anarchy, and disorder. Galvez, in effect, projected an ideological reconciliation permitting a synthesis between two brands of nationalism that were considered antagonistic until the 1930s.

The emphasis on economic emancipation and the revision of the historical role of Juan Manuel de Rosas, as well their deep-seated anti liberalism, was to become the link between the integralists' thinking and that of FORJA *(Fuerza de Orientacion Radical de la Joven Argentina* - Radical Force of Young Argentina), the new left wing of the Yrigoyenist movement. The FORJA group promoted a new brand of economic nationalism that was to have great influence on the former integral nationalists. Although they did not share common philosophical roots and they related differently to the specific results of liberal modernization, both nationalist wings added complementary components to the 'third way' of development.

FORJA members like Arturo Jauretche and Luis Dellepiane did not speak in terms of class struggle but addressed themselves to the Argentine people at large. As the left wing of the Yrigoyen populist movement, they understood better than the integralists that giving the masses political expression was the only route to integration, especially since this new wave of leftist nationalism came at a time when the masses were not represented by the Communist or Socialist parties. The integration process was to be accompanied by economic anti-imperialism, basically directed towards Great Britain in their case, and virulent in character.

They did not consider the Argentine economic crisis to be a structural one - that is to say the result of free market forces. Rather, it was a political crisis resulting from the dealings between a non-nationalist elite and British interests. Breaking off this disadvantageous relationship was a precondition for national industrialization and integration. Here again the similarities to Irazusta's analysis are clear. Going against the comfortable agro-export economic order would require a social contract based on the so-called 'third way' of development, one differing from both the liberal democratic system and the socialist proletarian

[42] Ibid., p. 127.

revolution. This alternative was to be a populist, corporatized society that would push for social integration and industrialization. In the eyes of FORJA members, this was the only formula for national dignity and survival in the competitive modern world.

Both nationalist movements believed Argentina should maintain its neutrality in the confrontation between the Axis and the Allies. It must be emphasized that FORJA members were not pro-Axis and did not share the philosophical roots of the integral nationalists. Nevertheless, both nationalist wings perceived liberal democracy and its supporters around the world as enemies of Argentine nationalism.

Scalabrini Ortiz, an intellectual closely linked with FORJA and one of the most prominent defenders of neutrality at the time, did not hide his fierce opposition to British imperialism and liberalism. This opposition led him to accept contributions from integral nationalists such as the brothers Irazusta and Ernesto Palacio for the daily newspaper *Reconquista*, which he had founded in 1939. He used the paper to promote the idea of Argentine neutrality in World War II, an idea not far removed from Argentine support for the Axis. Scalabrini himself was not, in fact, pro-Axis but, at the height of the world ideological crisis, he found he had more in common with the defenders of the New order than he did with liberals.

Despite the differences between the two strains of nationalism, however, a political synthesis was possible. To FORJA, liberal modernization meant dependence and underdevelopment, and for the integral nationalists it meant cultural dependence and a loss of the native Hispanic heritage. Anti-imperialist politics, which to FORJA members signified economic emancipation and mass participation in the political process, was a precondition for the development of an authentic national program of industrial modernization and social welfare - views shared by former integral nationalists like R. Irazusta, E. Palacio, and M. Galvez, who perceived that elitism and exclusivism were incompatible with the new gospel of mass politics. The practical conclusions of both nationalist wings resulted in the same political order: a corporatist, antiliberal, antibourgeois, anti-imperialist state in which the people would be organically organized. Such a state in fact represented a practical synthesis between radical integral nationalism and populist anti-imperialism.

One of the nationalist groups that best expressed this proposition was the *Alianza de la Juventud Nacionalista*, founded by Queralto in 1937, which postulated economic intervention by the state and which, even before Peron appeared, had already spoken of social justice and anti-imperialism. The Alianza's program provided that "production would rest on the principle of being

at the service of the country and not at the service of liberal, capitalistic accumulation ..."[43]. Furthermore, it commented, "until now any social policy was based on reforms conceded by the liberal system," but "our national revolution will transform the main concept of labor ... Labor is going to be associated as a partner in the production of wealth ..."[44].

In some ways this rhetoric resembled that of the *Legion Civica Argentina*. The Legion's political program for a "representative and popular democracy" was full of economic and social reforms for the New world it envisaged. The Legion's members were convinced that the evils of capitalism and industrialization could be overcome by a strong syndicalist state, to the benefit of the workers. "We are not enemies of the workers." Solutions to the workers' problems had not yet been provided by "socialism and could not be given in the future." The only road left was "class syndicalism ... that can mediate between workers and employers, ... [and] that would certainly develop into a corporatist state that binds and harmonizes ..."[45].

In fact, it was clearly necessary to transform the liberal democratic state into a class state that could preserve harmony and social justice at the same time. "The unjust capitalist regime should be transformed," declared the Legion Civica's propagandist organ *Combate*[46]. The nationalists of the right saw plainly that nationalism had to be popular or it would be nothing at all.

The *Alianza de la Juventud Nacionalista* had a less military style than the *Legion Civica*. It synthesized more clearly than any other nationalist group the new populist, worker-oriented approach and the struggle for economic independence with the traditional concepts of corporatist organization. The Alianza's basic stance was defined thus:

> Against capitalism that has imposed its.. tyranny over the working masses! Against super capitalism and marxism! For the moral and material significance of the Argentinean proletariat! For the economical freedom of the nation! We demand social justice![47].

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[43] *Tribuna* (December 20, 1945)

[44] Ibid.

[45] "Nacionalismo y sindicalismo," (Nationalism and syndicalism) *Bandera Argentina* (September 8, 1932).

[46] "El nacionalismo aspira a una mayor justicia social," (Nationalism yearns for more social justice) *Combate* (May 15, 1935).

[47] "Alianza de la Juventud Nacionalista" *Clarinada*, (March 1938).

The Alianza advocated the syndicalist state that was later to be established by Peron, and was, in fact, the first nationalist group to succeed in holding mass May Day meetings in the Plaza San Martin in Buenos Aires, in a clear attempt to transform the international workers' day into a national celebration of the Argentine worker. In general, the organization boosted the participation of workers and the unemployed, precursors to Peron's *descamisados*.

The Alianza synthesized both wings of Argentine nationalism better than did any other nationalist group; but like the other groups, and in spite of the revolutionary and populist rhetoric adopted during the 1930s, it never became a real political force. Furthermore, neither Argentine nationalist movements nor other nationalist movements worldwide managed to reach the masses during the period between the world wars. The practical implementation of the nationalist ideology did not take place in Argentina until the military revolution of 1943; and, in fact, the Argentine nationalists trusted the army much more than they did themselves. This time, in contrast to Uriburu's revolutionary attempt in 1930, a new group of officers were to launch the political revolution so long awaited by the nationalists. Thus it was in 1943 that a new, fascist authoritarian era began for Argentina.

The Military Revolution of 1943 and the Nationalists

No single explanation can be offered for the army leaders' decision to act against Ramon Castillo's conservative government in 1943. On the domestic front, of course, there was growing dissatisfaction with the government's economic strategy, which, along with certain administrative abuses, provoked army leaders to express their moral censure in certain revolutionary proclamations.

The greatest goal to the proponents of revolutionary change, however, was Castillo's support for the candidacy of Robustino Patron Costa, an aristocratic conservative with clear pro-Allied tendencies. By supporting Costa, Castillo meant to reaffirm the political power of a united front between conservatives and the anti-Yrigoyenist wing of the Radical party. However, important sectors of the army doubted the ability of a conservative government to defend the country's sovereignty in the face of Brazil's growing strength [48]. They also suspected that no conservative liberal government would defend Argentina's proud tradition of neutrality in the world war. All these factors played a role in the ultimate decision to overthrow Castillo's government.

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[48] See Alain Rouquie, *Poder militar y sociedad politica en Argentina*, vol. II (Buenos Aires: Hispanoamerica Ediciones Argentina, S.A., 1986), p. 14.

The revolution also had some more comprehensive aims which went beyond these pragmatic factors. One of the revolutionary leaders, General Pedro Pablo Ramirez, a former war minister under President Castillo, declared in a speech that the aim of the military government was to "renovate the national spirit" of the country by giving an "Argentine ideological content to the whole country"[49]. The moral and nationalist content of Ramirez's speech raised the nationalists' expectations. Marcelo Sanchez Sorondo, in his speech to the military, commented:

> Since 4th June there has been a break in continuity, but it seems as though one has reached a sort of apolitical oasis. The military movement ousted a government that had the appearance of being the end of a regime ...You, the military, who make your lives a profession of honor, on 4 June made a profession of faith[50].

Sorondo's view was confirmed by the fact that although the revolution was carried out by officers of different political views, it was held together by a group of military men who had participated as secondary figures in Uriburu's revolution in 1930, and who in 1943 decided to reverse Argentine political development. Among them were Generals P.P. Ramirez, Emilio Ramirez, and Juan Peron, who, together with Colonels Avalos and Enrique Gonzales, were the most influential among the group of conspirators known as the G.O.U. (*Grupo de Oficiales Unidos*: United Officers Command). They were convinced that they would not repeat Uriburu's experience[51].

The rebels' immediate goals were to establish a new morality and discipline in the army and in the country as a whole, and to launch a crusade against communism[52]. After June 4th leaders and militants of the *Communist party* were

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[49] Speech by President Ramirez, *La Prensa* (June 16, 1943), in A. Rouquie, vol. II, p. 13.

[50] Marcelo S. Sorondo, pp. 251 and 258-259, cited in A. Ciria, *Parties and Power*, p. 153.

[51] See Juan Peron, "Discurso a los estudiantes" (Speech to the students) [December 21, 1945], in J. Peron, *Tres Revoluciones* (Three revolutions) (Buenos Aires: Ed. Escorpion), p. 93.

[52] Authors like E. Diaz Araujo: *La conspiracion del 43* (The 43's conspinacy) (Buenos Aires: Ed. La Bastilla, 1971) downplayed the GOU's authoritarian and fascist orientation. However, the documents published by Roger A. Potash in: *Peron y el GOU: Los documentos de una logia secreta* (Peron and the GOU: Documents of a secret lodge) (Buenos Aires: Ed. Sudamericana, 1984) confirm the basic orientations that I have analyzed here. Moreover, it is clear that Peron, probably the most important member of the lodge, was most likely the ideological author of the programmatic documents.

arrested. The C.G.T. 2 - the majority sector of the C.G.T. *Confederacion General del Trabajo* - General Workers' Confederation) - was banned for co-ordinating the most important socialist and communist unions. Other unions - like the *Union Ferroviaria* (Railway Workers' Union) - were harassed as well. Thus, initially it seemed that the new government's anticommunist convictions and economic program would favour the economic interests of the oligarchy.

Jorge Santamarina, the minister of the economy, won the capitalists over with his policy of austerity and budget balancing. At the same time, there were clear indications that the government would not support a policy that imposed economic hardship on the people. The nationalists were not displeased with this line. The most important innovation from the nationalists' point of view, however, was that the new nationalist government intended to develop an autonomous state that would not depend exclusively on the dominant economic classes.

It seemed to convince the nationalists that their ideology had penetrated into Argentine mentality, particularly in the army. The nationalist press comprehended the social character of this nationalist 'de facto' government: "One of the [military] movement's basic points, set out in the revolutionary proclamation, was to outlaw foreign capital maneuvers [in the country] ..."[53]. The journal *Crisol* published Ramirez's standpoint on the social question: "The army has moved, not in order to make a revolution, but to give a solution to the problems of the people, especially the problems of the working masses" [54].

The revolution produced a similar reaction in the left-wing Yrigoyenists of FORJA. A declaration by FORJA's National Executive on June 4, 1942 stated:

> 1. The overthrow of the regime constitutes the first stage of every policy of national reconstruction and of an authentic expression of sovereignty.
> 2. The implantation of a moral system that will lead the institutional development of the country...is an essential principle on which any possibility of national creation should be based...[55].

The conclusion was that FORJA would follow the developments with reserved optimism.

Integral and populist nationalists were certain that this revolution was a moral one that provided answers to social problems and to the question of

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[53] "Los capitales extranjeros," (The foreign capital) *Crisol* (June 10, 1943).

[54] *Crisol* (June 17, 1943).

[55] A. Jauretche, pp. 149-150.

economic emancipation. More than that, the revolution seemed to be the real expression of the Argentine national identity. "If the liberal democracy we have suffered under [until now) ... had originally been Argentine, nationalism would not have borne the fruits it has"[56].

Thus, both left wing and right wing nationalists focused their expectations on the Argentine army. By guarding Argentina's neutrality in the world conflict, by threatening the liberal democratic order and the bourgeois and socialist establishments, and by offering a social and political alternative, the GOU reflected the ideological evolution of Argentine nationalism. Indeed, the military revolution of 1943 surpassed military 'Uriburism' with a new integralist-populist formula synthesized by the national right and left.

The military government's short-term industrial policies were directed towards aiding national industry. Mixed industrial complexes were created with the goal of exploiting national resources, and long-term loans were offered to national industry. At the same time, the productive policies inspired by Lugones's thesis of national strength were accompanied by a limited social policy that attempted to achieve a certain degree of the social justice advocated by most of the nationalist intellectuals.

The Syndical Statute formulated by the military government in 1943 was intended to achieve corporatist authoritarian control of the workers' organizations. The latter were to be subject to government approval and supervision, while certain benefits were guaranteed for the working class: housing rents were reduced and higher wages were established for the lowest paid public-administration workers. This trend was reinforced in November 1943, when the *Secretaria de Trabajo y Prevision*, headed by Juan D. Peron and previously a minor arm of the Interior Ministry, became the *Departamento Nacional del Trabajo*, an autonomous department. Decree 156.074 of November 27, 1943, assigned Peron the duty of taking the measures necessary to establish harmony between the country's productive forces[57]. This office was to be the first step in the young GOU general's meteoric rise to power. The nationalist press responded enthusiastically to his new appointment and to what was seen as an effort to establish a productive economic system with a clear commitment to social justice:

> Peron's statements to the press ... accorded with what we have been maintaining in these pages for ten years. The problems of labor and its relations with capital

[56] "Esto no lo borra nadie," (Nobody can erase this) *Crisol* (June 10, 1943).

[57] See Alain Rouquie, vol. II, p. 32.

> have overcome the provisions of legislators and statesmen of the early century ... [Now] the state will abandon its passivity ... and that cold, repressive attitude of early times, which merely favoured ... those who abuse the weaknesses of others ...[58]

While the task of social pacification was given to Peron, many nationalists were given important posts in the public administration. In fact, the government actively sought the intellectual support of the nationalists, especially the Catholic right, when the conflict with the United States over the question of Argentine neutrality intensified.

Still more important was the ideological function performed by the nationalists in the universities and other intellectual institutions. They were strongly convinced that the military revolution should express clearly the concept that "the nation is a military reality." They saw no contradiction between real freedom and the military regime[59].

These assumptions, which pleased the military rulers, were reflected in practical administrative measures. Political parties were banned, freedom of the press was extraordinarily limited, the autonomy of higher education was abolished, and on December 31 a government decree imposed religious education in all public schools. Martinez Zubiria (Hugo Wast), the well known anti-Semitic writer who had recently been appointed minister of justice, declared:

> We must Christianize the country, ... we must encourage the birth rate instead of immigration, we must ensure the benefits of work, ... we must extirpate those hateful and atheist [liberal] doctrines ...[60].

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[58] "El Estado regulara las fuerzas de la Produccion," (The state will manage the productive forces) *Crisol* (October 30, 1943). See also "La Secretaria de Trabajo y Prevision," *El Pampero* (December 1, 1943).

[59] Bruno Genta, "La funcion militar en la existencia de la libertad," (The military role for the endurance of freedom) lecture delivered at the Circulo Militar, June 23, 1943, in *Revista Militar* (June 1943), cited in Rouquie, vol. II, p.31. See also Bruno Genta's remarks upon assuming the duties of an intervention at the Universidad del Litoral, Parana, on August 17, 1943, cited in Christian Buchrucker, *Nacionalismo y Peronismo: Argentina en la crisis ideological mundial 1927 - 1955* (Buenos Aires: Ed. Sudamericana), p. 282; and Bruno Genta, *Acerca de la libertad de enseñar y la enseñanza de la libertad*, (On freedom of teaching and the teaching of freedom) (Buenos Aires: Ed. Dictio, 1976).

[60] *La Nacion* (November 8, 1943).

At the same time, however, the international situation was causing many difficulties for the new military government, forcing it to reshape its ideological positions, particularly with respect to foreign policy. In 1944 the Allies powers' ultimate victory in World War II was generally anticipated. From 1943 Argentina attempted to create a rational, comprehensible framework for its neutrality. The Argentine leaders tried to convince the United States that they would be able and willing to break off diplomatic relations with Germany in exchange for American military support. Cordell Hull rejected the Argentine petition. Moreover, the Americans attempted to publicize Argentina's alleged involvement in the fascist military revolution of the *Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario* in Bolivia, and threatened to freeze Argentine accounts in the United States. Capitulating to American pressure, President Ramirez finally agreed to sever diplomatic relations with the Axis - a step that precipitated his ouster, since nationalist ministers like Martinez Zubiria and Colonel Enrique P. Gonzalez defined this governmental act as a betrayal of the nation, and demanded Ramirez's resignation [61].

Ramirez was replaced by another hard-line nationalist, General Edelmiro J. Farrell, who reinstituted the intransigent nationalist line within the government. General Farrell's administration was characterized by a renewed nationalist, militaristic message. The vitality and heroism of the army that had saved the country's traditional Hispanic nature, the praise of God, sovereignty, and the nation's combative morality - all the old myths were recycled by the government.

The blackboard in every Argentine school classroom read "Each additional son is a new guard of sovereignty," and "The new Argentina wants healthy, strong, and heroic women"[62].

The nationalists' direct influence on the government can be said to have ended when Peron was appointed vice-president of the nation and began to consolidate the political power he had achieved as secretary of labor and social planning. Peron understood the new rules of the game, that certain sacrifices would have to be made on the international level so that the internal reform of the state could be continued. In his role as labor secretary, he had realized the importance of the new working class made up of migrants mobilized in the industrial cities. Clearly, a nationalist revolution could not forget the support of the

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[61] On the political conspiracy that brought about Ramirez's resignation, see Alain Rouquie, vol. II, pp. 38-54.

[62] "Homenaje a la revolucion del 4 de Junio," (Homage to the revolution of June 4th) *Revista Militar* (June 1944), pp. 1057-1114.

'nationalist' masses, a concept promoted by the nationalists themselves since the mid-thirties. They had identified 'the new migrant working classes' as representative of the Argentine nation, while the unionized worker, the revolutionary working-class leadership, was influenced by foreign ideas and anti-nationalism. Peron, although rejecting the nationalist intellectuals' collaboration with the regime, was very clearly swayed by their convictions. Referring to the working class, he declared:

> I am personally a syndicalist ... and as such I am anti-communist, but I believe that labor must be organized in syndicates, so that workers, and not the leaders and agitators, would be the ones to take advantage of the benefits of their sacrifice ... I have advised the Department [of Labor], an organization that responds to the goals ... of improving the living conditions of the workers, although without tolerating any social conflict, ... [that] I won't tolerate the activities of agitators, ... most of whom are not even Argentines but foreigners who have not known how to respect the nationality of my homeland ...[63].

Peronism: Authoritarian Corporatism, Social Justice, and Political Mobilization

Juan Peron's meteoric ascent to power reflected the trend towards a New revolutionary order. The times called for a New order attentive to social realities. Thus the notion was conceived that "totalitarian movements of national and popular liberation are proletarian and democratic"[64]. The revolution had to be radical and social but not Marxist; Marxism was rejected on fundamental philosophical grounds. The thesis developed by the nationalist intellectuals and afterwards adopted by Peron was significant in that it included the Argentine revolution in the inevitable world revolution, which implied a new socialist order; one which was, "however, free of the Marxist materialist project"[65].

Peronism, in fact, expressed the new politics of mass mobilization in an inclusionary, corporatist framework; through it, Peron gave concrete expression

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[63] Interview given by Peron to *El Mercurio* [Chile], reprinted in *La Prensa* (November 12, 1943). See A. Rouquie, vol. II, pp. 39-40.

[64] Bruno Jacovella, "Defensa de la Constitucion, la democracia y la ley Saenz Peña," (The defence of the constitution, democracy and the Saenz Peña law) *Nuevo Orden* (January 29, 1944).

[65] E. Palacio, "Reaccion y revolucion, quienes representan el progreso politico?" (Reaction and revolution, which of them represents political progress?) *Nuevo Orden* (September 10, 1941).

to a synthesis of both ideological currents analyzed here, complementing it with his own charismatic leadership and his direct approach to the workers.

During the military government Peron established direct contact with the union leaders, aided by his colleague, Lieutenent Colonel Mercante, the son of a railway worker. Peron met with the syndicalists from the dissolved CGT, and in 1943 he intervened in favour of the workers in the Berisso Frigorificos' strike in La Plata. With Peron's support the first collective agreement was reached between labor and the government. Although the nationalists and the military were suspicious that Peron, with his corporatist ideas, would let the working classes into the political arena instead of controlling them, most of his military comrades agreed with Peron's social and political agenda.

Peron's visit to Italy in the period 1939-1941 had encouraged his admiration of Italian fascism, especially as a way to lead the working class[66]. In fact, Peron's approach to industrial relations resembled Mussolini's. As labor secretary in the military junta, he brought most of the unions under his control by means of the 1945 *Law of Professional Associations*, which provisions were almost identical with those of Mussolini's *Labor Code*. Under this law, only officially recognized unions and employers' associations could sign labor contracts, and only one employers' association and one labor union was to be permitted in each economic sector; strikes and lockouts were forbidden. Peron's syndicalist organization in fact did promote growing working-class organization - although subject to state control:

> because it suits the state to have organic forces it can control and lead rather than inorganic forces that escape its leadership ... We do not want unions divided into political factions, because what is dangerous is, precisely, the political unions[67].

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[66] Peron's admiration for fascism, is easily detected. In 1939, Peron was sent to Italy on a study mission by the Argentine army. He studied political economy at the Universities of Torino and Milan, and was impressed by the political and social practices of fascism. Peron never denied that "to guide people there is one technique, the technique of leadership. A technique, an art of military precision. During 1940, I have been taught that in Italy: that people really knew how to command." See the interview Peron gave to Eduardo Galeano, in Eduardo Galeano, *Reportajes* (Montevideo: Tauro, 1967), p. 74. During 1940 Peron visited Germany and the other countries occupied by Nazi Germany. Upon returning to Argentina, he became the ideological mentor of the GOU.

[67] Juan Peron, *El pueblo quiere saber de que se trata* (The people want to know what it is all about) (Buenos Aires, 1944), p. 161.

In other words, the welfare of the workers could be guaranteed only under the tutelage of the state.

While the working class was soon corporatized, it was only after Peron had taken charge of the government that he finally succeeded in bringing big business under control by setting up the *General Economic Confederation* in 1952. In tandem with the Peronist-controlled CGT, this confederation gave the state enormous regulatory power over the economy[68].

Concepts like economic emancipation, 'productionism', the formation of heavy industry, full employment, and social justice, were all elements of the government's economic and social plan. The government undertook to achieve a:

> just equilibrium among all the factors that take part in production, ... collaboration between labor and employer organizations, and the humanization of the function of capital ... and [to] improve the living conditions of the workers[69].

This 'productionist' program was based on the conviction that although Argentina was not a country with territorial ambitions, world politics demanded the development of a strong, autarkic nation. Juan D. Peron's own goal was the development of heavy industry under conditions of social justice[70].

All the instruments created by the state during Peron's administration were designed to further these aims. The IAPI (*Argentine Institute of Production and Trade)* in particular was the symbol of state economic regulatory power, and was created to promote the industrialization plan initiated in October 1946. The so-called *'Plan Quinquenal'* forced farmers to sell to the government at low, fixed prices; the government then made a good profit by selling those goods on the free market. The law that most frightened the rural oligarchy, however, was the *'Estatuto del Peron,'* which recognized rural laborers as workers with normal labor rights. Although this law was promoted by the right wing nationalist intellectual Enrique Oses in the pages of the right-wing journal *Crisol*, left-wing nationalists like A. Jauretche directly influenced Peron in the matter as well. While on the surface this measure would appear to have favoured the indu-

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[68] Paul Lewis, "Was Peron a Fascist?", *The Journal of Politics*, vol.42, 1-2 (1980), p. 247-8

[69] Vicepresidencia de la Nacion, Consejo Nacional de Postguerra, "Ordenamiento economico-social," (The socio-economic order) Buenos Aires, Kraft, pp. 55-6 and 68.

[70] See Presidencia de la Nacion, "El sindicalismo justicialista a traves del pensamiento de Peron" (A just syndicalism through Peron's thought) (Buenos Aires: Subsecretaria de Informaciones, 1951), pp. 71-86.

strialized sectors, the latter still feared the regulatory power of the state and the labor legislation that supported the IAPI's industrial policies.

Meanwhile, the revision in 1949 of the federal constitution of 1853 provided a constitutional basis for the new ideological approach. The constitutional amendments proposed by Peron's close collaborators, Jose Figuerola (a Catalonian syndicalist during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera who had immigrated to Argentina in 1930), the law professor Arturo Sampay, and Domingo Mercante, offered a new legal framework for social reform. A new chapter III enumerated a series of rights inspired by Catholic encyclicals that had spoken against abuses in the capitalist system and in favour of state intervention in the economic sector[71].

The new ideological system, however, which combined corporate, industrial, and social welfare goals in an integralist-populist synthesis, functioned only during 1949. In Argentina, 1949 was a year of watershed year for labor. Untill then, without abandoning its policy of heavy industrialization, the government had allowed labor wages to rise, by as much as 40 per cent from 1946 to 1949. From 1949 on, however, production interests rather than principles of social justice guided Peron's policies. Wages declined by over 20 per cent, and a new discipline was imposed on the unions.[72] In fact, from 1949 until 1955 Peron's populist policies resembled fascist corporatist practices more than they did during pre-1949 social reformism. Peron was well aware of the new developments produced by mass politics, and understood that fascism was the only revolutionary movement that could synthesize a leftist social approach with a rightist form of political organization.

Peronism, however, offered a peripheral society a new style of national socialism based on the regenerative myth of the preliberal *caudillista* past, as well as on the political mobilization of the working classes. Yet, as this chapter shows, none of the Peronist ideas were entirely new, since the ideological elaboration of this synthesis between right-wing integralism, anti-imperialism, and social justice had already begun in the intellectual laboratories of the Argentine nationalist right and left during the thirties.

Argentina in fact provides a clear example of a fascist ideology adapted to the needs of a peripheral society, and proves that fascism abroad could also serve the purpose of national emancipation and social integration. Paradoxically,

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[71] See Robert D. Crassweller, *Peron and the Enigmas of Argentina* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1988), pp. 193-195.

[72] See S.Baily, *Labor Nationalism and Politics in Argentina*, (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University, 1967), pp. 138, 142.

while it might be supposed that the new revolutionary trend would have introduced Argentina into the world of the developed nations, the opposite came to pass: Argentina sank into an economic, social, and political morass that has continued up to the present day.

17

MARIO SZNAJDER

WAS THERE FASCISM IN CHILE? THE MOVIMIENTO NACIONAL SOCIALISTA IN THE 1930's[1]

The Chilean version of National Socialism - MNS (Movimiento Nacional Socialista de Chile) - developed between 1932 and 1938, and its political activity culminated in the attempted coup of September 5th, 1938. It is on this period of Chile's political history, and on the role played by Chilean National Socialism that this work will concentrate. Through an analysis of the MNS ideology, its political development and organizational structure I will try to define its relationship to the European varieties of fascism, and to what extent it was original.

Firstly I will deal with the political development of the MNS and its connection with the re-establishment of democracy in Chile. This will be followed by an analysis of the ideological components of Chilean Nazism, (written with a "c", as did the MNS in order to stress the Creole character of the movement in contrast to German Nazism). Then I will deal with the organizational structure of the MNS and its relationship to ideology and political practice in the light of the September 5th 1938 putsch and its consequences. The following section will try

[1] I wish to thank the Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, for providing a research grant that made possible the completion of this work. Sections of this work have been published in the *Journal of Contemporary History*, 28 (1993), 269-296. A "A case of Non European Fascism: Chilean National Socialism in the 1930s". We wish to thank the Editors of the JCH for their permission to reprint these sections here.

to provide a clue on who were the Chilean national-socialists. Finally, I will try to conclude to what extent the MNS imitated its European counterparts and to describe its original qualities as a fascist movement.

The Movimiento Nacional Socialista de Chile was founded in Santiago on April 5th 1932, at a meeting held in the office of "el Jefe" (the Chief), Jorge González von Marees, who declared at the meeting that he would lead the movement[2]. The MNS was founded a day after González' 32nd birthday. He was a Chilean born lawyer of German extraction who, during his university years, had organized a workers evening school and was President of the *Rafael Sotomayor League for Popular Education.*[3] Gonzalez began a public career in the municipality of Ñuñoa - one of Santiago's communes - after graduating from law school in 1923. In 1932 he was appointed mayor of Ñuñoa, but after a few months was fired as a result of the socialist *coup d'etat* led by Marmaduke Grove in June 1932. From then on "el Jefe" dedicated all his time and energies to the MNS.

1932 was a year of profound crises in Chile. The world economic depression had a tremendous impact on Chile's capacity to export, especially nitrates and copper, but also agricultural products. In 1931 Chile's export income in dollars had been reduced to a third of the level reached before 1929. A decline in production, a rise in unemployment, a great increase in the fiscal deficit and internal migration from the most affected mining areas in the north of

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[2] The co-founders of the MNS were Gustavo Vargas, Carlos Keller, Felipe Laso, Eduardo Undurraga, Emilio Aldunate, Francisco Infante, Mauricio Mena and Raul Valdivieso. Two of the founders - González von Marees and Keller - and late many members and sympathizers of the MNS were of German extraction. Cf., Mauricio Mena Mena, "Génesis y desarrollo del Nacismo" (Genesis and Development of Nacism), *Accion Chilena*, volumen IV, No. 2, 1935, pp. 80-81. A later version of the foundation of the movement, places it at the home of González von Marees. Cf., Carlos Keller, "El 5 de Abril de 1932", *Trabajo*, suplemento, 5. 4. 1938.

[3] For biographical details on Jorge González von Marees in George F. W. Young, "Jorge González von Marees: Chief of Chilean Nacism", *Jahrbuch Fur Geschichte Von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas*, Band 11, 1974 pp. 311-314. In Spanish cf., Rodrigo Alliende González, *El Jefe. La vida de Jorge González von Marees* (The Chef. The Life of Jorge Gonzáles von Marees), Santiago, Ediciones Los Castaños, 1990. Rafael Sotomayor was a famous Chilean politician who, as Minister of War, successfully coordinated the campaign against Perú, in the Pacific War, dying of overwork on the eve of the battle of Tacna, on May 20th, 1880. On Rafael Sotomayor cf., Jordi Fuentes, Lía Cortés, Fernando Castillo Infante & Arturo Valdés Phillips, *Diccionario Histórico de Chile* (Historical Dictionary of Chile), Santiago, Zig Zag, 1984, p. 568. It was probably the nationalism and patriotism represented by the figure of Sotomayor which attracted the attention of Jorge González.

the country to Santiago and other urban centers, characterized the period prior to the appearance of the MNS on the Chilean political scene. According to the League of Nations *World Economic Survey 1923-1933*, Chile was the country most affected by the world economic depression of 1929.[4] Political unrest led to the resignation and exile of Carlos Ibáñez del Campo, whose authoritarian government was seen by many of his opponents as a dictatorship. Ibáñez crossed the Argentinean border on July 27th 1931, leaving Chile in a state of political turmoil for the next fifteen months.[5] During this period, nine different governments failed to cope with the serious economic and political crises, and harsh economic measures taken in August 1931 caused a revolt of the NCO's and sailors in the Chilean navy, whose pay was reduced by the government. The revolt was crushed by the army, loyal to the civilian government, after 11 days. In June 4th 1932, a *coup d'etat* brought in a Socialist Republic that lasted for one month and four days. As a result of the internal divisions between its leaders, this republic was governed by four successive civilian-military juntas. In September, the President of the Supreme Court, acting as president of the country, called a national presidential election in which Arturo Alessandri Palma, who had governed Chile between 1920 and 1925, was re-elected president of the country.[6] Alessandri assumed office on December 24th 1932, beginning a period of return to liberal democracy - the period in which the Movimiento Nacional Socialista de Chile became a small but important actor in the political development of the country.

Chilean Nazism grew rapidly. The group of nine who founded the movement in April 1932 was joined by another thirty in the first two months of its existence. In October 1932 the MNS participated in the general elections and received almost one thousand votes in the Santiago electoral area, nearly enough to put one of its candidates in parliament. This was the result of a recruitment campaign and much publicity. In July 1932 the MNS started publishing a

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[4] Federico G. Gil, *The Political System of Chile*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966, p. 61.

[5] Cf. Luís Correa Prieto, *El Presidente Ibáñez. La política y los políticos* (President Ibáñez. Politics and Politican), Santiago, Editorial Orbe, pp. 151-155.

[6] About the July 1931-December 1932 period in the political history of Chile Cf. Federico G. Gil, *The Political System of Chile*, op. cit., pp. 61-65, and Jordi Fuentes et al., *Diccionario Histórico de Chile, op. cit.*: on Juan Esteban Montero, cf., pp. 366-367, on the Socialist Republic Juntas, pp. 293-294, on Carlos Dávila Espinoza, Bartolome Espejo Blanche, cf., p. 84 and on Abraham Oyanedel Urrutia, cf., pp. 404-405.

weekly page in *El Imparcial* and in April 1933 it began to produce a weekly newspaper, *Trabajo*, which became a bi-weekly in April 1935 and a daily in April 1936.[7]

In 1933 the *Tropas Nacistas de Asalto* (Nacist Assault Troops - TNA) - made their appearance in clashes with communists and socialists. This occurred during two public meetings of the MNS in August 1933, the first in the Teatro Providencia and the second in Teatro Iris. From then on, the presence of the MNS uniformed militia came to be felt, not only because of its paramilitary character but also because of the increasing political violence. Party militias were common in Chile at the time. The most numerous was the *Milicia Republicana*, without any clear political ideology but dedicated to the defense of liberal democracy. In 1935 this group, which had nearly fifty thousand members, dissolved itself, believing that the Republic was already sufficiently strong. The government prohibited the use of uniforms by the TNA at the end of the same year, but political violence increased despite of this step. Already in 1933 the MNS expanded its activities outside Santiago. In October 1933 it held an assembly in Chillán and on December 8th and 9th 1934 the MNS held its National Conventión in Concepción, the third largest city in the country. More than one thousand uniformed MNS members, coming from different parts of the country but mainly from Santiago, participated in this meeting. The widening of the MNS activities in the country was reflected in the municipal elections of May 1935. In Santiago the MNS list received more than 2300 votes but did not succeed in electing any of its members to the municipality. However, in Temuco and Angol, two provincial cities in the South, the MNS succeeded in getting one of its candidates in each of the cities elected to the local municipal council.[8] In the 1935 municipal elections the Chilean National Socialists received 6000 votes in the whole country. In the parliamentarian elections of March 1937, 14.235 people voted for the MNS, and three National Socialists entered the Chilean Parliament. Jorge González von Marees was elected in Santiago, Fernando Guarello Fitz-Henry in Valparaíso and Gustavo Vargas Molinare in Temuco.[9]

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[7] For a short story of the MNS by one of its founders cf. Mauricio Mena Mena, "Génesis y desarrollo del Nacismo", *loc. cit.*, pp. 80-89, and also Lía Cortés, Jordi Fuentes, *Diccionario Político de Chile*, Santiago, Editorial Orbe, pp. 331-335.

[8] Mauricio Mena Mena, "Génesis y desarrollo del Nacismo" (Génesis and Development of Nacism), *loc. cit.*, p. 88.

[9] Lía Cortés, Jordi Fuentes, *Diccionario Político de Chile, op. cit.*, p. 334.

Together they polled 3.5 per cent of the vote while in the same election the Communist Party received 17.162 votes, 4.2 per cent of the total.[10]

In the municipal elections of April 1938, the last in which the MNS participated before attempting to overthrow the government by violent means on September 5th 1938, the Nacistas polled about 4.6 per cent of the total, with some 22.500 votes out of a national total of 488 904. This brought about the election of 29 Nacista *regidores*, city council members, out of a total of 1485, in different parts of the country but mainly in the main cities, where the MNS electoral strength was concentrated.[11] In six years Chilean National Socialism became a political force to be taken into account, not only because of its electoral competitiveness but also because of its activism and violence which were similar to those of the contemporary fascist parties in Europe. The MNS simultaneously played the democratic parliamentarian game and used direct action and extra-parliamentary methods, thus helping to create a feeling of instability that could further its political ambitions. Being a strongly authoritarian and disciplined movement willing to use force, it could claim to be the only group able to impose order.

The violent activities of the MNS went beyond the actions of its militia and its militaristic tendencies. The language used by its leaders and the titles and contents of many of the articles published in *Trabajo* and *Acción Chilena* - the ideological publication edited by Carlos Keller, one of the co-founders of the MNS and its main ideologue and intellectual figure - not only revealed an avoidance of the compromise necessary for political dialogue but also a doctrine of total sacrifice and a cult of heroism which served as a basis for the coup attempt of September 1938.

The most notorious of the violent incidents in which Chilean Racists participated took place on November 15th' 1936 in the railway station of Rancagua, an agricultural city some 50 miles South of Santiago. An MNS group, travelling in the train, responded to an hostile manifestation against its members by shooting into the crowd. This act of violence produced a strong parliamentary reaction, as a result of which the Chilean Congress enacted the 'Ley de Seguridad Interior del Estado' - Law for the Internal Security of the State - and forbade the circulation of *Trabajo*. The law number 6026, promulgated on January 12th 1937, prohibited political parties which sought to enforce an

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[10] Erwin Robertson, *El Nacismo Chileno* (Chilean Nacism), Santiago, Ediciones Nuestramérica, s.d., p. 8.

[11] George F. W. Young, "Jorge González von Marees...", *loc. cit.*, p. 321.

anti-democratic ideology by the use of force. The long list of prohibitions mentioned in the Ley de Seguridad Interior del Estado included the use of uniforms, flags and symbols bearing a revolutionary character, publications inciting against public order, the importation and distribution of weapons and explosives, insults against and disobedience to public functionaries, and fomenting or propagating ideas aiming at the destruction of the legal framework of the state.[12] By passing this law, the democratic liberal government of Chile was able to operate at any moment against what it saw as the antidemocratic fringes - the MNS, and the Communist Party. By this reduction of the political space in which the Chilean Nazism could operate, Alessandri's government achieved the double result of forcing it into an unsatisfactory parliamentary future, in which the basic contradiction between an ideology of direct action and parliamentary representation would hamper its activities and driving it into the difficult decision of adopting a one sided violent solution that could change the destiny of the country.[13]

At the opening session of Parliament on May 21st 1938, a member of the MNS threw a bomb that exploded in the garden of the Chilean Congress. Later, in the tumult provoked by the left wing members of parliament who opposed the presence of President Alessandri in the inauguration, González von Marees was insulted, together with his colleagues, by the deputies of the left while they were leaving the place in protest against Alessandri's presence. Provoked by his political enemies, González drew his revolver and fired a shot, an act without parliamentary precedent that led to his arrest and a sentence of one and half years in jail. 'El Jefe's' appeal was accepted at the end of August 1938.[14] Verbal and physical violence was a characteristic of the MNS not only in theory but in practice too.

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[12] On this point cf., Mario Sznajder, "El Movimiento Nacional Socialista: Nacismo a la Chilena" (Tha National Socialist Movement: Nacism Chilean Style), *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe*, 1 (1), Enero-Junio 1990, p. 45, and Ricardo Donoso, *Alessandri, agitador Y demoledor. Cincuenta años de historia política de Chile* (Alessandri, agitator and demolisher. Fifty years of Chilean Political Hitory), Buenos Aires-Mexico, Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1954, vol. II, pp. 198-201.

[13] To reinforce this point by a comparison with Europe, we may recall the recurrent phenomenon of a strong traditional right saving a democratic regime by closing the political space which permitted a fascist movement to lead a civil war through its activist and uncompromising attitudes. This point is stressed in Juan J. Linz, "Some Notes Towards a Comparative Study of Fascism in Sociological Historical Perspective", *Fascism. A Readers Guide*, Walter Laqueur (ed.), Berkeley & Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1976, p. 101.

[14] George F. W. Young, "Jorge González von Marees...", *loc. cit.*, p. 324.

The character of the MNS was clearly revealed in three fundamental features: 1) an anti-liberal and anti-communist nationalism; 2) the primacy of politics reflected in a desire to change the political structure; 3) a desire to improve the socio-economic system.[15] These features were transformed, within the ideological context of the MNS, into aims that gave the movement its fascist character. The ideology of the MNS, rejecting the left and the right simultaneously, adopted a 'third way' characteristic of European fascism. The parallel rejection of liberal and communist values was indicative of the anti-materialistic nature of the MNS, especially when coupled with its preference for politics rather than economics as a means of achieving real change in any given society. The third feature links the MNS to a particular brand of socialism, leading it further away from the ideals of the democratic-liberal vision, a socialism of an anti-Marxist kind in which a new authoritarian corporative political structure provides for the needs of the masses.

The revolution Chilean Nazism sought to carry out in Chile in the nineteen thirties was a moral revolution of an anti-materialist and anti-rationalist kind, similar to those aimed at by the European fascists. Like its European counterparts, the MNS rejected the political principles established by the French Revolution as guiding parameters of modern political structures. The MNS opposed both liberalism and Marxism, propounding a new kind of socialism for Chile: a national socialism.

> While Marxism is a prolongation *ad absurdum* of rationalism and liberal materialism, socialism, according to the new conception of socialism that is conquering the world today, becomes, while replacing Marxism, a rehabilitation of the eternal spiritual values of humanity.[16]

In this context, González von Marees mentioned the higher forces of the spirit, unconditioned by economic realities but able to dominate them. The individual, he said, is not the subject of history, and therefore individual well-being is not the chief goal of humanity. It is the social group that is of central importance, an organic whole whose moral and material improvement should become the aim of all true socialists, according to Chilean Nazism. The subject of history is the nation, which serves as a cultural, moral and socio-economic framework of the

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[15] *El Movimiento Nacional Socialista de Chile* (The National Socialist Movement of Chile), Santiago, s.e., 1932, p.5 and pp. 8-9.

[16] Jorge González von Marees, *El mal de Chile (Sus causas y remedios)* (Chilés Illness (Its causes and remedies)), Santiago, Talleres Gráficos Portales, 1940, p.82

social group, it is never the individual or the social class, seen by the MNS ideologues as artificial subjects of a materialistic and rationalistic nature, detached from reality. In Chile as elsewhere, the national socialist alternative to Marxist socialism was "... a cooperation between social groups as against the absolutely theoretical, hateful and fatal 'class war' propagated by international Marxism."[17]

Carlos Keller, placed Marxism in the same plane as liberal ideology:

> Both are essentially materialistic, for both the only real preoccupation is the economic situation of the individual, both are amoral and both deny, both in theory and practice, the basic values on which Western culture is based: religion, the family, the fatherland and property."[18]

Nazism wished to replace the materialistic values of its despised political opponents with "A new conception which magnifies heroic values...", "... a doctrine for the strong, the healthy, the virile, rejecting all weakness and feminism."[19]

The ideological model of the MNS redefined the relationship between the individual and society in accordance with fascist conceptions. The individualist criteria associated with the philosophical and political tradition of the French Revolution, were rejected.

The adoption of the socialist title by Chilean Nazism reflected its use of the social function as a criterion of ethical differentiation between good and bad. Thus, the MNS strove to overcome the conflict of interests between the individual and society without eliminating private property, which would continue to exist as long as long as it benefited society as a whole. The different forms of property to be adopted - whether private or public - were to depend on the measure of social benefit which each of them produced. Here, criteria of social service replaced criteria of personal utility or profit, without eliminating private property. According to the MNS, the aim was to curtail the dominance of one class and to promote:

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[17] *Trabajo*, 5.5.1933, p. 2.

[18] Carlos Keller, "Ideología y Programa Nacistas"(Nacist Ideology and Program), *Acción Chilena*, vol. IV, No. 2, 1935, p. 96.

[19] Ibid.

> ...the moral and material elevation of the whole people...The individual, besides laboring for himself, must work for good of the community, and in the conflict between its personal interests and the common interest, the latter must predominate over the former.[20]

Keller wanted to diminish the authority of the parliament, favouring the political representation of what he saw as the productive sectors of society.

> It will be probably necessary to limit voting rights to those that carry a responsibility towards society and to adopt a system that will allow for a genuine representation of those that produce our wealth.[21]

This ideological approach led to a proposed reorganization of society according to sectorial-productionist criteria, endowing the state with a new double system of representation. In this system, the different productive sectors were to be represented in a corporative house of parliament which would function parallel to the house of political representation.[22]

These scheme necessitated a productionist model which brought together all the positive economic forces of the country - as seen by MNS - into a corporative political model under the tutelage of a strong state.[23] In the ideology of Chilean Nacism, the state was given a central position were it exercized a function of socio-economic regulation, directing private initiative in order to make it work with a maximum of efficiency for the benefit of society.[24] This kind of political-economic model aimed at harnessing all productive forces for the benefit of the nation, led by an authoritarian, highly centralized government and based on social mobilization, was another fascist characteristic of the MNS.

The kind of political-economic model envisioned by Chilean national socialism also required a high measure of discipline, social solidarity and a definite

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[20] *Ideario Nacista* (Nacist Ideas), Santiago, Condor, 1932, p. 5. This is part of a collection of articles published in *El Imparcial*. The article in question is "Qué es el Nacismo?" (What is Nacism?), *El Imparcial*, 12.7. 1932, in the MNS page.

[21] Carlos Keller, *Un país al garete. Contribución a la seismología social de Chile* (A drifting country. Contribution to the Social Seismology of Chile), Santiago, Nascimento, 1932, p.3 1 .

[22] The corporative political structure envisaged by the MNS was described in Jorge González von Marees, *El mal de Chile...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-233.

[23] "Plan de acción" (Action Plan), *Acción Chilena*, vol. IV, No. 2, 1935, p. 110.

[24] "Qué es el Nacismo?", *loc. cit.*, p. 5.

hierarchy led by the figure of 'El Jefe'. The centrality of the leader was expressed by Keller when referring to the way to solve Chile's problems:

> As usual, the solution will depend on finding of a strong personality, conscious of his mission, a fiercely energetic person who will succeed in bringing together a group of select individuals with whom he will be able to work efficiently.[25]

Ideologically, the leader was to be willing to commit himself totally to the cause and make the required personal sacrifices in order to promote the ideals of the MNS and put them into practice. In the ideal MNS state, a total identification between it and 'El Jefe' would be required. Keller stated that:

> For us, the greatness of the State does not derive from the theorical perfection of the constitution and the laws but from the intensity with which the idea of the State is incarnated in the leader, the mutual combination of the idea and the person being so extreme that their separation becomes impossible.[26]

'El Jefe' had to be a person able to impose his will, with a high moral sense, knowledgeable of reality and possessing a clear vision of the future - all qualities that Chilean Nacists ascribed to González von Marees.[27] The *Führerprinzip* was clearly expressed in the movement's regulations stating that:

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[25] Carlos Keller, *Un país al garete*..., op. cit., p. 29.

[26] Idem, "El Jefe", *Acción Chilena*, vol. IV,No. 2, 1935, p. 76

[27] On the personality of González von Marees, cf. George F. W. Young, "Jorge González von Marees...", *loc cit.* It is interesting to note that Young discusses the possibility that 'El Jefe's' behaviour could be interpreted in the light of a mental illness resulting from a brain tumor which brought him to his death in 1962. Due to the anachronistic character of the explanation, Young rejects it, when dealing with the attempted MNS coup of September 1938, in favour of the thesis of political failure leading to violence. Another work that deals with the thesis of González von Marees ordering his subordinates to make the suicidal attempt of the coup is a novel written by Carlos Keller, *La locura de Juan Bernales* (The Madness of Juan Bernales), Santiago, Sociedad de amigos del libro, 1949. This fictional work describes the history of a political movement of the extreme right that tries to take power through a *coup d'etat*. The movement is led by an absolute leader who suffers from a mental illness that leds him towards violence. Keller insisted that this was a work of fiction, despite all the analogies with the history of the MNS in Chile, in the nineteen thirties.

> El Jefe is the solely responsible for the economic, social and spiritual orientations of the MNS. In consequence of this, his command over the movement is exercized in an personal and absolute manner.[28]

González von Marees and Keller sought in Chile to set up a governmental system based in the political model that Diego Portales created with the 1833 constitution. This ideal and the admiration of the MNS for national leaders of the last century such as Portales himself, Manuel Montt and José Manuel Balmaceda, demonstrated the national roots of Chilean Nacism.

The ideal political structure, according to the MNS ideology, would be an authoritarian presidential republic. A neutral and abstract entity, it would be embodied in the figure of the president. Government would be strong and above political divisions and considerations of personal prestige, under the aegis of the president, the leader of the country. This formula, according to the MNS, had made Chile a strong and prosperous country during most of the nineteenth century. It was subsequently abandoned in favour of a parliamentary republic dominated by an oligarchy and political parties after the defeat of president Balmaceda in the battle of Placilla in August 1891. In the view of the MNS this was the cause of Chile's decline. The ideology of Chilean Nacism was far from reactionary. Its leaders did not want Chile to return to the nineteenth-century practices but to adapt the spirit of the model that had insured Chilean greatness in the last century to the socio-economic realities of the twentieth century. They admired the public spirit, austerity, will to fight and heroism of the founders and leaders of the authoritarian republic and wished to establish them in Chilean public life. In order to do so, parliamentarian influence and the power of the political parties had to be curtailed, the government had to be centralized and more authority had to be invested in the president. Legislative faculties were to be given to the president, as well as control over the nomination of judges and the head of the government. The latter was politically responsible for the functioning of the government and could be removed from his post by the president.

The unification of most of the legislative function with the executive, and the power of appointing the judiciary, would make the president the leader of the country both symbolically and in practice. The diminution of parliamentary power was an idea in accordance with the motto of Chilean Nacism: "Chileno a la acción!" (Chilean, to action!), which signified the replacement of the political dialogue embodied in the parliamentary institutions - by direct action, repre-

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[28] "Qué es el Nacismo?", *Acción Chilena,* vol. IV, No. 2, 1935, p. 113.

sented in the governmental model of the MNS by a strong executive, almost unlimited in its powers. Parliamentarianism was considered anachronistic, and the principle of deliberating assemblies contrary to that of authority based on a selected and disciplined hierarchy able to suppress political opportunism and place public affairs in the most competent hands.[29] Basically the political structure proposed by the MNS required a strongly authoritarian type of regime, willing to intervene directly in every area of life where necessary, and thus possessing partial totalitarian tendencies. The Chilean national socialist vision of the state included a corporatist dimension to be realized under the guidance of the state.[30]

Other aspects of this model, present in the political programs of the MNS, were the strengthening and maintenance of the value of the national currency, the nationalization of copper, saltpeter and petroleum, the stimulation of the growth of the birth rate, a national plan of sanitary improvement (*cruzada sanitaria*), and the creation, under the guidance of the army, of an obligatory Labour Service for the young. The latter was meant to educate Chilean youth:

> ... in a spirit of discipline and the dignification of manual labor, and at the same time to perform social and public tasks of great value that, because of their high costs, cannot be done through public or private initiative, such as clearing woods and cleaning uncultivated land, planting forests, building dams, roads and channels of irrigation, building housing programs for industrial and agricultural workers, sanitary programmes in poor neighbourhoods, etc.[31]

The centrality of the leader in relation to the movement, the elitist, hierarchic, organic and disciplinary vision of society, the anti-communism, the anti-liberalism and the corporatist model of the state combined with an authoritarian etatism, the violent political style, the principle of direct action, the use of a political militia and the consequent militarization of the movement, the totalitarian tendencies and the general ideology, all lead to the conclusion that the MNS intended to apply a fascist solution, developed in Europe both in theory and practice, to the problems of Chile. El Jefe' proposed putting into practice the ideas of Chilean Nacism by creating "... a mystique of sacrifice and solidarity on behalf of the cause of national *risorgimento* ..." that would replace individual

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[29] *El Movimiento Nacional-Socialista de Chile* (The National Socialist Movement of Chile), Santiago, Imprenta "La Tracción" 1932, No.1, p. 8.

[30] "Plan de acción", *Acción Chilena*, vol. IV, No. 2, 1935, p. 110.

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 110-112.

appetites as well as "... the materialist deformation of the spirit ... caused in the upper strata of society by the corrupting action of capitalism and in the proletarian masses by the vilifying doctrines of Marxism."[32]

The national socialism of the MNS was one of the two elements which cause this movement to be defined as fascist. The other was a modern and radical variety of nationalism which combining with the anti-Marxist socialism of the MNS, created a fascist model similar to those which anticipated Chilean fascism in Europe.[33]

In the spiritual world of Chilean Nacism, the nation was a superior entity which determined social limits. Thus, the movement acted only within those limits and so declared itself to be nationalist. For the MNS the nation, as a natural entity, was the unit within which socio-economic problems were discussed and solved. No foreign elements had the right to interfere in this process. Nevertheless, the reliance of Chilean Nacism on the nation did not preclude a recognition of a superior Western cultural unity, or of an Ibero-American vision and community of interests, nor the possibility of living together with other nations.[34]

Within this framework Nacism did not oppose Christianity. On the contrary it saw it as the foundation of Western culture, whose restoration constituted one of the main aims of the MNS.[35] This point is an important difference between the Chilean MNS and German National Socialism. The MNS rejected the pagan Nazi ideals and even the possibility of replacing Christianity with a modern political religion. In this sense, the MNS was nearer to the Falange of José Antonio Primo de Rivera in Spain than to the Nazi Party in Germany.[36]

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[32] Jorge González von Marees, *El mal de Chile..., op. cit.*, pp. 89-90.

[33] The theoretical development of this model has been described in Zeev Sternhell, "Fascist Ideology", *Fascism. A Readers Guide, op. cit.*, pp. 325-406, and especially p. 338 and following (here we refer to Pelican Books edition of 1982). In the same volume, a brief reference to the MNS may be found in Alistair Hennesy, "Fascism and Populism in Latin America", *op. cit.*, p. 287-288.

[34] Carlos Keller, "Ideología y Programa Nacista", *loc. cit.*, p. 99.

[35] "Nacismo y civilización", *Trabajo*, 6.7.1933

[36] On this point see Stanley Payne, *Fascism. Comparison and Definition*, Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1980, p. 149.

Chilean Nacists pointed out that liberalism and communism, their principal enemies, were also the main enemies of religion.[37] Other common denominators between Chilean Nacism and Christianity were the defence of the family as an essential social institution and the defence of private property. As most of Chileans were Catholic, the Church, from the point of view of the MNS, played a very positive unifying role, as its activities, as an institution of a high moral calibre, contributed to social solidarity and thereby to national solidarity, another goal of the MNS. Chilean Nacism objected only the fact that the Church was perceived as being associated with conservative political elements which formed the mainstream of the country's oligarchy, and demanded therefore a dissociation of the Church from political conservatism.[38]

Jorge González saw in the fascist-nationalist *risorgimento* an expression of the the race's soul. According to this view the aim was to liberate the spirit from the tyranny of materialism through a revival of the peoples heroic virtues. It is in this context that institutions such as the fatherland, religion and the family - institutions on which, according to the MNS, Western culture had been based - played an essential role and had to be strengthened.

> Chile could not be left out of this process of spiritual reconstruction. Its heroic and austere past, the centenarian national virtues, could not die buried under a wave of materialism.[39]

The nationalism of the MNS was impregnated with the pessimism of Oswald Spengler as expressed in *The Decline of the West.* González von Marees and Keller considered Spengler almost a prophet in relation to the destiny of the West. They regarded the fascist regimes in Europe and elsewhere as positive evidence of the profound truth contained in Oswald Spengler's writings.[40] From Spengler they learned to distinguish between culture and civilization, associating soul and spirit with the former and regarding the latter as the most external and artificial state which the human race could achieve. It reached its full develop-

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[37] Diego Lira, "Nacismo y religión" (Nacism and Religion), *Acción Chilena,* vol. IV, No. 2, 1935, p. 122.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[39] Jorge González von Marees, "El alma de la raza" (The Soul of the Race), *Acción Chilena,* vol. IV, No. 2, 1935, p. 74.

[40] Ibid, "Spengler, filosofo del fascismo" (Spengler, philosopher of Fascism), *Trabajo,* 25.1.1934.

ment in materialism, implying the loss of the soul and spirit on which culture is based.[41] Influenced by intellectual theories of this kind, Chilean Nacism declared that "To base politics and life on Jewish historical materialism is to create thereupon the ruin of our civilization, whose formidable historical pedestal is the spirit."[42] Spengler's thought had influenced not only the MNS leadership but also major intellectuals in the Chile of the nineteen twenties and thirties such as Alberto Edwards and Francisco Encina, whose revisionistic line of historical interpretation had many points in common with the one developed into a political ideology by the MNS.[43] Not only did the historical interpretation confer originality on Chilean Nacism but there were three characteristic points which clearly distinguished the MNS and nineteenth-century nationalism. These were its attitudes to antisemitism, imperialism and Ibero-Americanism.

The anti-semitism of the MNS was not and could not be of a racial biological character because of the nature of Chilean society as a conglomerate made up of different waves of immigration of diverse origins that mixed with the local population and among themselves. Nevertheless, Chilean Nacism assimilated other elements of German National Socialism, and was also strongly influenced to the Spenglerian vision of history. In the eyes of the MNS leadership 'the Jew' embodied the essential materialism present in liberalism as well as in communism. Starting from this point, it was relatively easy to relate the pro-

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[41] On this point cf. George L. Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology. Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich*, N.Y., Schoken Books, 1984, p. 6 & p. 283 and also H. Stuart Hughes, *Consciousness and Society. The Reorientation of European Social Thought 1890 -1930*, Sussex, The Harvester Press, 1986, pp. 375 - 378. George F. W. Young stressed the fact that González von Marees had read Spengler's *The Decline of the West* in German. See George F. W. Young, "Jorge González von Marees...", loc. cit., pp. 314 -315. In the same place he also points out that Carlos Keller was educated in Germany between 1914 and 1921, just in time to know about the publication of the first volume of Spengler's book in mid 1918, which won for the author immediate acclaim from the general public if not from professional historians and philosophers.

[42] "Nacismo y civilización" (Nacism and Civilization), *loc. cit.*, 6.7.1933.

[43] The interest in Spengler was common among these intellectuals. Carlos Keller had lectured in 1927 on Spengler and the politico-cultural situation in Latin America, a fact quoted in Erwin Robertson, "Las ideas nacional-socialistas en Chile 1932-1938" (The National Socialist Ideas in Chile 1932-1938), *Dimensión Histórica de Chile*, No. 1, 1984, pp. 92-93, especially note 7. The same author mentions the influence of Spengler on Francisco Encina, especially in his work on Portales, much commended by Keller himself. Alberto Edwards, the author of *La fronda aristocrática en Chile* (The Aristocratic Front in Chile), Santiago, Imprenta Nacional, 1928, had published in *Atenea* in 1925 an article on Spengler's work under the title "La sociología de Oswald Spengler" (The Sociology of Oswald Spengler).

blems of Chile to a mythical Jewish World Conspiracy. Thus, the MNS believed that the Chilean nation was being simul-taneously attacked by communist Jews from the left and capitalist Jews from the right. In the eyes of Chilean Nacism, Soviet Communism was totally controlled by Jews. "It may be clearly observed that Communism is simply the product of corrupting and mischievous International Judaism".[44] Soviet Communism, an ideology which, according to the MNS, imposed itself through the imperialistic activities of the Comintern, had to be fought not only because it presented a danger of ideological contamination, due to its materialistic and amoral essence, but because it constituted a direct threat to the integrity of the Chilean nation.[45]

From the point of view of the MNS, Jewish communist imperialism represented an imminent danger, but Jewish capitalist imperialism had already penetrated Chile and dominated part of the country's wealth. This "... has transformed Chile into an appendix of the North American economic system ...", increasing the already existing level of dependency and contributing to the deterioration of the economic situation in the country.[46] The argument was based on the supposed Jewish international financial control of the saltpeter industry which "... agonizes under the claws of international Judaism" referring, in this case to the control that the Guggenheim family exercized at the time over the financial aspects of this industry.[47]

In this way, anti-semitism and anti-imperialism were united in Chilean Nacism into a mobilizing social myth, to use Sorel's and Pareto's terminology. In this case, anti-semitism served as a bridging concept between day-to-day reality, in which Jews were present, at least in the main cities of the country, and a less immediate international imperialism in which the 'Jew' was present mythically. The descriptions and fantasies about a menacing Jewish presence in spheres beyond most people's reach were meant to arouse the masses emotionally and bring them to support the MNS. But the anti-semitic press campaign of the first years of the MNS had very little effect in Chile, due to a number of factors, the most important being the small numbers and limited influence of the local Jews.

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[44] *Trabajo*, 20.4.1933, p. 7.

[45] On this subject, cf., Mario Sznajder, "El Movimiento Nacional Socialista: Antisemitismo y movilización política en Chile en la década del treinta" (The National Socialist Movement: Antisemitism and Political Mobilization in Chile in the 1930's), *Coloquio*, No. 21, 1989. pp. 61-70.

[46] Carlos Keller, *Un País al garete...*, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

[47] *Trabajo*, 27.7.1933, p. 1.

The idea of the mobilizing myth was consistent with the anti-intellectualism and anti-positivism characteristic of the different fascisms and of Chilean Nacism as well. Its main purpose was the creation of a myth to help overcome class differences, social cleavages and conflicting interests.[48] The Jew, in his role of capitalist, was made responsible for working class poverty and misery, while viewed as a communist he was presented as the inventor of the revolution that destroyed the basis of a tranquile society characterized by class harmony.[49]

Imperialism was not only a theoretical problem or menace, and it was analyzed by the MNS in relation to the main source of foreign income in Chile at the time, the exploitation of the copper and saltpeter deposits in the north of the country. If the problem of communist imperialism had theorical, ideological and even practical political connotations in the confrontation with the Communist Party of Chile, the problem of economic imperialism was seen by the MNS as urgent and vital for the survival of Chile as a nation. Keller accused the "... all-powerful alliance between Yankee capitalism (saltpeter, copper, iron) and our landowners oligarchy" of trying to destroy the Chilean monetary system.[50] The solution lay in the organization of the national economic forces and the nationalization of the principal sources of wealth according to the already-mentioned principle of social functionality.

The problem of America's cultural unity brought the MNS to discuss the Indo-American thesis of the Peruvian APRA. Chilean Nacism claimed that this thesis was not applicable to Chile because of the lack of an indigenous cultural tradition in that country. The Chilean 'roto' - the man of the people in the poorest sectors of the population - could not be regarded as an Indian, while concerning the Chilean Indians the MNS stated: "We will preserve a romantic and respectful memory of our Araucanian ancestors, but from the point of view of our social institutions and habits of life, we have no ties to them."[51] The MNS saw the idea of forging a continental unity on the basis of an autochthonic culture as an impossible fantasy. Each nation had to create a socioeconomic model on the

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[48] Cf. the description of the Jew as a personage incarnating the 'mythic evil in France' in Zeev Sternhell, *Maurice Barrès et le nationalisme fransçais* (Maurice Barrès and French Nationalism), Bruxelles, Editions du Complexe, 1985, p. 243.

[49] Ibid., p. 241.

[50] Carlos Keller, *Un País al garete... op.cit.* p. 147.

[51] Civis, "Nacismo y Americanismo" (Nacism and Americanism), *Acción Chilena,* vol. IV, No. 2, 1935, p. 142.

basis of its particular characteristics. In the case of Chile, according to the author, the society had been moulded almost entirely in accordance with the Western cultural model. Thus:

> Our Chilean reality tells us that the actual collective problem that Chile has to solve has much more in common with analogous problems that have arisen in Europe than with those that preoccupy other nations in America.[52]

This vision did not exclude the creation of a common front of Latin American nations against Yankee economic and political imperialism or other imperialisms, and it accepted the possibility of economic and spiritual union between the different peoples of the continent, as long as each nation first made a serious effort to resolve its internal problems.

Chilean historical particularism was undoubtedly related to the writings of the Chilean nationalist Nicolás Palacios. The ethnic vision that Palacios expounded in his book, *La Raza Chilena*, described the intermingling of two warrior races, Chile's Spanish conquerors, coming from the north of Spain, of Gothic-Germanic origin and forged in the long *Reconquista* against the Arabs, and the Araucanians, the warrior Indians who confronted the Spaniards from the *Conquista* onwards and throughout the Colonial period.[53] Without totally incorporating Palacios' theory, Chilean Nacism adopted a position of cultural and social particularism which drove it towards differentiation and a concentration in its own nationalism. González von Marees saw in Chile:

> ... an unique mixed racial entity with a net predominance of European blood. This social combination supported the development of an impersonalized relatively stable political structure in Chile and Argentina, different from that of the rest of the American republics.[54]

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[52] *Ibid.*, p. 144.

[53] Nicolás Palacios, *La Raza Chilena* (the Chilean Race), Santiago, Editorial Chilena, 1918 (lst edition 1904). Influenced by Gustave LeBon and other anti-positivist European thinkers, Palacios attacked utilitarian and materialistic doctrines which, on his view, arrived to Chile also through unrestricted immigration. Cf., Nicolás Palacios, "Decadencia del espíritu de la nacionalidad" (Decadence of the spirit of Nationality), Enrique Campos Menèndez (ed.), *Pensamiento Nacionalista* (Nacionalist Thoughts), Santiago, Editorial Nacional Gabriela Mistral Ltda., 1974, p. 164 et al.

[54] Jorge González von Marees, "El porvenir de nuestra America" (The Future of our America), *Acción Chilena*, vol. IV, No. 2, 1935, p. 148.

Thus, in 'El Jefe's' view only the self-definition and resolution of the particular problems of the different Latin American nations could create a common ground for mutual understanding.[55]

This type of nationalism was the second element in the ideological and political claims of the MNS in Chile in the nineteen thirties. Without being racist in biological terms, this nationalism understood the logic of ethnic differentiation as a ground for a particular kind of socioeconomic development. Defining itself as a product of Western culture it saw many affinities between the problems of Chile and those of Europe - affinities that legitimated the presence of fascism, an ideology originating in Europe but of universal validity, according to the MNS, which could be adapted to a particular reality providing a deep understanding of its parameters and the limits of the local situation was shown by the national fascist movement. Thus Chilean Nacism used fascist techniques and theorized in fascist terms, as in the case of the use of the mobilizing myth or political violence and the elaboration of corporativist socio-economic solutions, or the advocacy of a strong monistic state in the pursuit of its antiimperialistic ideals.

The organization of the MNS as a political movement was very similar to its counterparts in Europe and Brazil. The characteristic fascist structures derived directly from the ideological principles of hierarchy, discipline, solidarity, absolute centrality of command and obedience. In this kind of political model 'El Jefe' - in this case Jorge González von Marees - became not only the absolute leader of the movement but also its axis. His power over the MNS was total and he took full responsibility for the "political, economic, social and spiritual direction of the MNS".[56] The executive branches of the movement were absolutely subordinated to the leader and consisted of six departments, each headed by a Director of Department directly responsible to 'El Jefe'. The Departments were: a) the Preparation Department (PR), which dealt with doctrinal problems and proposed solutions in cooperation with the Propaganda Department; b) the Provincial Department (P), which directed the various Nacist party groups around the country; c) the Propaganda Department (PRO), which issued publications and provided information about the MNS, and organized conferences and meetings; d) the Administration Department (A), which mainly dealt with the finances of the MNS; e) the Department of the Nacist Troops of Assault (TNA) which directed the movement's militia and f) the Department of the

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55 *Ibid.*, p. 157.

56 "Organización Nacista" (Nacist Organization), *loc. cit.*, p. 113.

Nacist Youth (JNS), which organized all the symphatizers that had not yet reached the age necessary for full membership in the movement. The leader retained direct control over *Trabajo*, the publication of the MNS, and also the control over the Nacist University Group (*Grupo Nacista Universitario*), one of the most active sections of the movement, and over the MNS sections in the city and province of Santiago.[57] Parallel to this horizontal executive national structure of the MNS there was a vertical structure of command ordering the territorial division of the movement. This structure was parallel to the administrative division of the country and it was made up of commissariats for provinces, departments and communes. The territorial division was also strictly subordinated to the leader of the MNS, each commissary - head of a Nacist Group (*Núcleo Nacista*) - being a direct representative of 'El Jefe', nominated by him personally, down to the level of the department, while the Nacist leaders of the communes were nominated by the provincial or departmental commissary.[58] 'El Jefe' could designate each year ten members of the *Consejo Nacista* - an advisory council - and renewed or discontinued their membership at will.

The organizational structure of the MNS precluded any possibility of discussion, concentrating the decision-making process and all authority in one person, Jorge González von Marees, the founder and leader of the movement. This made the MNS a organization of a bureaucratic rather than political character for most of its members. The combination of absolute authority, strict discipline and a rigid hierarchy controlled from above, encouraged the kind of totalitarian conduct which characterized fascism elsewhere, both within the movements and the countries, where it succeeded in taking over the government.[59]

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[57] *Ibid.*, pp. 113-114.

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 115.

[59] An interesting comparison can be made between the organizational structure of the MNS in Chile, of the NSDAP in Germany, the PNF in Italy and the Açao Integralista Brasileira. We shall find that although the number of Executive Departments and the levels of the territorial divisions differ due to the particularities of each country and the diverse character of the main leaders and ideologues, the basic principle of the totalitarian-bureaucratic political non-deliberative mass mobilizing structure is common to all of them. Undoubtedly, this is a consequence of the ideological principles common to all fascisms, beyond their national differences. One section or department is obviously absent in the MNS - also for ideological reasons - the Department for the mobilization of emigrants. This is not because of the lack of Chilean emigration - historically there are large nucleii of Chilean emigrants in Argentina, a country much richer, in that period, and able to provide work for part of the unemployed labour force of its neighbouring countries - but because of the anti-imperialistic character of Chilean Nacism. On the organization of the NSDAP cf., Karl Dietrich Bracher, *The German*

To a certain extent, the structural-organizational characteristics of the MNS and its ideological substructure help us to understand the nature of the violent coup carried out by a part of Chilean Nacism under the direct instructions of Jorge González von Marees on September 5th 1938. The *coup d'etat* by Chilean Nacism was the climax of the activities of the MNS, which had never abandoned violence as a means of action. The TNA - the political militia of the Chilean Nacists - used almost from the foundation of the movement in public gatherings, to defend the members and fight the corresponding socialist and communist militias.[60]

In 1938 the MNS joined the presidential campaign of Carlos Ibáñez del Campo, the authoritarian military ex-president (in 1927-1931), who had returned to Chile from exile. The General had an heterogeneous band of followers composed of the *Organización Ibáñista, the Union Socialista* and the MNS. Ibáñez's supporters grouped together in *the Alianza Popular Libertadora*, forming a third force, competing against the candidate of the liberal right and the government, Gustavo Ross Santa María and the candidate of the leftist Popular Front, the main opposition to Arturo Alessandri's government, Pedro Aguirre Cerda. Undoubtedly the presence of the third candidate, with a populist authoritarian platform and his MNS following worked electorally against the left, as was reflected in the political caricatures of the time. On September 4th 1938 a mass meeting of the Alianza Popular Libertadora, in which the Ibáñez's candidacy was proclaimed, was held in Santiago, with the organized participation of the MNS and many of the General followers who had come from both the near and far.[61] It was probably the success of this gathering which caused González von Marees to decide to launch an anti-governmental putsch the next day. The MNS coup, limited in scope to a small area of the capital, was meant to trigger off a wider military coup with the participation of the Buin battalion and the Army School of Infantry, which were both near Santiago.

Dictatorship, Middlesex, Penguin, 1985, pp. 178-183; on the PNF cf. Alberto Aquarone, *L'organizzazione dello Stato totalitario* (The Organization of the Totalitarian State), Torino, Einaudi, 1978, vol. 2, pp. 315-329 and the new work by Emilio Gentile, *Storia del Partito Fascista. 1919-1922. Movimento e Milizia* (History of the Fascist Party, 1919-1922. Movement and Militia), Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1989, vol I, pp. 25-37; and on the Açao Integralista Brasileira (AIB) cf., Helgio Trindade, *Integralismo. O fascismo brasileiro na decada de 30* (Integralism. Brazilian Fascism in decade of the 1930s), Sao Paulo-Rio de Janeiro, DIFEL, 1979, pp. 164-188.

[60] Mauricio Mena, "Génesis y desarrollo del Nacismo", *loc. cit.*, p. 84.

[61] Ricardo Donoso, *Alessandri, agitador y demoledor...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-257.

The violent attempt of the MNS to provoke the intervention of the army against the democratic government was carried out by a selected group of unquestioning TNA militiamen, blindly obedient to the orders of 'El Jefe'. The operational groups were commanded by the leader of the MNS university students section, César Parada, who before noon took over the central building of the University of Chile in downtown Santiago. The commander of the Santiago TNA, Ricardo White, led the Nacists that occupied the Workers Social Security Building, within a stone's throw of the presidential palace, La Moneda, killing a carabinero and taking some of the clerks as hostages.[62] Afterwards, TNA members, commanded by Orlando Latorre, blew up two high-tension electrical pylons in Patagüillas and La Florida, thus completing the operational programme of the coup.

The government's reaction was quick and harsh. The buildings occupied by the TNA were taken back by the carabineros, Chile's militarized police. First, the main building of the University of Chile was taken after two cannon rounds were fired at close range into its doors, by a battery of the Tacna batallion. Six TNA members died as a result. The rest surrendered and were taken prisoner by the police. The prisoners were taken to the Workers Social Security Building where the police was still firing against the second Nacist group, which responded in kind. On the orders of the commander of Carabineros de Chile, General Humberto Arriagada Valdivieso, all the captured TNA members that surrendered in the second building were summarly executed by the police, together with their comrades that had surrendered previously. Six Nacists had died fighting in the University building, and another one, in the Workers Social Security Building. Another fifty-four were summarily killed in what is known in the political history of Chile as the 'Matanza del Seguro Obrero'.[63]

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[62] "Nazi insurrection put down in Chile after 4-hours fight", *The New York Times*, September 6, 1938, p. 1 & p. 12.

[63] The most complete description of the episode is to be found in Ricardo Donoso, *Alessandri, agitador y demoledor...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-268. A partial list of the killed nacistas' was published in *La Senda del Sacrificio. 5 de Septiembre 1938* (The Path of Sacrifice, September 5th 1938), Santiago, Nascimento, 1940, pp. 191-192. This list contains 58 names, including three pairs of brothers. A very detailed account of the *coup*, in a version that implicates General Ibáñez is found in Rodrigo Alliende González, *El Jefe...*, *op. cit.*, Ch. 9. The author, a nephew of Jorge González von Marees, has written this work which explains and defends 'El Jefe's' attitudes in many occasions. Despite the apologetic side, the richness of the sources, of which many come from family archives, and seriousness of the writing make of it an obligatory reading for those interested in the subject of González von Marees and the MNS.

The attempted putsch was made possible by the same characteristics that define the MNS as a fascist movement. Total subordination to the authority of the leader and blind discipline made TNA to follow González von Marees instructions without question. The political echelon of the MNS was not consulted and not even told about the coup. The use of violence for political purposes - in this case provoking a wider military coup to install Ibáñez as president, circumventing the despised liberal democratic electoral process - was perceived as completely legitimate by the TNA fomentors of the coup. The heroic vision of life as war, and the belief that one was acting on behalf of 'higher ideals' facilitated the decision to participate in the hopeless adventure. Thus, a combination between fascistic warlike ideals and a completely vertical political command-structure, demanding total obedience and rejecting the principle of decision by deliberation and agreement, made possible the violent coup, changing the course of Chilean political history.

The consequences were immediate. Chilean Nacism had liquidated its future chances by committing suicide. The acts of violence associated with the coup made Ibáñez withdraw his candidacy to the presidency, bi-polarizing the electoral process of 1938. The forceful repression of the MNS coup on the orders of president Alessandri, worked against his presidential candidate, Gustavo Ross Santa María, especially as Chilean public opinion could not accept the fact that the response of the government to MNS violence was of an even more violent character, ending in the massacre of the Chilean Nacists.

Another extraordinary consequence of the events of September 5th events was that the MNS vote helped the Popular Front to win the October 25th 1938 presidential election. Jorge González von Marees, still the unquestioned leader of the MNS, a few days before the election ordered his followers and the different branches of the Nacist party all over the country to vote for Pedro Aguirre Cerda, the candidate of the Popular Front. Taking into consideration that between the 222.790 votes received by Pedro Aguirre Cerda and the 218.609 votes for Gustavo Ross Santa Maria, there was a difference of only 4181 votes, and that the MNS had polled some 22.500 votes half a year before, in the municipal elections of 1938, it is safe to conclude that the Nacist vote brought to power the candidate of the Popular Front.[64]

González von Marees had to choose between two enemies, and it was his hatred of the liberal right in Chile that brought him to cooperate with the left. Historical circumstances caused more stress to be laid on the anti-oligarchic side

[64] Electoral results in Lía Córtes, Jordi Fuentes, *Diccionario Político de Chile, op. cit.*, p. 202.

of the MNS than on its nationalistic anti-Marxism. There were precedents. In 1937, when three parliamentarians of the MNS were elected to the Chilean Congress, 'El Jefe' explained his adherence to the opposition by declaring that:

> ... having to side with one of the two currents, we cannot but see that the left pursues an ideal that is also ours, this ideal being the attainment by the people of the social justice that the regime denies him.[65]

'El Jefe' explained the electoral triumph of the Popular Front not as the victory of a tactical combination of political parties reflecting the influence of the Comintern on national politics but as a:

> ... triumph of the Chilean people ... As a result of the sacrifice of the (Workers Social - M.S.) Security martyrs, a totally Chilean mystique, drawn from the pages of the nation's history, superimposed itself upon the imported and antinational mystique of frontism.[66]

González von Marees was pardoned by Pedro Aguirre Cerda when the latter assumed the presidency of the country at the end of 1938. The presidential pardon was a reward for the political support the MNS gave Aguirre in the election. As a result González von Marees was allowed to continue as the leader of MNS which later became the *Vanguardia Popular Socialista*. In the 1941 parliamentarian election, González von Marees was again elected deputy, but the political strength and potential of national socialism in Chile was already spent.[67]

Strangely enough, the cult of violence of the MNS promoted the cause of liberal democracy in Chile in the nineteen thirties. The kind of political vision the MNS tried to impose resulted in restrictive legislation to protect the state against the anti-democratic political fringes, as explained above. Within the competitive electoral framework of 1938, the MNS putsch provoked the kind of violent repression on the part of the government which, in liberal democratic terms helped to delegitimize its candidate, Ross Santa María. When the system became bi-polar through Ibáñez withdrawal of his candidacy, the only political group that still played by the rules of the liberal democratic political game in avoiding

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[65] González von Marees in Congress, cited by Ricardo Donoso, *Alessandri, agitador y demoledor.., op. cit.*, p. 211.

[66] Jorge González von Marées, *El mal de Chile..., op. cit., pp.* 56 - 57.

[67] Lía Cortés, Jordi Fuentes, *Diccionario Político de Chile, op. cit.*, p. 219.

violence, the Popular Front, won the elections. This victory of legitimacy, in terms of popular sovereignty reflected in the polls, brought the previously anti-system left nearer to the center of power, thus providing the democratic-liberal political system of Chile with a broad base and greater stability. The dangerous fringes had not entirely disappeared but were much less of a threat than before, and the Chilean political system was able to carry on peacefully the pluralistic democratic process by which the former partly anti-system opposition became the new government and the former government went into the opposition. To use Sartori's terminology, Chile was on its way from a polarized pluralism to a moderate multi-party pluralism.[68]

Who where the fascists in 1930's Chile is a difficult question to answer. The problem of the social composition of Chilean fascism is central to the understanding of the appeal of the MNS ideology and its organizational structure as well as the charisma of its leadership and the impact of its propaganda, publications and deeds. Partial data about new members were published in *Trabajo* during 1933. These data always included first names, family names (in Chile, paternal and maternal family names are used), place of recruitment and in many cases, the profession or occupation of the new adherent. Since 1933 was the second year of existence of Nacismo in Chile, and the movement was growing in numbers and expanding territorially, this kind of data may provide a clue about who were the Chilean national-socialists, to what social strata did they belong and where were their places of residence.

The candidates to MNS membership, between March and September 1933, whose professional-occupational status was published, numbered 287. The occupational-professional division was as follows: 79 clerks, 65 students, 21 workers (industry and construction), 13 salesmen or shop assistants, 12 shop owners, 10 travelling salesmen, nine farmers, eight mechanics, seven rentiers, six carpenters, five journalists, five accountants, five electricians, five painters, four middlemen, two industry owners two engineers, two pharmacists, two graphic workers, two gardeners, one owner of a printing press, one cinema operator, one bread distributor, one teacher, one dentist, one photographer, one stoker, one lift operator, one coachmaker, one breadmaker, one plumber, one

[68] Giovanni Sartori, *Parties and Party Systems. A Framework of Analysis*, London-New York-Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1976, vol. I, p. 131 et al.

designer, one musician, one doorman, one medical doctor, one driver, one watchmaker, one locksmith, one waiter, one male nurse and one postman.[69]

If we divide society in 4 social strata: (1) upper class, (2) upper middle class, (3) lower middle class and (4) lower class, and apply this division to the labour affiliation as declared by the MNS new adherents in the above mentioned period, the main location problem will be the students. In 1930's Chile most of the students could probably be located in categories (2) and (3), a small minority in (1) (due to the small percentage of the general population that were part of the upper class), and almost none in category (4). This places most of the 22.6 per cent of the new adherents constituted by the student occupational segment within the Chilean middle classes. The rest of the adherents, numbering 222 could be divided as follows: 9 (4.05 per cent) came from the upper class, 33 (14.86 per cent) came from the upper middle class, 145 (65.31 per cent) were part of the lower middle class and 30 (13.5 per cent) were members of the lower/working class.

Of a list of 716 new adherents published in the same period in *Trabajo* without any professional-occupational specification, 110 (15.36 per cent) had, at least, one family name of German origin. Of the same list, 330 (45.96 per cent) adhered to the MNS in Santiago, 196 (27.29 per cent) in Valparaíso, the main port and second largest city of the country, 23 (3.20 per cent) in Concepción, the third largest city of the country, 81 (11.28 per cent) in Chillán, a large provincial town and 59 (8.21 per cent) in Temuco, another large provincial town farther south. Since 76.45 per cent of the adherents to the MNS lived in the three largest cities of Chile, we can conclude that the urban character of the movement was very strong. Beyond the large cities the main area of the MNS diffusion was in the small towns of the Central Valley of the country, between Santiago and Puerto Montt, also a rich agricultural area. North of Santiago, in the great deserts and mining areas, perhaps because proletarian predo-minance there, the MNS did not enroll many adherents.

Other interesting data is found by looking into the occupational-professional composition of the MNS leadership and classifying it into class divisions. 'El Jefe', González von Marees, was a lawyer. Carlos Keller, the main ideologue of

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[69] The data on the new adherents is from "Controle el ingreso al Nacismo y contribuya a la selección de sus hombres" (Control on the affiliation to Nacism and contribution to the selection of its men), and "Clasificación profesional de los nuevos nacistas de Santiago" (Professional classification of the new Nacies of Santiago), *Trabajo*, 18.9.1933, p. 2 and in the lists that appeared under the title of "Nuevos nacistas aceptados" (New Nacies accepted) or "Nacistas aceptados" in page 4 of *Trabajo*, 25.3.1933, 15.6.1933, 13.7.1933, 20.7.1933, 27.7.1933, 3.8.1933, 10.8.1933, 17.8.1933, 31.8.1933 and 7.9.1933.

the MNS, had a Ph. D. in law and political science, wrote novels, did statistical and historical research and taught at the university. Among the 27 MNS council members five were clerks, four lawyers, three medicine doctors, three workers (industry or construction), two teachers, two engineers, one dentist, one merchant, one architect, one student, one middleman, one journalist, one farmer and one industry owner. If we incorporate González von Marees, Keller and the secretary of the movement, who was a student, the MNS leadership division according to class was as follows: (1) only one member of the upper class (3.3 per cent), (2) 15 of the upper middle class (50 per cent), having placed one student in this category and the other in the next, (3) 11 members of the lower middle class (36.6 per cent) and three of the lower/working class (10 per cent), four members of the leadership (13.3 per cent) had at least one German family name.[70] Nearly half of the leadership had university diplomas or academic education compared to very small percentage among the rank and file. The student group was marginal in the leadership (6.6 per cent) but constituted nearly one fourth of all new adherents.

On the basis of this data we can identify the MNS as a largely urban political movement, composed mainly by members of the lower middle class and led by members of the upper middle class. The high level of education of the MNS's formal leadership dominated against a country were the percentage of analphabetism in that period was well above the European average.

The question of weather the MNS constituted a simple imitation of European fascist movements, or had original features, may be misleading. It confuses two different elements, or at least contains the hidden assumption that only an original political ideology can serve as the basis for the creation of a mass movement, and that only mass movements are based on original ideological foundations. This assumption may not necessarily be true, especially if, like Linz, we consider the problem of fascism as a late-comer in the political space for development in the society where it operated.[71] In Chile, as in Europe at the time,

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[70] The data about the general staff of the MNS is in "Plana mayor del M.N.S.," (the Staff of the MNS) *Trabajo*, 14.9.1933, p. 7.

[71] Juan J. Linz, "Political Space and Fascism as a Late Comer: Conditions Conducive to the Success or Failure of Fascism as a Class Movement in Inter-War Europe", Stein Ugelvik Larsen, Bernt Hagtvet, Jan Petter Myklebust (eds.), *Who Were the Fascists? Social Roots of European Fascism, 1918-1945* Bergen-Oslo-Tromsø, Universitetsforlaget, 1980, p.p. 153-156. Linz categories have been used also by Jean Grugel, while shortly analyzing the MNS and its ideology in the broader context of "Nationalist and Fascist Ideology in Chile," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 4 (2), pp. 109-113. Grugel correctly defines, according to Linz categories, the MNS as a non-European form of fascism, including indigenous elements. See *Ibid.*, p. 110.

large segments of the population had identified themselves, in one way or another, with already existing political parties, including the communists. By the time of the foundation of the MNS they had already been operating for twenty years, first under the name of *Partido Obrero Revolucionario* and, since 1922, as the *Partido Comunista*. Furthermore, the *Socialist Party* of Chile, founded in 1933, ideologically Marxist but opposed to the Comintern, competed not only with the communists but also with the MNS as the mobilizing party on the left. During its political campaigns it preached not only Marxism but also a certain brand of populistic nationalism.[72] The traditional right was divided between conservatives and liberals who collaborated in the second Alessandri government (1932- 1938). Thus, one can understand the relatively low percentage of electoral support achieved by the MNS between 1932 and 1938, though its growth curve may be seem to be quite impressive.

If we examine the MNS according to the typological description of generic fascism used by Payne, we will find that Chilean Nacism possesses most but not all of the characteristics of a fascist movement.[73] The MNS was certainly anti-liberal, anti-communist and willing to compromise with rightist groups and principles on certain ideological issues. Its anti-conservatism was doubtful, not only because of its idealization of the statesmanship of Diego Portales and of the Authoritarian Republic of 1833, but also because of its acceptance of family and Church as the basic pillars of Western culture. The MNS wished to create a new nationalist authoritarian state not only based on traditional principles or models, although these still played an essential mythical role in its ideology. The socio-economic structure envisaged by Chilean Nacism was national-corporatist and geared to transform existing socio-economic relations, thus fitting Payne's typology. The idealistic voluntaristic creed was also present, but without denying the basic values of Catholic culture. The style and organization of the MNS exactly fitted the above mentioned typology, including the symbolic elements, which stressed the mystical character of Nacism, the attempted mass mobilization with a militarization of political relations within the movement, and the creation of a

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[72] On the Partido Socialista cf., Paul W. Drake, *Socialism and Populism in Chile 1932-1952*, Urbana-Chicago-London, University of Illinois Press, 1978, pp. 140 et al. Cf. especially the references to the Nueva Acción Publica led by Eugenio Matte and Marmaduke Grove, one of the main socialist groups, which propounded a doctrine of spiritual renewal and greater state control of the principal means of production without abolishing private property, preferring social solidarity to class conflict and envisioning a 'functional corporative regime'. *Ibid.*

[73] Stanly G. Payne, "The Concept of Fascism", in Stein Ugelvik Larsen, Bernt Hagtvet, Jan Petter Myklebust (eds.), *Who Were the Fascists...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

political militia. Violence was seen as a legitimate political mean and was used in practice, although the MNS would claim that this was done in self-defence. The violent coup of 1938 is the clearest example of Nacism's positive evaluation of the political function of violence. Social organicism and male chauvinism were accepted features of the MNS ideology, as well as cult of youth, but without emphasizing the generational conflict, probably as a result of the acceptance of Catholic and family values as basic. The preference of the MNS for charismatic authoritarian leadership has been made sufficiently clear, and was reflected in the non-elective principle by which González von Marees designated himself as 'El Jefe'.

In most respects the MNS fits the typology which Payne created on the basis of Linz' suggestion about differentiating between a) the fascists negations or 'anti' attitudes, b) the fascist ideology and goals and c) the common features of political style and organization.

All the above mentioned points are also related to Eatwell's definition of Fascism as a broad set of syntheses:

> ... between a conservative view of man constrained by nature and a more left-wing view of the possibilities of creating a new man; between a commitment to science, especially in terms of understanding human nature, and a more irrationalist, vitalist interest in the possibilities of the will...; between the faith and service of Christianity and the heroism of Classical thought; between private property relations more typical of the right and a form of welfarism more typical of the left.[74]

In Chilean Nacism's political ideology there is also a clear mythic core represented by the Portalean foundations of the Chilean nation-state. The modern shape this vision acquires with the MNS is clearly populistic nationalistic, claiming that the right socio-politic and economic changes will be carried out through an elite directed nationalistic mobilization towards the ideals embodied in the historical myth.[75]

Chilean Nacism, aware of the problem of artificiality and originality, expressed its views on the similarity between its ideology, style and organization and those of European fascisms. Javier Cox, the author of an article on this

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[74] Roger Eatwell, "Towards a Model of Generic Fascism*," *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 4 (2), p. 189.

[75] Roger Griffin defines fascism as "... a genus of political ideology whose mythic core in is various permutations is a palingenetic form of populist ultranationalism." See Roger Griffin, *The Nature of Fascism*, New York, Saint Martin's Press, 1991, p. 26. For an analysis of the concepts of palingenetic myth and populist ultranationalism in *Ibid.*, pp. 32-44.

subject claimed that Chilean Nacism was not an imitation of Mussolini's fascism or German Hitlerism but that all of them were "... three diverse expressions of the same idea."[76] Cox claimed that fascism was an universal political idea which served as a basis for a similar national political movement, differentiated by the particularism of the history and problems of each society. Since it was an idea, no one could claim ownership over it except those that put it into practice. Chilean Nacism asserted that fascism was to be found as a latent idea among all the peoples of Western culture, because it represented the possibility of stopping what MNS saw as the materialist decadence embodied in the traditional right as well as the Marxist left. In addition to the elements common to the different fascisms it was pointed out that national unity, as a prerequisite for the application of any kind of fascism, had to be founded in positive elements. These were to be found in the different racial, cultural and historic characteristics of various peoples, thus producing the diverse national varieties of fascism. The term fascism, adopted by that movement in Italy, became generic since Italian fascism was the first of these movements to achieve power. Cox argued that if one were to confer on these movements a scientific name "... it could only be national-socialism."[77]

Chilean Nacism stood somewhere between fascism and the radical right. This evaluation is largely based on the fact that the respect for Catholic values, the family and the view of the Portales political model as a nineteen-century predecessor of Nacism do not harmonize well with the totalitarian fascist conception of the relationship between the state and civil society.[78]

Another feature that differentiates between the MNS and European fascist movements was the anti-imperialist attitude of the MNS. This was a direct derivative of the analysis of the socio-economic situation in Chile. Despite the relatively high level of political development and the existence of a political culture similar to that of its European counterparts at the time, Chile suffered from extreme levels of poverty, aggravated by the impact of the world crisis, and was an undeveloped country dependent on foreign investment and trade. Awareness of these problems, together with the nationalist ideology, characteristic of fascism, helped to produce the anti-imperialistic element in Chilean Nacism. The

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[76] Javier Cox, "Nacismo, Fascismo e Hitlerismo. Semejanzas y diferencias" (Nacism, Fascism and Hitlerism. Resemblances and Differences), *Acción Chilena*, vol. IV, No. 2, 193.

[77] Ibid., p. 141.

[78] Here we refer to the classification made by Stanley G. Payne, *Fascism...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-18.

problems of poverty and underdevelopment also influenced the MNS goals with regard to social justice, inclining the movement more to the left than to the right, with corresponding ideological and practical results.[79]

There is no doubt that the MNS formed part of the antiparliamentarian currents existent in Chile at the time, as was pointed out by Hugh Bicheno.[80] But the MNS was not anti-political or extraneous to the political system. On the contrary, in spite of its fascist style and organization and its anti-establishment ideology, it played according the rules of liberal democracy by participation in elections, issuing political publications and organizing public meetings, without resorting to the kind of underground organization or terrorist practices which would have qualified it as anti-political.[81]

Although the socio-economic and political conditions which favoured the appearence of fascism in Europe were clearly not identical with the conditions in Chile at the beginning of the nineteen thirties, the political terminology was nevertheless very similar. A Popular Front was formed against fascism and war, despite the fact that its main political enemy was the traditional right, neither fascistic nor warlike. The application of European political concepts to Chile did not make the MNS more or less authentically fascist or more original in its ideology and practice. It is interesting to note that although a high percentage of the MNS activists were of German extraction, the movement relied on Chilean nationalism. It also took distance from the German NSDAP which operated within the German immigrant community in Chile, led by Karl Hubner, the local

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[79] Both Keller and González von Marees stressed the problems of poverty and underdevelopment. 'El Jefe's' graduation thesis as a lawyer was entitled "The Problem of the Worker in Chile". It was presented in 1923 (Jorge González von Marees, *El Problema obrero en Chile* (The workers problems in Chile), Santiago, Imprenta Universidad, 1923), cf. Rodrigo Alliende González, *El Jefe..., op. cit.*, p. 214. Cf. also Jorge Gonzalez von Marees, *El Problema del hambre (Sus causas y solucion)*, Santiago, Ediciones Ercilla, 1937.

[80] Hugh E. Bicheno, "Anti-Parliamentary Themes in Chilean History", *Government and Opposition* 7 (3), 1972, pp. 373 - 4.

[81] The thesis about the anti-political nature of the MNS was put forward by Michael Potashnik, *Nacismo: National Socialism in Chile* 1932-1938, Ph. D. dissertation, University of California-Los Angeles, 1974 (unpublished), p. 55. This work of great descriptive scope, rich in primary sources, stresses the mobilizing aspect of the MNS but does not deal with the problem of the relationship between Chilean Nacism and European fascism from a theoretical perspective.

representative of Goebbels, Minister of Propaganda in the Third Reich.[82] Basically, as Javier Cox himself recognized, the inspiration came from Europe but the adaptation was Chilean.[83]

The MNS is more interesting on account of the impact it had on Chile's political life in the nineteen thirties than because of its contributions to fascist political theory or its size. The violent action of the MNS in September 1938 had the same effect on the political system of Chile as the fascist riots of February 1934 had on the political system in France, or the Lapua movement's attempt to seize power in Finland in 1932.[84] In all three cases, the political system of the respective country was able to overcome the fascist attempt at destabilization. In the particular case of Chile, the MNS, unwillingly and undirectly, contributed to the strengthening of a liberal democratic system that enjoyed stability for many decades.

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[82] Cf . the article on the consequences of the MNS coup, "South America Snubs Fascism", *The New York Times*, September 11th, 1938, section 4, p. 5.

[83] Ernst Halperin in his *Nationalism and Communism in* Chile, Cambridge, M.I.T. Press, 1965 , p . 44 , points out the confusion of political terminology caused by the extrapolation of European political terms and their application to different Chilean realities. Erwin Robertson in his "Las Ideas Nacional Socialistas en Chile 1932-1938", *op. cit.*, tries to stress the originality of the ideology of Chilean Nacism in its interpretation of Chilean history and the solutions to the socio-economic and political evils which affected the country in the nineteen thirties. Robertson's theory is clearly apologetical, a fact proved not only by the contents of his writings but by the ideological and political position of the author at the present day. When Erwin Robertson was asked: "Since when are you a Nazi?" he responded: "Some ideas, a certain vision of the world is always professed, even before their rational formulation". Cf. "Erwin Robertson: Nazi desde siempre", *Análisis*, 23.11.1987, p. 34.

[84] On the second and third generation of French fascists cf., Zeev Sternhell, "Strands of French Fascism", in Stein Ugelvik Larsen, et.al. (eds.), *Who Were Fascists*...., op.cit., pp. 489 - 92. On the dissolution of the Lapua Movement as a result of the attempted rebellion of Mantasala in 1932, and the foundation of the IKL in Finland cf., Reijo H. Heinonen, "From People`s Movement to Minor Party: The People`s Patriotic Movement (IKL) in Finland 1932-1944", in Stein Ugelvik Larsen, et.al. (eds.), *Who Were the Fascists*...., *op.cit.*, especially pp. 689 - 92.

18

NICOLÁS CÁRDENAS
MAURICIO TENORIO

MEXICO 1920's-1940's: REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT, REACTIONARY POLITICS

In 1906 a German sociologists wondered why there was no socialism in the US. In 1934 an Italian dictator self-confidently affirmed that the twentieth was to be the century of fascism. In the 1970s an American scholar wondered whether the twentieth-century was to be the era of corporatism. And in the 1990s, a Harvard professor pompously announced the advent of the third global wave of democratization. What these assertions reveal is that when a phenomenon strikes us as global, we often conceive of the idea of an era, an epoch. Needless to say, these are perceptions of a very short, if accelerated, span of time, i.e., the twentieth century. These perceptions certainly will become only minutia of what eventually will be considered a more clearly delimited historical epoch, whose characteristics we can hardly grasp today. Nonetheless, the inter-war period seems to have clear traits: radical revolutions, economic crisis, and, above all, the generalization of fascist movements and regimes. If as Benedetto Croce believed, fascism was a 'parenthesis' in history, it was indeed one of great ideological and geographical comprehensiveness, at least within our historical reach.

The historiography on Latin America has shown that fascism did become an appealing political ideology in various countries of the region. Moreover, the literature has established the political, intellectual, and military links between some Latin American regimes and European fascism.[1] Peron's Argentina and

[1] For a general perspective, see Tulio Halperín, *Historia Contemporánea de América Latina* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1966); and Pablo González Casanova (editor), *América Latina: Historia de Medio Siglo* 2 vols. (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1977); and the insightful and

Vargas's Brazil are often cited as quintessential examples of Latin American fascism. Mexico, however, appears not to have been affected either by international fascist movements or by the fascist 'weltanschauung' of the inter-war period.[2] Mexico - a country that had undergone a major revolution (1910-1917); had a large rural population; was poorly industrialized; and, most importantly, was a neighbor of the US - seemed to be infertile ground for fascism. And yet, the history of Mexico from the 1920s to the 1940s reveals a mosaic of social and political currents in which radical right movements were in fact an important component. Indeed, after years of myriad popular revolutions - which included the peasant-Indian uprising in the South (Zapata) and that of ranchers and 'outlaws' in the North (Villa) - radical right movements that encompassed multi-class alliances emerged and expressed themselves also in violence. One example of these violent movements was the *cristero war*[3] in the center of the country; another was the more frankly fascist movement of the *Camisas Doradas* - Golden Shirts.

Nonetheless, in order to analyze the fascist or quasi-fascist movements in Mexico from the 1920s to the 1940s, we first define the terms 'fascist' and 'radical right' according both to general interpretations of fascism and to Mexico's historical circumstances. Second, a review of the most important interpretative historical tendencies is presented. This brief review simultaneously seeks to offer an overview of the study of fascism in Mexico, and to place Mexico's particularities within the interpretation of Latin American politics. Finally, this essay provides a general map of Mexico's radical right movements. This map is based on the conceptual and historiographical guidelines explained in the first two sections of the paper.

In Search of Definitions

Rather than aiming to show how the Mexican case complied with a particular model of fascism, we will try to distill the key aspects of fascism, and then show their particular features in the Mexican case. Our main concern is not with definitions or theoretical models, but with the historical characterization of those

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comprehensive essay by Helgio Trindade, "La cuestión del fascismo en América Latina," in *Desarrollo Económico*, vol. 23, no. 91, October-December 1983, pp. 429-447.

[2] For a reflection on this notion of weltanschauung, see E. Barker, *Reflections on Government* (London: Oxford University Press, 1942); and the use of the term in Noel O'Sullivan, *Fascism* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1983).

[3] The name *cristero* derived from the movement's battle cry (*Viva Cristo Rey!*).

Mexican social movements that somehow resemble those of the inter-war period in Europe and other parts of the world. Before dealing with the particularities of these movements, allows us to distinguish the main interpretative components.

What is typical among the various attempts to interpret fascism is the effort to establish a minimum model of its essentials components.[4] Moreover, underpinning the many interpretations is the fact that "according to the ideological assumptions of [the prevailing intellectual mood of our age] fascism was not supposed to happen at all."[5] Departing from these model-oriented and normative principles, the diverse interpretations have divided fascism and made it into a set of components; each single component has a history of its own. That is to say, the various aspects highlighted, in different fashions by each interpretation to form a set of historical variables whose consideration, in the Mexican case, serves to see how and why radical right movements emerged and how influential and successful they were.

In brief, four main ingredients can be distinguished in the interpretations of fascism:

a) The socio-economic component. Regardless of each author's emphasis, all interpreters of fascism have posited the existence of a socio-economic imperative. In this regard, two main aspects have been highlighted: on one hand, the rise of the political militancy of the middle-class; on the other, the relationship fascism - economic crisis - through modern industrialization. Along these lines, Marxists have explained fascism as an anti-proletarian reaction.

b) The cultural-ideological component. Scholars here argue that fascism was a 'reaction to modernity,' a third path of development different from socialism and capitalism.

c) The international dimension. International fascism is considered to be a part of a focal trend based in Italy and Germany which was diffused to the rest of the world.[6]

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[4] In this regard, see Renzo de Felice, *Interpretations of Fascism*, translated by Brenda Huff Everett (Cambridge, MASS: Harvard University Press, 1977); Pierre Milza and Marianne Bentely, *Le fascisme au XXe siècle* (Paris: Ed. Richelieu, 1973); Walter Laqueur (editor), *Fascism: a Reader's Guide* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); S. U. Larsen, B. Hagtvet and J. P. Myklebust (editors), *Who were the Fascists* (Bergen: Universitetsforlaget, 1980).

[5] N. O'Sullivan, *Op.cit*, p. 1.

[6] Nonetheless, new historical research finds the origins of fascism in the late nineteenth century and not in Germany or Italy but in France. See Zeev Sternhell, Mario Sznajder and Maia Asheri, *Naissance de l'ideologie fasciste* (Paris: Fayard, 1989).

d) The psychological aspects. Fascism was considered a consequence of the authoritarian personality, and thus many studies of leaders, violence, and propaganda form the historiography of fascism.

These components, in varied combinations and emphasis, have served to explain fascism: a moral disease, the last stage of capitalist anti-proletarianism, a middle-class reaction to economic crisis, the social consequence of the psychological repressions of a leader, etc.[7] The characteristics of fascist-oriented movements were more or less synthesized in an assortment of terms derived from these interpretative keys - xenophobia, nationalism, anti-communism, militancy, massive politics, violence, and corporatism.

In the specific case of Mexico, what we regard as the interpretative components of fascism - as well as such notions as xenophobia, nationalism, massive politics, and corporatism - were impressed by the 1910 revolution. The Mexican revolution had contributed to begin the 'wave' of twentieth-century popular revolutions. If at the beginning of the nineteenth century the French revolution became either a model to follow or a ghost to combat, in Mexico the 1910 revolution played a similar role by 're-formatting' all political and social actions.[8]

From the 1910s to the 1930s, Mexican revolutionary factions aimed to establish an economically and socially viable polity. Massive social mobilization and violence, as well as petite-committee negotiations, violence, and co-optation were used. In the early 1930s an American populist analyst of the Mexican revolution, Frank Tannenbaum, pointed out the corporatist arrangements of

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[7] See de Felice treatment of contemporary interpretations of fascism (e.g., Benedetto Croce, Friedreich Meinecke), Marxist interpretations (e.g., Lenin, Maurice Dobb, Paul Sweezy), and psychological interpretation (e.g., Erich Fromm). De Felice, *Op.cit* See also the insightful critique of both Marxist interpretations and socio-psychological ones, by N. O'Sullivan (*Op.cit*). Fascism, he believes, has been interpreted through a heavy moral and normative criteria, when in fact fascism was an historical expression of a radical shift in modern politics, from passive and limited politics toward active massive politics: "The greatest ideal of the western political tradition, from the time of the Renaissance until the time of the First World War, was the creation of what may be termed a limited style of politics. Fascism may be defined as an ideology which explicitly rejects this ideal in favor of a new and entirely opposed politics. The new activist style has assumed several forms in the modern world, but in its specifically fascist form it may be defined as a style which conceives of the highest good for man as a life of endless self-sacrifice spent in total and highly militant devotion to the nation-state. . ." (p. 33).

[8] On the interpretations of the Mexican revolution, whether as a big revolt, popular or bourgeois revolution, see Alan Knight, "The Mexican Revolution: Bourgeois? Nationalist? or just a 'Great Rebellion,'" in *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1985, pp. 1-37.

Mexico, citing the massive incorporation of unions and peasant organizations in a central party. Tannenbaum believed these arrangements were a natural and organic solution through which Mexicans established a peaceful and relatively just order. In effect, the populist and corporatist practices of president Lázaro Cárdenas (1934-1940) centralized and consolidated a revolutionary state based on social mobilization. Although the result was a centralized state, its power over the entire society is still a matter of historiographical debate.[9] The populist and reformist aspects of the Mexican revolution (mostly oriented toward peasants, Indians, intellectuals, and to some extent urban workers) were resisted by various social sectors. Hence, the right wing movements in Mexico could be seen as a sort of Burkean reactions to the socialist and populist aspects of the revolution. Historian H. G. Campbell argued that:

> the radical right in Mexico . . . came into being as a reaction against the Mexican revolution and the social changes which it promised, especially the Marxist turn which the revolution took during the 1930.

Furthermore, he added:

> the Mexican radical right was characterized by an acute anti-foreignism and a xenophobia which focused on a hatred of the United States and which was incorporated with a concept of anti-semitism in varying degrees. . . [it was] ultra-nationalistic, anti-parliamentary, and anti-Marxist.[10]

To better understand these rightist movements we need to consider their various characteristics in the context of Mexico's history. By and large, both revolutionaries and reactionary movements were nationalists, violent, and in various degrees anti-semitic.[11] A Mexican nationalistic ideology had been developing

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[9] See Alan Knight, "Revolutionary Project, Recalcitrant People: Mexico, 1910-1940," in Jaime Rodríguez (editor), *The Revolutionary Process in Mexico. Essays on Political and Social Change, 1880-1940* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 227-264; and also by him *US-Mexican Relations, 1910-1940. An Interpretation* (San Diego: US Mexican Studies, University of California, 1987); and Nicolás Cárdenas, *La reconstrucción del Estado mexicano. Los años sonorenses (1920-1935)* (Mexico: Universidad Atónoma Metropolitana, Xochimilco, 1992).

[10] Hugh Gerald Campbell, *The Radical Right in Mexico, 1929-1949*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1968, p. 2.

[11] Anti-semitism has been a common pattern in Mexico, a Catholic Hispanic country whose liberal faction developed a strong Jacobinism in the nineteenth century during the struggle for independence and against foreign invasions (French and American). In effect, in Mexico a sort

since the eighteenth century, and the anti-revolutionary factions used the same essential nationalistic discourse as such popular leaders as Zapata or Villa. To argue, therefore, that radical right movements were nationalistic, violent, and anti-semitic reactions to the revolution is to say very little.

In Mexico the right radical movements were characterized by - to employ O'Sullivan's concept - a new active, mass-based style of politics, with an appeal to ideologies not part of the traditional spectrum (either socialism or common forms of liberal capitalism). On the other hand, these movements could be defined by their involution of inspirations derived from international fascism, which once developed in Europe, became, as socialism itself, an epochal imperative. But Mexico's particularities ensured that these movements were characterized above all by the same long-lasting social forces which have dominated Mexico's history, namely, peasant rebellions and Catholicism. Finally, in a country in the process of consolidating a stable post-revolutionary political system, the radical nature of right movements was dictated by their level of anti-system militancy. This last point will be further explained below.

In addition to these ideological specificities, we ought to consider various historical logics that at times move simultaneously, but which often run at different pace. There is the logic set by Mexico's social and cultural geography - Mexico is a vast country with a complex geographical, cultural, and social topography. There is the logic dictated by the construction of a post-revolutionary centralized regime, and its relation with interest groups and the entire society. Finally, there is the international logic that had varied consequence in Mexico depending on social sectors, region, and moments.

Needless to say, these dimensional and conceptual considerations are not aimed to diminish the importance of the Mexican revolution as the great catalyst of the inter-war radical right movements in Mexico. As this chapter will show, these movements paralleled revolutionary fluctuations, but the nature of the movements is not solely explained by the revolution itself.

Historiographical Tendencies

The literature on radical right movements in Mexico has focused primarily on those with a religious character. A primary example of this focus is Jean Meyer's landmark work. As Meyer has shown, the Catholic popular movement in the

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of popular anti-semitism has been part of the national 'unconsciousness.' Moreover, the Spanish crown had been quite successful in expelling, killing, or converting Jews, banded them from the colonies, so by the 1920s Mexicos anti-semitism had not many individuals to refer to.

center of Mexico known as *la cristiada* cannot be identified simply as fascist.[12] *La cristiada*, it has been argued, was rural, middle class, anti-Marxist, nationalist, and anti-American. It was a movement of tradition against modernity.[13] Meyer observed:

> It could be argued that the *cristiada* was a reactionary movement against the Mexican revolution, a revolution that pursued the modernizing project of the Porfirian era, by reviving the issue of the church-state relationships. Against the revolutionary radical and brutal jacobinism, the Catholic people from the countryside rose up - they took arms to defend their faith.[14]

Or better phrased:

> When the state experienced the Atlantic hour of modernization and thought in terms of centralization and acculturation, when it searched for its Mexican path among the socialist, fascist, and democratic models, the rural masses saw it as tyrant, Antiochus or Herod . . .[15]

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[12] The key study on this issue is the tree volume history by Jean Meyer - *La Cristiada* 3 vols. (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1973); See also David D. Bailey, *Viva Cristo Rey! The Cristero Rebellion and the Church-State Conflict in Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas, Texas Panamerican Series, 1974); Francis Patrick Dooley, *Los cristeros, Calles y el catolicismo mexicano*, translated by María Emilia Martínez de Negrete (Mexico: SepSetentas, 1976); Alicia Olivera de Bonfil, *La literatura cristera* (Mexico: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1970); Manuel Ceballos Ramírez, "El sindicalismo católico en México, 1919-1931," in *Historia Mexicana*, vol 35, no. 4, April-June 1986; Manuel Ceballos Ramírez, "Rerum Novarum en México: cuarenta años entre la conciliación y la intransigencia (1891-1931)," in *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, vol. 49, no. 3, July-September, 1987, pp. 151-170; Hugh Gerald Campbell, "The Radical Right in Mexico, 1929-1949," Ph.d. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1968; Rufus Elwood Gosthall, *Catholicism and Catholic Action in Mexico, 1929-1941: A Church Response to a Revolutionary Society and the Politics of Modern Age*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Ann Arbor Michigan, 1970; and the sympathetic account by Antonio Rius Facius, *Méjico Cristero: Historia de la ACJM, 1925 1 1931* (Mexico: Editorial Patria, 1960).

[13] In this regard see, among many other works, the typical modernization approach, for instance, in Charles Cumberland, *Mexico: The Struggle for Modernity* (new York, London: Oxford University Press, 1968).

[14] Meyer, p. 387.

[15] Jean Meyer, Enrique Krauze and Cayetano Reyes, *Historia de la Revolución Mexicana, 1924-1928. Estado y Sociedad con Calles* (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 1977), p. 252.

In 1937 the creation of the *Unión Nacional Sinarquista* (National *Sinarquista* Union, UNS) marked the starting point for a religious radical right movement often considered fascist; by 1945 it claimed to have nearly 400,000 members.[16] This movement has been subjected to a controversial historiographical debate regarding its fascist nature *à la* Mexican.[17] The focus has been on the socio-economic and cultural-ideological components of radical right movements. In addition, its traditional, middle-class, and provincial character, as well as the nationalist, and xenophobic inspirations have often been pointed out.

Indeed, the religious thrust of radical right movements, as well as the historiographical focus, have to be seen in the context of Mexican history, in which religion has been at the core of the major social movements since the eighteenth century, though with regional and social differences. These diffe-

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[16] Alfredo Galindo Mendoza, *Apuntes geográficos y estadísticos de la Iglesia en México* (Mexico: Administración de la revista *La Cruz*, 1945), quoted by Zermeño, Guillermo P. Zermeño and Ruben Aguilar, *Hacia una reintepretación del sinarquismo actual. Notas y materilaes para su estudio* (Mexico: Universidad Iberoamericana, 1989), p. 26.

[17] See Rogelio Escamilla Torres, *El sinarquismo en Michoacán, 1939-1941* Tesis de Licenciatura, Morelia, Universidad Nicolaita; Jean Meyer, *El sinarquismo, un fascismo a la mexicana?, 1937-1947*, translated by Aurelio Garzón del Camino (Mexico: Joaquín Mortiz, 1979); Raymond V. Michel, *Sinarquismo: a Survey of its History, Ideology, Organization and Program*, Tesis de Maestria, Universidad de las Americas, Mexico, 1961; Kenneth Prager, *Sinarquismo: the Politics of Frustration and Despair*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University, Bloomington, 1975; Albert L. Mitchael, "Fascism and Sinarquism: Popular Nationalism against the Mexican Revolution," in *A Journal of Church and State*, vol. 8, 1966, pp. 213-250; Anne Marie de la Vega-Leinert, "El sinarquismo en México: posibilidades de un regimen fascista en 1940," in *Comercio Exterior*, vol. 26, no. 9. September 1976, pp. 1076-1092; the sympathetic account by Mario Gill, *El sinarquismo: su origen, su esencia, su misión* (Mexico: Ollín, 1962). See also for related organizations, Laura O'Dogherty, "Restaurarlo todo en Cristo: Unión de Damas Católicas Mejicanas, 1920-1936," in *Estudios de Historia Moderna y Contemporánea de México*, vol. 15, 1992, pp. 129-158. For a historiographical synthesis of interpretations and interviews with main actors see Guillermo P. Zermeño and Rubén Aguilar, *Hacia una reintepretación del sinarquismo actual. Notas y materilaes para su estudio* (Mexico: Universidad Iberoamericana, 1989). For analysis of the relations between sinarquismo and the creation of the *Partido Acción Nacional* (a recognized right-wing political party which has become the most important oppositional party in Mexico since the 1940s) see Leonor Ludlow Wiechers, "La secularización e integración del sinarquismo a la vida política," *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, vol. 50, no. 3, July-September 1988, pp. 201-216; and Manuel Rodríguez Lapuente, "El sinarquismo y Acción Nacional: Afinidades conflictivas," in *Foro Internacional*, vol 29, no. 3. January-March 1989, pp. 440-458.

rences are fundamental for the historical characterization of the radical right movements with religious inspiration, and in fact recently regional studies of the variety of these movements have been undertaken.[18]

There is also a keen interest in the German, Italian, and Spanish connections. Certainly, there is evidence of German fascist agents contacting different Mexican leaders, and there is evidence of the general influence of European fascist ideology in Mexico and in Latin America in general.[19] American intelligence services also reported massive Nazi propaganda in Mexico. One striking example is a secret report by an FBI agent, Gus Jones, who talked about a well-orchestrated Nazi campaign in Mexico. According to Jones, the campaign involved distinguished members of the German colony in Mexico, as well as Mexican politicians, intellectuals, and members of powerful and distinguished Mexican families (such as the Quintanilla family, one of whose members was the Mexican Minister to the Soviet Union, and whose sister - according to the report - was the mistress of George Nicolaus, considered one of the most important German agents in Mexico).[20] The report implicated such notable

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[18] See José Díaz and Ramón Rodríguez, *El movimiento cristero: sociedad y conflicto en los altos de Jalisco* (Mexico: Nueva Imagen CIS-INAH, 1979); Pablo Serrano Alvarez, *La batalla del espíritu. El movimiento sinarquista en el Bajío (1932-1951)* 2 vols. (Mexico: Consejo Nacional para la Cultural y las Artes, 1992).

[19] See Blanca Torres, *México en la segunda guerra mundial. Historia de la Revolución Mexicana* vol. 19 (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 1979); Brigida von Mentz, *et.al. Los empresarios alemanes, el III Reich y la oposición de derecha a Cárdenas* 2 vols. (Mexico: CIESAS-SEP, 1988); Ricardo Pérez Montfort *et.al.*, *Fascismo y antifascimo en América Latina y México* (Mexico: CIESAS, Cuadernos de la Casa Chata, 1984); the account of the Mexican socialist leader, Vicente Lombardo Toledano, *Cómo actúan los Nazis en México* (Mexico: Universidad Obrera de México, 1941); the general militantly British view of N. P. Macdonald, *Hitler Over Latin America* (London: Jarrolds, 1940); Friedrich Katz, "Algunos rasgos esenciales de la política del imperialismo alemán en América Latina de 1890 a 1941," in Jügen Hell, Klaus Kannapin, and Ursula Schlenther, *Hitler sobre América Latina. EL fascismo alemán en Latinoamérica 1933-1943* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultural Popular, 1968); Ricardo Pérez Montfort, "La quinta columna y el buen vecino" in *Anuario de Historia*, vol. XI, 1983, pp. 115-130.

[20] See Gus T. Jones, *The Nazi Failure in Mexico*, secret FBI report, ms. found in the archive of the Hoover Institution, Stanford University (ca. 1942). This report includes a detailed account of the Nazi activities in Mexico, and a six page review of the report by an anonymous reader who very clearly was an FBI agent in charge of classifying any sensitive information in the report. The reviewer classified various parts of the report, hoping, apparently, not to interfere in intelligence activities that were under way. The reviewer's objections mainly derived from the fact that the report implicitly disclosed that American intelligence services had broken the German secret code use in Mexico and other countries. Regarding the case of

intellectuals as José Vasconcelos, former Minister of Education and former presidential candidate, because of his involvement with the 'Nazi-sponsored' journal *El Timón*. Research done by historians Brígida von Mentz, Verena Radkau, and Ricardo Pérez Monfort - in Mexican and German archives - have shown that while Mexico City's German community was involved to some extent in Nazi activities, the American intelligence's estimates were widely exaggerated. In fact, American intelligence services were deeply involved both in the defense of the interests of American oil companies, and in the war paranoia.[21] Nonetheless, both the American reports and current research shows that many businessmen and prominent families of the Mexican-German community were explicitly forced to financially help the Nazi cause in Mexico. In the end, Mexico entered the war on the allied side, and the most prominent German agents were deported in 1942.[22]

In searching for the Mexican links of international fascism and Nazism in Mexico, special attention has been given to the emergence of the outspoken fascist movement of *Las Camisas Doradas* and its links with the last great

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Laura Quintanilla, the reviewer observed: "on page 58, there is related information given by a Mexican woman to the Mexican police regarding George Nicolaus, the German agent. This Mexican women had been Nicolaus' mistress, but they had quarreled and she thereafter reported him to the police. Jones does not mention the name, stating however, that she is from a wealthy and socially prominent old Mexican family . . . The women in Teresa Quintanilla, a sister of Luis Quintanilla . . . presently Mexican Minister to the Soviet Union. It is possible that this story could cause embarrassment since a number of persons in Mexico and the State Department might recognize the identity of the women under discussion." Regarding Vasconcelos, Jones himself argued that the agent in charge of German propaganda, A. Dietrick, financed an "expensive and attractive magazine," *El Timón*. He added: "To direct this publication, Dietrick was fortunate enough as to secure the service of José Vasconcelos, ..." Cf. Verena Radkau, "El Tercer Reich y México," in B. Von Ments, *et.al.*, *Los empresarios alemanes, el tercer Reich y la oposición a Cárdenas*, vol. 2 (México: Cuadernos de la Casa Chata, 1988), pp. 69-142; and by the same author, "Los nacionalsocialistas en México," in loc.cit., pp. 143-196.

[21] The best studies on this regard are Verena Radkau, "El Tercer Reich y México," in B. Von Mentz, *et.al.*, *Los empresarios alemanes, el tercer Reich y la oposición a Cárdenas*, vol. 2 (México: Cuadernos de la Casa Chata, 1988), pp. 69-142; and by the same author, "Los nacionalsocialistas en México," in Loc.Cit., pp. 143-196.

[22] Jones mentioned the following agents: William Neimann, Heinz Weber, Kurt Benoit, Max Bickle, Walter Hegerdon, Ernest Lessing, Kurt Schlinker, Hans Cram, Hugo Setzer, and of course George Nicolaus.

military rebellion of Mexico's post-revolutionary period; that is, the rebellion headed by General Saturnino Cedillo in the state of San Luis Potosí.[23]

There has also been research emphasis on German migration to Mexico. The historiography is gradually exposing that German immigrants represented a cross-section of the contemporaneous society, from recognized Nazis to distinguished members of the German Jewish intelligentsia.[24] Mexico's history of anti-semitism has caused this subject to be ignored until very recently, when descendants of Jewish immigrants - who had contributed to Mexico's intellectual life - began telling the story of their parents and grandparents.

The historiography has furthermore dealt with the influence and ideological impact of Spanish fascism.[25] The triumph of the Spanish fascists in 1936, provoked a wave of Spanish immigration to Mexico; among the refugees were eminent republican intellectuals, professionals, politicians, and orphans. They have been one of the most significant cultural influences in twentieth-century

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[23] In this regard see Ricardo Pérez Monfort and Lina Ordena G., *Por la patria y por la raza; tres movimientos nacionalistas, 1930-1940* (Mexico: CIESAS, Cuadernos de la Casa Chata, 1982); Dudley Ankerson, "Saturnino Cedillo, a traditional caudillo in San Luis Potosi, 1890-1938," in David Brading (editor), *Caudillo and Peasants in the Mexican Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Ricardo Pérez Montfort, "Las camisas doradas," in *Secuencia*, no. 4, 1986, pp. 66-77; Alicia Gojman de Backal, "La Acción Revolucionaria Mexicanista y el fascimo en México: los Dorados," in *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas*, vol. 25, 1988, pp. 291-302.

[24] In this regard see B. v. Mentz and Verena Rodkau, "Notas en torno al exilio político alemán en México (1936-1946)," in Mentz *et.al. Fascismo y antifascismo. . .* pp. 43-60; and also the rather anti-semitic account of the 1940s, by a distinguished Mexican painter Dr. Atl (Gerardo Murillo), *Los judíos sobre América: Un estudio sobre la penetración judáica en EEUU y México* (Mexico: Editorial Reacción, 1942); and C. Azen Krause, *Los judíos en México* (Mexico: Universidad Iberoamericana, 1987) - this was originally a Ph.D. dissertation ("Jews in Mexico") Pennsylvania, 1970; also Guadalupe Zárate Miguel, *México y la diáspora judía* (Mexico: Instituto Nacional de Antopología e Historia, 1986); and the handsome photographic collection, Judit Bokser de Liwerant (editor) *Imágenes de un encuentro. La presencia judía en México durante la primera mitad del siglo XX*, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico, 1992.

[25] In this regard see Ricardo Pérez Monfort, *Hispanismo y Falange. Los sueños imperiales de la derecha española* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultural Económica, 1992); and F. B. Pike, *Hispanism, 1898-1936. Spanish Conservatives and Liberals and their Relations with Spanish America* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1971). For a general study of Spanish fascism, see Sheelagh Ellwood, *Spanish Fascism in the Era of Franco* (New York: St. Matin's Press, 1987); and Stanley G. Payne, *Falange: a History of Spanish Fascism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961).

Mexico.[26] Nonetheless, *hispanismo* in its *falangista* manifestation was also an important ideological influence, one that touched all Hispanic nations in the 1920s, especially since it was emphatically promoted in Spain by Primo de Rivera's dictatorship. It ranged from a feeble discourse on the "spirit of the *madre España*," to theories about the superiority of the Spanish race. New studies are beginning to show how in Mexico *falangista* movements rose and declined. *Falangismo* found fertile ground among Mexican conservatives who identified with the Hispanic origins of their country. Early nineteenth century intellectuals like Lucas Alamán, first articulated this conservative Catholic ideology which later found echo in José Vasconcelos' notion of a 'Cosmic Race' guided by the Hispanic spirit.

The influence of various types of European fascism in Mexico, as well as their diverse receptions in different social sectors, is still being investigated. Following the common 1960s interpretations of fascism, studies of Mexico's radical right movements have tended to emphasize both the middle class factor and the influence of European fascism. But in the Mexican case, the very concept of middle class needs to be defined in regard to the great social and ethnic disparities, and the post-revolutionary reconstruction. A middle-class awareness was achieved only after numerous conflicts within a pauperized petite bourgeoisie characterized by regional, religious, professional, and cultural differences. The influence of fascism has to be seen within this multifarious class structure which was influenced not only by fascism, but also liberal, socialist, cooporatist, and Catholic ideas.

Finally, there has been a historiographical focus on fascism in Mexico based on the 1970s analysis of Latin America's 'neo-fascism.' The relationship between fascism, corporatism, and populism has been pointed out by one or another Marxist trend. Following (above all) French Marxism of the 1960s and 1970s, fascism was seen as a class alliance against proletarian revolution.[27] There is a vast literature which runs from most orthodox Marxist to 'bureaucratic authori-

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[26] In this regard the literature is vast, see in English Patricia Fagen, *Exiles and Citizens* (Austin: Center for Latin American Studies, University of Texas Press, 1973).

[27] For a major example of this type of interpretation, see Atilio Alberto Borón, "El fascismo como categoría histórica: en torno al problema de las dictaduras en América Latina," in *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, vol. 39, no. 2, April-June 1977, pp. 481-528. See also the debate in the same issue of the *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*. For an excellent summary of this literature, see Helgio Trindade, *op.cit*

tarianism' perspectives.[28] In the Mexican case the consideration of the state as fascist or authoritarian has to be seen in the context of Mexican populism. Thus, while scholars debated the nature of populism and fascism, especially in the Argentinean and Brazilian cases,[29] they saw Mexico as a good example of authoritarian corporatism. This perspective has influenced the historiography - both labor history and the history of Mexico's corporatist arrangements.[30] But the academic interest in 'bureaucratic authoritarianism' and 'corporatism' had such a short life that serious historical research was not fully developed along these approaches. Such is the trendy nature of contemporary academia: While only yesterday the talk was about 'bureaucratic authoritarianism,' now the term in vogue is 'transition to democracy,' and many analysts are like Estragon and Vladimir 'waiting for Godot.'

Radical Right Movements
A Historical-Organizational Mapping

The Mexican Revolution and Rightist Movements

A review, however brief, of Mexico's radical right, fascist or semi-fascist movements during the inter-war period, faces the above-mentioned difficulty of defining what ought to be understood as 'radical right' and 'fascism' in Mexico. The 1910 Revolution brought to power a generation of provincial, middle class leaders who undertook the task of reconstructing the state, the social structure, and the economic activities, through political, economic, and military centralization.

As many revisionist historians have stressed, the revolutionary governments did not obliterate the past, but instead used old arrangements and patterns as the basis for their own institutional order. Nonetheless, the revolutionary governments were different from Mexico's previous regime: the dictatorial rule of

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[28] It runs from the distinction made by Juan Linz between fascism and authoritarianism to Guillermo O'Donnell's theory of bureaucratic authoritarianism as a high-tech way of capitalist control of popular classes.

[29] Gino Germani, *Authoritarianism, Fascism, and National Populism* (Brunswick, N. J.: Transactions Books, 1978); Trindade, *op.cit*

[30] See Lorenzo Meyer's history of Mexican authoritarianism in José Luis Reyna's *Authoritarianism in Mexico* (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1977); and also the introductory chapter to the same volume by Reyna - an elaborated application of Schmitter's corporatist model to Mexico.

Porfirio Díaz, 1876-1911, known as *porfiriato*. But the Porfirian model of economic development, as well as its ideological pillars, were retained during the immediate post-revolutionary period.

Though they shared a common liberal matrix, there were serious disagreements among the triumphant revolutionary elites. The nineteenth century-style of presidentialism sponsored by revolutionary president Venustiano Carranza had to be conciliated - ideologically, politically, and militarily - with the Jacobin liberal credo which was widespread in the northern states of Mexico, an ideology which favored a sort of pragmatic developmentalism. The only movement which seemed to have been truly defeated was the democratic revolution headed by Francisco I. Madero, which was the original spark of the revolution.

The continuity of long-established liberal political and economic projects had to be harmonized with yet another weighty peculiarity of Mexico's history, namely, the prominence of peasants' movements. Therefore, social reformism - however selective and moderate it might be - was made a common concern of the new post-revolutionary Mexican state.[31]

According to historian Alan Knight, the post-revolutionary state achieved legitimacy through an appeal to long-lasting liberal bases, bolstered by land distribution, annihilation of the former federal army, and exclusion of the Church from the national political arena. The most visible signs of the new legitimacy were the peaceful successions of power and the rotation of political elites. This was an authoritarian but stable solution. Another sign of this legitimacy was the consolidation of a massive social base which made Mexico's political system a sort of 'inclusive' authoritarianism. The appearance of mass-based politics in Mexico was accompanied by the construction of a comprehensive "revolutionary ideology." Knight observes:

> The revolution thus represented the third great collective mobilization of the Mexican people; an experience which, especially as it was softened with time and gilded with rhetoric, reinforced sentiments of solidarity and nationalism . . . The fact that revolutionary mobilization, from the 1910s through the 1930s, was associated with profound national divisions - ethnic, ideological, regional, factional and class related - was progressively glossed over. The reified Revolution blurred such divisions; it played down the internecine strife of the symbols

[31] See, Stephen Haber, *Industry and Underdevelopment. The Industrialization of Mexico, 1890-1940* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990); and Alan Knight, "The Particularities of Mexican History: Mexico Compared to Latin America, 1821-1992," in *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Supplement, 1992, pp. 120-130.

> in the manufacture of a public religion. Secular and anticlerical, the revolutionary regime did nor write off the patriotic capital of the past just because it carried Catholic connotations.[32]

These mechanisms of consolidation of the post-revolutionary state are of great importance in understanding the Mexican rightist movements. Because the rhythm of the radical right movements is tightly linked to the revolutionary social and political oscillations. There were more or less peaceful radical right protests in the aftermath of the violent phase of the revolution. Examples are an influential letter of protests by the Catholic authorities in 1917, the actions of the Catholic Association of the Mexican Youth (*Asociación Católica de la Juventud Mexicana*) (ACJM), and those of the National Catholic Labor Confederation (*Confederación Nacional Católica del Trabajo*) (CNCT). In contrast, by the mid 1920s, during the more consolidated, authoritarian, and Jacobin administration of president Plutarco Elías Calles, contentious radical organizations emerged, such as the National League for the Defence of Religious Freedom (*Liga Nacional de la Defensa de la Libertad de la Religión*) and the Popular Union (*Unión Popular*), which engaged in a violent conflict known as the *Guerra Cristera* that lasted three years.

Although the *Guerra Cristera* was confined to the center of the country (the region known as Bajío, which encompasses parts of the states of Guanajuato, Michoacán, and Jalisco), it constituted the most serious social rebellion of the post-revolutionary period. The movement, after a brief remission, continued in 1932 with the emergence of such organizations as the Legions and the Base Movement. The growth of radical right movements during this period was a reaction to the policy of socialist education sponsored by the Calles administration.

The presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas (1934-1940) saw the expansion of revolutionary social reformism, and, not surprisingly, the peak moment of the radical right movements. Catholics were represented by the *Unión Nacional Sinarquista* (UNS, National *Sinarquista* Union), nationalists by the Pro-Race Committee (*Comité Pro-Raza*), the anti-communists by the Mexicanist Revolutionary Action (*Acción Revolucionaria Mexicanista*) and by the Middle Class Confederation (*Confederación de la Clase Media*). The last two years of the Cárdenas administration, however, was a time of reconciliation, marked by the beginning of the rhetoric of 'national unity' that was fully articulated by Cárdenas' successor, General Manuel Avila Camacho.

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[32] Alan Knight, "The Particularities of Mexican History," p. 140.

The rhythm of the radical right movements varied with the fluctuations of the post-revolutionary state until 1940, when some radical right wing organizations supported the candidacy of the conservative General Juan Andrew Almazán. But oddly enough the UNS backed the official candidate, Avila Camacho. Consequently, the golden years of *sinarquismo* ended with the rightward shift twist of the post-revolutionary regime. Avila Camacho's government restricted land distribution (especially in its revolutionary form of small collective property, *called ejido*), ended anti-clerical politics, reformed article three of the Constitution (which established free socialist public education), and put an end to workers' protest and radicalism. Of course, these policies rested on the strength and legitimacy to such important rightist organizations as the UNS. In the last analysis, the Mexican state absorbed political demands, from both left and right, and redirected them toward new goals, often leaving right and left without an original political offer.[33]

Underneath this parallel processes (i.e., state consolidation vis-à-vis radical right movements) laid the fact that these movements were originally sparked by the revolution, though Catholic, nationalistic, anti-semitic, and xenophobic demands had earlier antecedents. The revolution provided the impetus for the radical movements to overcome their differences and develop a coherent and comprehensive form. But this was a *raison d'être* that eventually became a limitation that radical right movements could never overcome.

The comprehensive, inclusive, and strong ideology that emerged from the revolution, left the radical right movements with very few opportunities of creating alternatives. If by the late 1930s the official revolutionary ideology could encompass demands from the left articulated by the anarchist Flores Margón brothers or the Indian leader Emiliano Zapata, or even of the Mexican Communist Party, it could easily accommodate demands articulated by Catho-

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[33] See Nora Hamilton, *The Limits of State Authority* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982); Leonor Ludlow, "Estado e iglesia en el régimen cardenista: definición de la convivencia," in *Estudios Políticos*, new era, vol. 6, January-June 1987, pp. 40-52; L. Albert Mitchaels, "The Modification of the Anticlerical Nationalism of the Mexican Revolution by General Lázaro Cárdenas and its Relationship to the Church State detente in Mexico," in *The Americas*, vol. 26, July 1969, pp. 35-53; and Jean Meyer, *La Cristiada. 1 . La Guerra de los Cristeros* (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1973), pp. 362-365. In addition of emphasizing the role played by Luis María Martinez, new Arsobishop of Mexico and friend of Cárdenas, Meyer also explains the president's change of tactics: "Tired of closing temples to find them re-opened and full of people, [Cárdenas] decided to give back to the people the temples, but opening new schools in order to educate them rationally." (p. 365).

lics, xenophobic nationalists, and anti-communists. The process, of course, was neither rapid nor harmonious, but insofar as it had a successful outcome, we can appreciate its durability and strength.

Indeed, in post-revolutionary Mexico a movement could be defined as radically rightist if it came from the right (vis-à-vis the revolution) and could not be incorporated by the system. In the same way that the traditional *cacicazgos* challenged centralized power, the National League for the Defense of Religion Freedom, the Legions, and some faction of the UNS, represented a real challenge to political stability.[34]

This is an important distinction because it differentiates the radical movements from the conservative opposition which, functioning within the constricted limits of the post-revolutionary legalized political framework, opposed the government in the name of traditional liberalism, democratic freedom, and impartial elections. During the 1920s, the *Partido Coperatista Nacional* (National Cooperativist Party), the *Partido Liberal Constitucionalista* (Liberal Constitutionalist Party), opposed the government on these grounds, as did José Vasconcelos who ran for president in 1929. In turn, the traditional conservative opposition of the *Partido Acción Nacional* (National Action Party) was founded in 1939. This right conservative opposition shared a common vein with the revolutionary ideology insofar as, even in disputing the regime, it appealed to a common liberal matrix.

In sharp contrast to the conservative opposition, the radical right movements rejected the common language and favored racist, fascist, totalitarian, and anti-communist terms. The radical right movements saw President Plutarco Elías Calles as not only an authoritarian president, but also as a Bolshevik dictator. *Voilà* the notable difference![35] Let us now look at Mexico's radical right opposition from the 1920s to the 1940s.

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[34] We use the notion 'antisistemic' following Immanuel Wallerstein. See, e.g., "Crises: The World-Economy, the Movements, and the Ideologies," in *Unthinking Social Science. The Limits of Nineteenth-Century Paradigms* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), pp. 23-37.

[35] See Nicolás Cárdenas, *La reconstrucción del Estado mexicano. Los años sonorenses (1920-1935)* (Mexico: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Xochimilco, 1992); John Skirius, *José Vasconcelos y la cruzada de 29* (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1982); and Manuel Rodríguez Lapuente, "El sinarquismo y Acción Nacional: Las afinidades conflictivas," in *Foro Internacional*, vol. 29, January-March, 1989, pp. 440-458.

Mexican Burkes: Mere Conservatives or Truly Fascists?

We have argued that the first and most important radical right organizations had a religious basis. The conflict between the state and the clergy was far from new in Mexican history. Since the mid nineteenth century, liberal reform had weakened the three centuries of economic and political clout wielded by the Catholic Church. By the 1880s, during Porfirio Díaz's long reign, a *de facto* truce between the state and the clergy brought about a significant recovery of the economic and political power of the Church. However, when, as a result of the revolution, some liberal Jacobin factions reached power, the cease-fire was broken. The 1917 Constitution not only established the supremacy of the secular state over the clergy, but left the Church with no legal recognition. The Church's properties were nationalized and monastic organizations were banned. In addition, state governments were granted the right to limit the number of priests in their territory. More importantly, the Constitution banned the Church from a realm in which it have had an enormous influence - education.[36]

Reaction from the Church to these constitutional mandates was prompt. In February, 1917, Mexican Bishops asserted that the laws "made of religious persecution a duty of the state." The Bishops expressed their "strong and decorous" protest to the 1917 Constitution which, they argued, was proclaimed by only one political group and without consideration of the former Constitution of 1857 which protected the properties and moral authority of the Church. But they also added that bound by the Pope's disposition and by their own patriotism,

> [they were] far from approving a violent rebellion against the established authority, but this passive submission does not mean approval or intellectual and voluntary acceptance of the anti-religious laws or of any other unjust laws dictated by the authority; and with this, we do not pretend that our fellow Catholics ought to restrict themselves of their rights as citizens to work legally and peacefully for the eradication in the national laws of all those aspects that harm their consciousness and their rights.[37]

From this position, advanced by the moderate majority of the Catholic clergy, new postures were derived. One faction of the clergy aimed to follow the *Rerum*

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[36] See "Protesta que hacen los prelados mexicanos que suscriben, con ocasión de la Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos publicada el 5 de febrero de 1917," in Gastón García Cantú (editor), *El Pensamiento de la reacción Mexicana. Historia documental, 1810-1962* (Mexico: Empresas Editoriales, 1965), pp. 853-867.

[37] Ibidem., p. 854.

Novarum papal mandate by directing the actions of the Church toward social reform. This faction created the *Secretariado Social Mexicano* (Mexican Social Secretariat) and, joining the previously established *Centro de Obreros Católicos de Guadalajara* (Center of Catholic Workers of Guadalajara), promoted the creation of the *Confederación Católica del Trabajo* (CCT) (Catholic Labor Confederation), whose first congress was held in April, 1922. Discussion during the congress focus on such issues as the collaboration of social classes, religion, nationalism, family, property, clergy, 'legitimate' civil authorities, and total neutrality and political restraint of Catholics. In addition, the right to strike, though recognized, was considered a last resort. In sum, the goal of this congress was clearly stated by its organizers: to efficaciously face "the consequences of impiety, the advances of socialism and protestantism."[38]

In fact, the National Catholic Labor Confederation (CCT) was not a workers' organization, but a professional association which included middle class merchants and unions of small entrepreneur. The state of Jalisco was the base for the CCT, though it had a presence in the states of Guanajuato and Zacatecas. According to some estimates, by 1926 the organization had 20.000 members.[39] With the outbreak of the *cristero* rebellion, they were incorporated into the violent conflict. Both the Catholic Association of the Mexican Youth (ACJM) and the National Catholic Labor Confederation (CCT) fueled the National League for the Defence of Religious Freedom and the Popular Union (headed by Anacleto González Flores). These last two organizations were the strategic core of the organizers of urban support for the armed rebellion.

The anti-labor nature of the CCT materialized in its opposition to 'red' unionism in the state of Jalisco. There were violent clashes between members of the CCT and unionized workers seeking the control of work sites. Both Catholic and socialist organizations used violence, but the former also had the support of powerful magnates.

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[38] Jaime Tamayo, "Intransigencia ideológica y colaboración de clases. El sindicalismo católico," in *Estudios Políticos*, new era, vol. 6, January-June 1987, p. 8; Manuel Ceballos Ramírez, "El sindicalismo católico en México, 1919-1931," in *Historia Mexicana*, vol. 35, April-June 1986, pp. 627 and ff.; for an analysis of the struggle between moderates and radicals within the church, see "Rerum Novarum en México: Cuarenta años entre la conciliación y la intransigencia (1891-1931)," in *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, vol. 49, July-September 1987, pp. 151-170.

[39] See Ceballos, "El sindicalismo católico en México . . .," table p. 656. This study also shows the tensions that derived from the organization's dependency on the clerical authority (pp. 660-665).

It would be misleading to characterize the CCT simply as a fascist organization. Doubtless some of its leaders and advisers - such as René Capistrán Garza - greatly admired such fascist leaders as Benito Mussolini.[40] But the sympathies and similarities in tactics do not make a middle class reactionary movement a fascist movement *tout court*.

The moderate, pacifist, and socially-oriented element within the Catholic movements reached a critical point in 1926. President Calles' attack of the Church reached its peak with the establishment of the 130th article of the Constitution which forced priests to register with the Ministry of the Interior, and also limited the number of priest by the state. In response, the Mexican clergy suspended religious services (July 31, 1926), and the National League for the Defence of Religious Freedom, as well as the Popular Union, called for armed rebellion. This was the beginning of the *cristero* rebellion - a series of violent uprisings in the west, center, and part of the south of the country. Even though these uprisings had no central coordination, they all saw themselves as part of a 'freedom army.'

There is a vast, if uneven, literature regarding this episode of Mexico's history. From this literature, we can assemble the following panorama.[41]

The rebellion had three main components. First, the Vatican and the Mexican high clergy encouraged the rebellion (though never outspokenly), at least in its initial stages. The clergy's objective was to defend a 'moral' principle and, of course, the material property that the state sought to expropriate from the Church. Although the participation of the upper hierarchy of the Church was unmistakable in the early stages of the movement, the Church as an institution soon dissociated itself from the movement and most Bishops asked their fellow Catholics not to join the rebellion. Gradually a moderate position prevailed within the Church, with most leaders favoring a stable, though secret, agreement with the state that might allow the Church to maintain some presence in society. Bishops Pascual Díaz and Leopoldo Ruiz y Flores were the principal advocates of this moderate stance and they negotiated the final *modus vivendi* with the

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[40] See Tamayo, *Op.cit*, pp. 7-8; Jorge Durand, *Los obreros de Río Grande* (Zamora, Mexico: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1986), pp. 107 and ff.; and Nicolás Cárdenas, *Una experiencia obrera radical. Los mineros de Jalisco (1920-1930)* (Mexico: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Xochimilco, 1993), pp. 97 and ff.

[41] See footnote 9, and issue 13 of *Estudios Jaliscienses*, August 1993, totally devoted to the *Cristiada*.

state. By and large, the pragmatic position of the upper hierarchy prevailed, even though it meant the abandonment of the fervent *cristero* guerrillas.[42] As historian Jean Meyer observed:

> Thus, Rome wanted peace and conceived the possibility of winning in the long run by making concession in the short run. At the time, all of the Vatican's policies dictated by Pio XI were oriented toward this goal, and were based on a secular history of conflicts with modern states. For a vital minimum - what President Portes Gil called "the Church identity" - the papacy was willing to make great concessions, and thus it sanctioned a *modus vivendi* incomprehensible for Mexican Catholics who did not have a relativistic perspective, who (unlike Roma) lived day by day the domestic affairs and suffered themselves a sacrilege oppression.[43]

Some Bishops did participate in the rebellion as commanders or servicemen, and some others never left the *cristeros* - such was the case with the Bishop of Guadalajara, Orozco y Jiménez. But the radical wing of the Church was defeated in the conflict, and thereafter had no participation in the active Catholic movements. Ironically enough, the defeated radical faction of the clergy eventually helped to crush what was known as 'the second *cristiada*' (1932-1934).[44]

The second component of the rebellion - made up of the factions concentrated in the National League for the Defence of Religious Freedom - is more relevant for the purposes of this chapter. This was a radical right organization whose leaders were recruited from the urban middle class, the same social base from which Calles' revolutionary group was drawn. As Meyer argued:

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[42] See Pierre Luc Abramson, "La cristiada: historia y hagiografía," in *Nexos*, vol. 2, September 1979, pp. 29-36; David C. Bailey, *Viva Cristo Rey! The Cristero Rebellion and the Church-State Conflict in Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1974), chapter 7; J. Meyer, *La cristiada*, vol. 1, pp. 13 and ff., and 323 and ff.; and Servando Ortoll, "Faccionarismo episcopal en México y revolución cristera," in Martín de la Rosa and Charles A. Reilly (editors), *Religión y política en México* (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1985), pp. 27-41.

[43] Jean Meyer, *La cristida. 2. El conflicto ente la igleasia y el Estado, 1926-1929* (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1980), p. 376.

[44] Meyer sorrowfully recounts in *La cristiada* (I, p. 367): "whereas the first phase of the *cristiada* (1926-1929) was already the war of the poor, the second phase was the war of the miserables, of those without means, without help, against a strict church, against a much more efficient national army which concentrated all of its troops in a region and worked during months to achieve a total eradication of the movement."

> The difference between the members of the National League for the Defence of Religious Freedom and the revolutionaries was not social, but ideological; in fact, ideological convictions are always stronger in such kind of groups that share the same social class but have an antagonistic ideology. In both groups we find politicians, journalists, ambitious women, intellectuals, 'bourgeoisie,' and military men. Among the revolutionaries, we find protestant ministers and masons; among the members of the National League for the Defence of Religious Freedom there were priests, Knights of Colon. All were born and resided in cities. Culturally and socially, the members of the National League for the Defence of Religious Freedom were the direct cousins, the antagonistic brothers, of the revolutionaries, and both inhabited a world that had nothing to do with that of the *cristeros* and *zapatistas*.[45]

The National League for the Defence of Religious Freedom presented the common ideological features of the radical right of the time. First, the League scorned the national, official, and liberal pantheon, and celebrated such heroes as the nineteenth-century Mexican conservative Emperor Agustín de Iturbide, as well as the brilliant conservative politicians and intellectual Lucás Alamán. The League also honored Miramón and Mejía, the conservative leaders who supported the French-financed reign of Maximilian in Mexico in the 1860s. The League's enemies were liberals, masons, and 'protestant yankees.' It was as nationalist as it was anti-imperialist and doggedly pro-Hispanist. In sum, the members of the League believed themselves to be representing the 'good' in the struggle against 'evil,' hoping to destroy the 'democratic and socialist lies.' The League did not hide its sympathies for Italian fascism and Spanish *falangismo*. As Meyer has pointed out, the League's sympathies for Italian fascism made it a modern organization, but its aristocratism made it appear as an old fashion petit-committee group. The League endorsed small agrarian property, freedom of workers from union leadership, and women's political participation - women, in fact, were an important part of their constituency. Indeed, "this integrationist,

[45] Ibidem., p. 53. *Cf.* the picture of the revolutionary leaders presented by Peter Smith in *Labyrinth of Power: Political Recruitment in Twentieth-Century Mexico* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979); also Héctor Aguilar Camín's essay in David Brading's *Caudillos and Peasants* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); and Alan Knight, *The Mexican Revolution* vol. 2 (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1986), pp. 215 and ff.

ultramontane, nationalist, Hispanist Catholics - profoundly influenced by the *Rerum Novarum* . . . dreamt of a just, Catholic, hierarchical, and corporatist society."[46]

In military terms, the League was ineffective because of its intense internal disputes and intrigues. Its leaders lacked diplomatic skills and favored an authoritarian use of force. In addition, among the League's members, as Meyer disappointedly observed, there was an evident dislike for the masses. These characteristics were the League's legacy to the later movements: the Legions, the Base, and the UNS.[47]

The third component of the uprising, the most controversial, was the peasant rebellion. Jean Meyer has portrayed this rebellion as an epic example of popular uprising. Meyer separates the peasant rebellion from both the high clergy and the middle class organizations. According with this view, the nearly 40 000 peasants who participated in the rebellion constituted the most important peasant presence of the entire Mexican revolution, second only to the *Zapatistas*. Thus, Meyer closed his landmark study of the movement as follows:

> The *cristeros* shared with radical peasant movements the traditional aspects (tradition = transmission) and the focus on the past. Doubtless their independence and their demands and actions were not the mere creation of a reactionary leadership, though they were later glorified by reactionary leaders. The Marxist distrust, hate, and patronizing of peasants should be seen as a threefold ideological statement: first, they dislike *cristeros* because they belonged to the ideological arsenal of the right; second, they underestimate the revolutionary capabilities of *cristero* peasants because they were Catholics; and finally, Marxists could not put up with *cristeros* because they were able to act by their own initiative. In fact the *cristeros* were able - with their own limitations - to undertake a massive social movement without outside leadership; they were able to imagine a rational and positive political program, and capable of encouraging the solidarity of the people. The people wanted to change their destiny, but toward a very different direction than that imposed, *manu militari*, by the 'avant garde' of the revolution.[48]

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[46] Pablo Serrano Alvarez, *La batalla del espíritu. El movimiento sinarquista en el Bajío (1932-1951)* vol. 1, (Mexico: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1992), p. 17; Meyer, *op.cit*, vol. 1, pp. 62-63.

[47] Meyer, *op.cit*, vol. 1, pp. 62-63.

[48] Ibidem., p. 386.

Meyer's impressive research supports this conclusion. However, there is still an ongoing debate. Meyer analysis is being gradually either reinforced or contradicted by extensive case studies, as well as by the use of municipal archives which were not available when Meyer undertook his research.

To be sure, one cannot help to be sympathetic with Meyer's view of the peasants. Meyer shows how the distribution of land and the establishment of new *cacicazgos* were opposed by an important part of the peasantry. But it is exaggerated to maintain, as Meyer did, that Calles "did not correspond to the definition of a revolution." As historian Alan Knight has argued, it would be rather difficult for any historical actor to fully embody such a definition, in the same way that it would be difficult to claim that the interests of revolutionary peasants were identical with those of the revolutionary leadership from Sonora. But that leadership directed the conflict, and then constructed the state. As contra-facto, it would be hard to imagine the same for the *cristeros*, whose leadership, in the last analysis, felt itself deceived and abused once it learned of the peace agreement signed by the Mexican high clergy, the Vatican, and the Mexican government.[49]

Meyer, however, does not err in emphasizing the significance of 'ancient Mexico' in the emergence and development of the conflict. That is to say, undoubtedly in one or another way the conflict was linked to the dichotomy between tradition and revolutionary authoritarian modernization. This dichotomy re-emerged with the UNS and endures today. This dichotomy was felt by both the *zapatista* and the *cristero* movements, but it is important to consider the particularities of each movement, as well as their specific enemies and social roots. These differences ensured that each movement followed a distinct historical path. While *zapatista* were a quasi millineristic Indian movement revolting 'in order not to change,' and to return to the ancient forms of land property, the *cristeros* were counter-revolutionary Catholics who were nourished by, and contributed to, Mexico's modern radical rightist thought.[50]

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[49] Ibidem., p. 385. See Abramson, *op.cit* who offers a critical perspective of Meyer's work; for a favorable lecture of Meyer's study, see Enrique Krauze, "La cara obscura de la revolución," in Krauze, *Las caras de la historia* (Mexico: Joaquín Mortiz, 1983), pp. 52-59. Regarding the debate over the 'character' of the Mexican Revolution, see Alan Knight, "The Mexican Revolution: Bourgeois? Nationalist? or just a 'Great Rebellion,'" in *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1985, pp. 1-37.

[50] For a discussion of the persistence throughout Mexico's history of the gap between a modern people and a traditional society, see François-Xavier Guerra, *Mexico: del antiguo régimen a la Revolución* vol. 1 (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1988), pp. 182 and ff.; see also the classic work by John Womack, *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution* (New York: A. Knopf, 1969); and Rodríguez Lapuente, *op.cit*

The agreement achieved between the state and the Church did not mean the complete end of the conflict. The state continued to enforce, at least until 1934, an anticlerical policy. An emblematic display of this attitude was the so-called "*grito de Guadalajara*" - a speech delivered by Calles in the city of Guadalajara in which he made a call to win over the consciousness of children and youth, because, he claimed "they are the revolution, and to it they shall belong." Thereafter an anticlerical educational campaign was undertaken, which culminated in the establishment of socialist education during the Lázaro Cárdenas administration. This was indeed an ideological crusade designed to end 'fanatism,' but it also sought to organize and strengthen the regime's massive social base.[51]

This educational reform produced the reaction of the clergy, not only because of the state's rhetoric and policies, but because of the persecution of former *cristero* leaders. In Guadalajara, Manuel Romo de Alba, a former member of the National League for the Defence of Religious Freedom and a former *cristero*, began to organize a secret organization: the Legions. Romo appealed to disillusioned members of the League, defeated guerrillas, members of the Catholic middle class, and members of secret organizations. He was inspired by the fascist and Nazi experiences, and sought to reach power through a violent *coup d'etat*. In such a way Romo supported the idea of raising "*las miras de los fusiles*" (the sight of the rifles), to avoid the people's bloodshed that occurred in the *cristero* rebellion.

An organization with such objectives and tactics, had to have a quasi-military authoritarian structure. According with its founder, the organization:

> [ought to be] such a tight, perfect, uniform, and disciplined union as to be able to act at once at a single order, without sacrificing anybody and without major risks. [An organization] that could count with all sorts of activities, that would be able to have a presence in all places and at all times, without being noticed, because one of its main principles would be extreme secrecy. A large and disciplined army in which soldiers would only know the whereabouts of their immediate superiors . . . A society in which nothing is written, not even the names of the members, who would receive a number in exchange of their real names . . .[52]

In their programs and tactics, the Legions were not original. They supported an indirect electoral system based on municipal officials elected through corporatist

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[51] Serrano, *op.cit*, vol. 1, p. 116; and David Raby, "Ideología y construcción del Estado: la función política de la educación rural en México, 1921-1935," in *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, year LI, April-June 1989, pp. 318-319.

[52] Quoted by Serrano, *op.cit*, vol. 1, pp. 125-126.

plebiscites. They also favored the women's vote, small private property, and protection to workers and employees; they opposed *ejidos* (common lands).[53]

In the beginning the Legions received support from the high clergy (especially from Bishop Orozco Jiménez), but they were viewed with suspicion by the moderate clergy. Their avowal of the use of violent means to achieve power, and their popular support (according to some authors the Legions had a membership of 20.000 in Guadalajara) hindered negotiations with the state. Rejection by the Church led Romo to look for a new base of support in Mexico City, but there Romo's organization faced the power of the Jesuits headed by Antonio Santacruz and Eduardo Iglesias, both of whom infiltrated Romo's organization. After two years of growth and preparation for a potential military action, in 1934 Romo's organization was taken over by the Jesuits who restructured it into a much moderate movement.[54]

The new organization, still secret, was called 'The Base' of OCA (Organization, Cooperation, Action), and it was built upon the foundations of the Legions. But Romo, the founder of the Legions, was unhappy with the new direction. He left, and his place as supreme chief was taken by Julián Malo Juvera, a wealthy land owner from the central state of Querétaro. According to historian Pablo Serrano, the Legions aim was to gradually expel the most radical elements, and the new members were to be given a more social and moral task until a new (this time public) organization could be created.[55]

Secrecy was always at the core of the Base's ideology. But direct actions were also undertaken, for example, against socialist education, communism, masonry, and the anti-clerical policies of the government, especially in Gudalajara.[56]

With economic support from both its wealthy members and the Catholic bourgeoisie of the Bajío, the Base experienced rapid growth. By 1936 its membership may have reached 100.000. It was fully devoted to the establishment of

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[53] Ibidem., p. 127.

[54] Ibidem., p. 130; and Servando Ortoll, "La oposición de los católicos radicales," in José María Muriá (editor), *Historia de Jalisco*, vol. 4, (Guadalajara: Gobierno del Estado de Jalisco, 1982), pp. 578-579. This twist of tactics recalls that which occured in the workers' movement from 'direct action' to 'multiple action'. See, among other studies, Barry Carr, *El movimiento obrero y la política en México 1910-1929* (Mexico: Era, 1981).

[55] Serrano, *op.cit*, vol. 1, p. 139; and Ortoll, "Algunas consideraciones históricas . . ." pp. 63 and ff.

[56] Serrano, Ibidem., pp. 148-171.

a Christian order in Mexico through 'indirect action.' As historian Serrano put it, what the Base sought was "first, to conquer souls in order then to direct them toward a social mobilization that in the long run would lead to power."[57]

These peaceful tactics, although successful at the beginning, soon found their limits. The lack of action and the long wait produced disenchantment among the Base's members, and so it was finally decided to make a section of the Base (concentrated in the states of Querétaro and Guanajuato) a public organization - the *Unión Nacional Sinarquista* (UNS). This became the most important radical right organization of the late 1930s and early 1940s. It represented a real problem for Lázaro Cárdenas' government and a main impetus for the formation of the 'national unity' policy of the following president, Manuel Avila Camacho.[58]

The Base handed over to the UNS its organizational structure, a massive social base, and a political community which work was concentrated in the center-west of the country (comprising, as Meyer has argued, the historical and demographic core of ancient Mexico). But the Base also bequeathed two great problems to the UNS. The first was derived from its proclivity toward peaceful action (i.e., cordial protest through mobilization inspired in the *Rerum Novarum*). This meant that even if the movement experienced impressive growth, their leaders - both public and secret - would have no real access to power. The Union, in fact, formed an army which according to de la Vega's estimates had 230.000 members in 1941, but it functioned as a mere pressure group. The *sinarquista* masses had to put up with a 'long wait' to reach power, and once Avila Camacho's government made a rightist switch, the wait became unnecessary.

This factor clearly distinguished the Union from either Italian fascism or Spanish *falangismo*. The spectacular parades of *sinarquistas* (known as Green Shirts), who at the time numbered 20.000-30.000 in a single city, served no other purpose than showing strength to the state; that is, to be recognized as the enemy of reformism, anti-clerical Jacobinism, judaism, protestantism, communism, and American imperialism. But the union never aimed to use violence,

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[57] Ibidem., p. 144.

[58] Ortill, "La oposición de los católicos . . ." pp. 580 and ff.; Jean Meyer, *El sinarquismo un fascismo mexicano?* (Mexico: Joaquín Mortiz, 1979), pp. 34 and ff.

or to reach power. Meyer calls this phenomenon the rare violence of the non-violence, and he points out certain similarities between these tactics and that of Ghandi in India.[59]

These tactics contrasted sharply with the rhetorical violence of the Union's leaders and of the printed media. But they were also derived from the Union's link to the high clergy. Through the Union, the upper hierarchy reached the masses; the Base was the intermediary. The UNS could never overcome this link, and thus obeyed the interests of the moderate clergy that sought to achieve an agreement, a *modus vivendi* with the Mexican state. Of course, this was not always an harmonious and easy process. The growing in size and importance of the Union made tempted its leadership to brake from the upper clergy, radicalize the movement, and move toward direct political action. Manuel Zermeño, the Base's leader, is an example of a leader who followed this path. He made a pact with Avila Camacho's government without the consent of the Base, and thus was removed as a leader. The same happened with Zermeño's successor, the charismatic Salvador Abascal, who turned out to be too radical and anti-American in a moment in which the support of the American Church was being sought.

Nonetheless, the UNS was able to successfully exploit the resentment generated by the revolutionary regime, especially by Lázaro Cárdenas' pro-socialist administration. Land distribution, bureaucratization, corruption of financial institutions, renewed local *cacicazgos*, political anti-clericalism, and socialist education; all created opposition.

The social base of the UNS was based on the poor peasants; they were ruled by an authoritarian structure that "no member of the organization could question or disregard because a well-structured hierarchy was in place."[60] As Manuel Zermeño observed in 1939:

> Within *sinarquismo*, which is a highly hierarchical movement, there are two groups equally valuable - that of directors, and that of the directed ones. The former are obligated to be an example of loyalty, abnegation, and love for our cause. In addition, they ought to maintain and direct the *sinarquista* unity. It is the duty of those who are directed . . . discipline, confidence, and sincerity.[61]

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[59] Meyer, *El sinarquismo* . . ., pp. 42 and 49; and Anne Marie de la Vega-Leinert, "El sinarquismo en México; posibilidades de un régimen fascista en 1940," en *Comercio Exterior*, vol. 26, September 1971, p. 1082.

[60] Serrano, *Op.cit*, vol. I, p. 258; and Meyer, *El sinarquismo*. . ., pp. 71-76.

[61] Quoted by Serrano, Ibidem., p. 193.

Although the social base of *sinarquismo* was formed by peasants, 'and the lost urban underdogs', its formal commanders were 'recently graduated young lawyers.' These young lawyers took their role to heart, almost as a crusade, as an evangelical mission. The members of the national propaganda brigade were a sort of millenarian monk-soldiers who kept "themselves informed of the people's problem, showing them the material and human sacrifice they themselves were making to bring them to the peaceful struggle which was full of social and daily life expectations."[62]

This mystic tone, which appealed to the many Catholics who were disenchanted with the regime, became explicitly fascist under the direction of Salvador Abascal (1940-1941). As Serrano observes:

> *'la milicia del espíritu'* was a civic, mystical, peaceful, Catholic, and nationalist struggle that electrified *sinarquista* masses. The worship of a supreme chief, the flag, the militarization of action, as well as the mystique of sacrifice and blood, and the myth of the providential man, the uniforms, the dismissal of democracy . . . all these are symbols of Abascal's potential fascism.[63]

The *sinarquista* movement was not very innovative in its programs and ideology. By and large, it followed the radical right tradition explained above. It claimed to be anti-liberal, anti-communists, and even anti-fascist insofar as those ideologies were foreign to Mexico. It supported private property ("because there

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[62] Ibidem., p. 238 and 240; Meyer, *El sinarquismo . . .*, p. 56. The movement's rules, reproduced by Meyer, are illustrative of its way of functioning. For instance, the first rule of conduct was: "Hate easy and comfortable life. We have no right to such a life while Mexico suffers. Love uncomfortable things, danger, and death" (p. 17) Oddly enough, these rules were similar to those established by the socialist-oriented union leader Vicente Lombardo Toledano (1934). For example, one of Toledano's Union's rules established: "17. Until your ideal is not fulfilled, live in perpetual dissatisfaction and in permanent and passionate action. 18. The major aspiration of a real revolutionary man is that people can say of him after he has disappeared: he was a man." Quoted by Enrique Krauze, *Caudillos culturales de la revolución mexicana* (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1976), p. 330.

[63] Serrano, *op.cit* vol. 2, p. 32; see also Meyer's observations in *El sinarquismo*, pp. 131-133. As we have argued above, recent research has rejected Campbell's idea regarding the existence of direct links between European Nazism an Mexico's rightist movements. See Verena Radkau, "Los nacionalsocialistas en México," in Brígida Von Mentz, *et.al.*, *Los empresarios alemanes, el tercer Reich y la oposición de derecha a Cárdenas*, vol. 2 (Mexico: CIESAS, 1988), pp. 143-196; and R. Pérez Monfort, *His-panismo y Falange. Los sueños imperiales de la derecha española y México* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1992), p. 160. This last author sustains some kind of direct relation between *sinarquismo* and Spain's Falange.

lays men's freedom"), and opposed class struggle ("because from this struggle derives destructive misery and hate"). According to its ideologues, *sinarquismo* was a Mexican movement made by Mexicans:

> *sinarquismo* was a predestined agent (selected by divine will) to rescue Mexico from the animal-like wars that communism, fascism, and imperial capitalism represent. The salvation of Mexicanness will lead to a new just, free, Hispanic, stable, and harmonious order.
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> Unity was the base, and the only possible struggle was that between 'Mexicans and anti-Mexicans'.[64]

Regarding the state, *sinarquismo* both rejected interventionism, and stated (article 16 of their principles):

> we want Mexico to have a fair, strong, and respectable government that is aware that to serve the people is the only source of its power, and delimits its actions within the limits fixed by the well-being of the Mexican people.[65]

This view of the state was supported by a corporatist structure of capital and labor, with free schools, and an organization of farmers (owners of their own land). The *sinarquista* movement, as Meyer concludes, transformed the idea of an idyllic, organic past through the notion of the people's attachment to the soil. To its followers, *sinarquismo* offered familiar attributes such as religion and obedience. Meyer adds:

> This ideology articulated by non-peasants groups . . . was of course appealing to peasants, because it furnished them with the rationalization of their own situation. The notions of legitimacy and property, the significance of tradition and religiosity, the opposition to power, wealth, and mass democracy . . . all these features belonged to the peasants' world view, and the UNS knew how to make use of this language.[66]

For these reasons, the *sinarquista* movement cannot be characterized as a fascist movement *tout court*. For Serrano, the social-Christian and pacifist aspects of *sinarquismo* made it a non-fascist organization. For Meyer, the fascist features were a simple facade of *sinarquismo* intended to scare its enemies. In truth

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[64] Serrano, *op.cit* vol. 1, pp. 197-199; and Meyer, *El sinarquismo . . .*, pp. 113 and ff.

[65] Quoted by Serrano, Ibidem., vol. 1, p. 200.

[66] *El Sinarquismo . . .*, p. 150.

sinarquismo represented a particularly *regional* (i.e., the Bajío) nationalist, Hispanist, and Catholic expression of opposition to an authoritarian reformist revolution. Be that as it may, the similarities between fascism and *sinarquismo* are too striking to simply be dismissed. It could be argued, for instance, that the Hispanism of *sinarquismo* was not far from the Falange's Hispanism. Moreover, the rightist media gave a cosmopolitan spin to Mexican politics, linking Mexico's affairs to international movements. Certainly, the essential characteristics of *sinarquismo* (nationalism, Catholicism, xenophobia, anti-communism) became expressions of an international phenomenon that the *sinarquistas* were echoing (whether consciously or unconsciously). However hybrid and particular, we can certainly consider *sinarquismo* as encompassing the fundamental features of fascism.

Nonetheless, in order to characterize Mexican *sinarquismo* as fascist we must accommodate two intrinsic features, pacifism and an anti-party structure, which differentiated *sinarquismo* from other fascist style movements. Despite official repression, *sinarquismo* reminded a fundamentally peaceful movement. In addition, *sinarquismo* despite its programs and ideology, made no attempt to transform itself into a real political party. While its basic ideology makes *sinarquismo* akin to fascism, its actions and procedures separate it from European fascism. This seems a strange irony: the *sinarquista* movement sought a fascist end, but refused to apply to fascist means. Were they clearly fascist? This is too complex of a question to be answered based on an analysis of Mexico's unique 'hybrid' rightist movements. Suffice it to say that Mexico's hybrid fascist movement was the victim of its own hybridism: the members of *sinarquismo* found it difficult to remain peaceful and in limited action (in an endless '*espera*'). In fact, Abascal had to provide a cosmetic solution by proposing a millenaristic colonization project in the desert of Baja California in northern Mexico, which was, of course, rejected by the membership. And in 1939 the Base acknowledged the need to establish a real political organization, thus creating the National Action Party (PAN), which remains the primary right-oriented opposition party in Mexico's today.[67]

To a certain extent radical demands, whether from left or right, reinforced the establishment of a corporatist system during the Cárdenas era. Both left and right, including the Church and the UNS, backed Cárdenas when he nationalized the oil industry (1938), and put a stop to social reformism and socialist rhetoric. This tendency of left and right continued with president Manuel Avila Camacho,

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[67] Regarding the Baja California utopia see Meyer, *El sinarquismo . . .*, pp. 76 an ff.; and Serrano, *op.cit*, vol. 1 pp. 303-303.

who publicly announced his Catholic convictions. Soon, *sinarquistas* were left without a *raison d'être*. Consequently, the *sinarquista* party, which obtained official recognition for the elections of 1946, lost its recognition in 1949.[68]

The presidential election of 1940 constituted a historical crossroad for the movement. The *sinarquista* considered supporting the candidacy of the opposition (the rightist General Juan Andrew Almazán), but after negotiating with the government, decided not to join the opposition in exchange of land titles for the Union's peasant members. By contrast, the National Action Party did join the opposition, but was defeated by electoral maneuvers of the government.[69]

In addition to this type of Catholic right opposition, there were other racist, nationalist, and anti-communists movements in Mexico. That the Mexican revolution produced a heightened nationalism is a historiographical truism. However, what it is not often acknowledged is the multifarious nature of that nationalism. Mexico's new nationalism was not only a 'defensive' nationalism, but in some border regions it was even aggressive and xenophobic. Indeed, xenophobia was part of the creation of national identity in the north of the country, where Chinese and American communities were harassed.[70] As historian Alan Knight has observed, although American economic interests were not seriously affected during the revolution, xenophobic feelings prevailed during the 1920s and 1930s, mostly directed toward Chinese immigration.[71] During the 1920s, xenophobia reached terrifying levels in the state of Sonora during what was known as

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[68] See Meyer, Ibidem., pp. 76 and ff.; Serrano, Ibidem., vol. 2, pp. 17 and ff.; Pérez Montfort, *Hispanismo y Falange*, pp. 166-167; and Leonor Ludlow, "La secularización e integración del sinarquismo a la vida política," in *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, vol. 50. July-September 1988. pp. 208-211.

[69] See previous footnote, and Hamilton, *op.cit*, pp. 239-245; Campbell, *op.cit*, pp. 120 and ff.; and Ariel José Contrearas, *México 1940: Industrialización y crisis política. Estado y sociedad civil en las elecciones presidenciales* (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1980), pp. 166-168.

[70] See Alan Knight, *US-Mexico Relations*; and González Navarro, "Xenofobia y xenofilia en la Revolución Mexicana, " in *Historia Mexicana*, vol. 23, April-June 1969, pp. 569-614; and José J. Gómez Izquierdo, *El movimiento antichino en México (1871-1934)* (Mexico: INAH, 1991) pp. 83-90.

[71] Knight differentiates three types of nationalisms with different historical development: patriotic nationalism (linked to liberal nationalism and creole patriotism that went back to the late eighteenth century), popular xenophobia, and economic nationalism (a product of the last part of the nineteenth century when a small bourgeoisie grew protected by the Porfirian regime). See Alan Knight, *US-Mexico Relations*.

a crusade for the national salvation. Chinese residents were subjected to persecution, "anti-Chinese sentiments were synonyms of faithfulness with *la patria*." At least in northern Mexico:

> There were constant references to the 'the yellow threat,' and often there were rumors about the evil Chinese plan whose goal was to take over all economic activities . . . In addition, there was a common belief in the fact that miscegenation with Chinese people would cause the degeneration of the Mexican race.[72]

In order to 'solve' the 'Chinese problem', laws were established prohibiting Chinese people from inhabiting certain regions, and banning their concentration in 'barrios' (government of the State of Sonora, 1923, laws 29 and 31). Mix-marriages between Chineses and Mexicans were also prohibited. These policies were reflected by the states government's common practice of deporting Chinese people back to China.[73]

Simultaneous with these actions, numerous Public Health Committees, 'Pro-Race', and National Anti-Chinese Committees were created. These organizations held a national convention in Nogales, Sonora. Representatives of Sonora and many other states attended to this anti-Chinese convention. In addition, these protectors of the Mexican race often used violence against Chinese merchants.

> A sort of anti-Chinese Falanges were called '*guardias verdes*' (Green Patrols) and their task was to place one of their members at stores owned by Chinese merchants in order to stop the regular functioning of Chinese businesses. This, in addition to the high fiscal tariffs and the order given to land owner and farmers to cancel all contracts with Chinese farmers and merchants, made many Chinese entrepreneurs close their businesses.[74]

This anti-Chinese campaign reached the national arena when representatives, largely from the states of Sonora and Sinaloa, of the National Revolutionary Party (direct antecedent of the official party, PRI) formed the *Comité Directivo de la Campaña Antichina de la Cámara de Dipuatados* (Committee of the House of Representatives' Anti-Chinese Campaign in 1923). The success of this

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[72] Gómez Izquierdo, *Op.cit*, pp. 83-90.

[73] Ibidem., pp. 99 and ff.

[74] Ibidem., p; 140.

campaign could be measured by the decline of Chinese population in some northern regions of the country. In Sonora Chinese population dropped from 3983 to 92 between 1930 and 1940.[75]

Along similar lines, a small *Comité pro Raza* (Pro-Race Committee) was created in 1930 in Mexico City. It was formed by members of the urban middle class who aimed to contest those '*confundidas y dudosas*' (confused and doubtful) nationalities (i.e., Asians, Arabs, Lithuanians, Lebaneses, and Jews), as well as communists. This organization was later absorbed by the Middle Class Confederation.[76]

Among the anti-communist organizations of the inter-war period, one of the most significant was the *Acción Mexicanista Revolucionaria* better known as *Los Camisas Doradas* (the Golden Shirts). This organization had a quasi-military structure, and great social visibility. It was headed by Nicolás Rodríguez, a former member of Francisco Villa's army. Although he joined the presidential campaign of José Vasconcelos, he also worked for Calles's government as strike breaker.

The goal of the Golden Shirts was to crush communists, Jews and all sorts of potential enemies of the Calles government. They targeted workers' activists, unionists, and members of the Mexican Communist Party. Various violent encounters ensured, and in November of 1935 a riot broke out in which three persons died and at least five were injured, among them Rodríguez himself. As a result of this confrontation, president Cárdenas banned the Golden Shirts, declaring them outlaws and expelling their leader from the country.

That was the end of the ephemeral life of an organization which perhaps at its peak had nearly 3500 members recruited from the lower ranks of the many unemployed veterans after the end of the revolutionary combats. This was a 'kind' of military middle class which "the revolution had left in the air between the benefits that it had delivered to certain high commands and the favors to the low ranks of the official army."[77] According to historian Pérez Monfort, this organization appealed to a sort of deep rooted irrational 'macho' tendency: it made an appeal to the "macho" who does not allow his honor to be challenged; to the men whose great values were represented by 'land,' '*patria*,' 'honor',

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[75] Ibidem., p. 149.

[76] Ricardo Pérez Monfort, "Por la Patria y por la Raza. Tres movimientos nacionalistas de clase media," in B. von Mentz, *et.al. Los empresarios alemanes*, pp. 295-297.

[77] R. Pérez Monfort, "Las Camisas Doradas," in *Secuencia*, no. 4, January-April, pp. 67-68.

'family', and 'property,' and whose greatest affronts were represented by such terms as 'traitor,' 'lie,' 'prostitution,' 'humiliation,' '*poco hombre*,' and of course 'communist.'[78]

Let us conclude with a final word about the Middle Class Confederation, created in June of 1936. This organization echoed the Golden Shirts in its nationalism and anti-communism. It had a small membership, but it was vociferous and relatively wealthy.[79]

The Middle Class Confederation had little impact, and soon declined, although it took part, as did many other radical right organizations, in the presidential campaign of General Almazán. Their decline coincided with the ideological re-definition of Mexico's political spectrum and the new balance of power created by World War II. Although both presidents Cárdenas and Avila Camacho were very tolerant of Nazi and falangist organizations in Mexico, increasing American pressure and Mexico's final war declaration against the Axis forces put an end to these organizations as well as the Middle Class Confederation.[80]

All in all, these type of organizations fulfilled an important role by pressuring the revolutionary government to the right, creating the impetus for the post-revolutionary reformism which balanced the demands of other social sectors. In the last analysis, the post-revolutionary regime proved able to encompass demands from both polar extremes of the political spectrum, albeit demagogically. Gradually, the ideology of the Mexican revolution proved that it could work as a religion, but before it could do so it needed to become even more lax and inclusive.[81]

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78 Pérez Monfort, "Por la Patria," p. 293.

79 Ibidem., p. 300.

80 See Radkau, *op.cit*; Pérez Monfort, *Hspanismo*, pp. 167-170.

81 Cf. Pérez Monfort, "El discurso nacionalista en Mexico," in B. von Ments, *Los epresarios alemenas*, p. 347.

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FASCISM AND NAZISM IN CANADA AND USA

19

DONALD I. WARREN

DEPRESSION ERA. FASCISM AND NAZISM IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA: THREAT TO DEMOCRACY OR THEATRE OF THE ABSURD?

I. A FRAMEWORK FOR DESCRIPTION

> Berzelius Windrip ... was an actor of genius ... But below this surface of stage-craft was his uncommon natural ability to be authentically excited by and with his audience, and they by and with him. He could dramatize his assertion that he was neither a Nazi nor a Fascist but a Democrat - a homespun Jeffersonian-Lincolnian-Clevelandian - Wilsonian Democrat - ... the while he innocently presented as his own warm-hearted Democratic inventions, every anti-libertarian, anti-Semitic madness of Europe. (Sinclair Lewis, *It Can't Happen Here*, 73-74)

The Cultural Context

Since the emergence of the *Know Nothing* party in the United States, which was organized to seek limitations on new immigrants from Ireland and other Catholic countries, in the mid-19th century, a sense of danger has lurked beneath the values of pluralism and tolerance for which Americans are often boastful and which is frequently cited by historians and political scientists as the exceptionalism of what Seymour Martin Lipset terms *The First New Nation*. As each new wave of immigrants has come to its shores and faced the need to forsake their former national and ethnic identities in pursuit of the 'American dream' (which

has until very recently been predicated on a 'melting pot' ideology of assimilation), those who had previously been absorbed into the majority culture felt some sense of threat[1].

This fear, frequently identified as 'nativism' has, in the decades of the twentieth century been linked to such political labels as 'the extreme right,' 'the old right,' and, in the period of the 1930s, with the term 'native fascism.'[2] A number of authoritarian leaders and their newly formed political movements were seen by liberals to be consciously or unconsciously paving the way in both the United States and Canada for European-style dictatorship. Similarities in style, ideology and tactics lent to the two depression-racked societies the mood of angry protest a palpable and imminent threat to democracy. In retrospect, the danger has been seen by historians of the era as greatly exaggerated.

Just as the term 'parlor pinks' was fashionable in describing advocates of Marxist ideology, there was as well a small coterie of fascist intellectuals, usually referred to as 'Park Avenue' or 'parlor' fascists; once numbered among these was poet Ezra Pound, who left his native country and eventually served as a propagandist for the Mussolini regime.[3] The most prominent theorist of the

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[1] The literature on this cultural feature of American society is rather voluminous. The shift in the assimilation ethnic and the debate over 'multicultural' models of education emerging in U.S. and Canadian society has been a significant one. These critics include such prominent intellectual figures as Nathan Glazer in his volume - co-authored with now Senator Daniel P. Moynihan - *Beyond the Melting Pot* (1975) and the more recent essay by historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr., *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society*, New York - W.W. Norton, 1991.

[2] The term 'native fascist' was commonly employed during the 1930's and 40's and most recently appeared as the title of a book authored by researcher Morris Schonbach (1985) based on his 1958 doctoral dissertation. Most contemporary historians and those writing on the subject of political ideology linked to the term now utilize a set of rubrics: 'extreme right,' 'radical right' or 'far right.' See for example, Bell (1964), Lipset and Raab (1970); Geoffrey S. Smith, 1973, 1992; Ribuffo, 1992. In the context of American history 'nativism,' which connotes a distaste of foreigners and a xenophobic view of immigration beyond 'old stock' Anglo-Saxons, has been a long-standing theme of populist and right-wing political movements. On this point a very comprehensive exploration of this force is David H. Bennett's *The Party of Fear: From Nativist Movements to the New Right in American History*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 1988.

[3] Pound's political orientation and attraction to fascism is well documented in several books which focus on his departure from America and eventual recruitment to radio broadcasting for the Mussolini regime. For example see, E. F. Torrey, *The Roots of Treason*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1984; Humphrey Carpenter, *A Serious Character*, London: Faber and Faber, 1988. Pound's efforts to link his native land political heritage to that of Italian fascism is

1930s decade in support of a fascist alternative to democracy was Lawrence Dennis, whose 1936 treatise: *The Coming American Fascism*, told of the demise of capitalism, with communism or chaos as the only alternatives to 'a middle class revolution.' Dennis argued that a fascist dictatorship could be readily established by "a demagogue in the name of all the catchwords of the present system."[4] Another figure in this same small circle was that of Seward Collins who, in April of 1933, had created a new magazine entitled the *American Review*; he sought a forum for "revolutionary conservatives ... radicals of the right." Collins viewed the British literary figures Hilaire Belloc and G. K. Chesterton as being key thinkers. At the same time, he credited Mussolini as being "the most constructive statesman of our age," and declared that Hitler's assumption of power signifies 'the end of the Communist threat, forever.'[5]

While left-wing groups and the Communist party often led the charge against the danger of indigenous fascism, it would be inaccurate to ascribe the opposition to nascent organizations and individuals influenced by European role models of the right to a battle between extremes.[6] Moreover, as a Gallup survey

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reflected is his extended essay published in 1935 under the title of *Jefferson and/or Mussolini*, New York: Liveright Publishers.

[4] *The Coming American Fascism*, p. 244. His additional works are *Is Capitalism Doomed?*, New York: 1932 and *The Dynamics of War and Revolution*, New York, 1940. The most extensive assessment of Dennis' writings is to be found in Slesinger Jr., 1960 and David Spitz, *Patterns of Anti-Democratic Thought*, Westwood, Conn.: 1949, 1981, pp. 93-119. Here, Dennis' focus on the basis of state power in terms of physical force and coercion is examined. The 'will to power' of an elite in society is seen as a central tenet of his thought. Dennis wrote extensively on the theme of keeping the U.S. out of World War II. He was one of four-dozen individuals indicted in 1942 for sedition and participating in a Nazi world conspiracy to make war.

[5] Cited in Schlesinger Jr., 1960, p. 71. Collins, in addition to praising Mussolini and Hitler, wrote that Jews had to decide between "relinquishing some of the forms of participation in natural affairs temporarily won for them by liberalism ... or having this outcome forced on them in strife, agony and bloodshed." ('Editorial Notes,' May, 1933). For more of Collins views vis a *vis* other 'native fascists,' see Carlson, 1943, pp. 198-203.

[6] It is accurate to note that a number of investigative journalists offered important descriptions and expose articles on the role of Pro-fascist and Nazi individuals and organizations. Among the most important of this muckraking genre is that of Raymond Gram Swing (1935), Carlson (1943), along several special newspaper and magazine articles and books authored by John Spivak (*Secret Armies*, 1936, *The Shrine of the* Silver *Dollar*, 1940.). Although often working as a reporter for the *Daily Worker*, Spivak avoided slanting his analysis from a Marxist orientation and was quite scrupulous in his investigative work. Others such as I.F. Stone and George Seldes published books and later special news letters focusing on political

at the beginning of 1939 reveals, if forced to choose between Communism and Fascism - a situation having a rather abstract meaning for most Americans - about one in four did opt for the latter, particularly those in the middle of the occupational status structure or those of high income.[7] Thus, if there were any battleground where a struggle over fascism was to be fought, it would be in Mainstreet America. When, in 1935, novelist Sinclair Lewis penned his widely read but rather simplistic warning of a fascist takeover of the US government, *It Can't Happen Here*, there was born a metaphor by which Americans were alerted that fascism was an incipient danger to be guarded against.

Yet, an equally potent contemporary perspective treated the situation in a far less menacing fashion: the various strands of the native fascist movement were placed in the category of the bizarre, the irrational, or merely money-making rackets exploiting gullible followers, making them helpless victims rather than persons who had soberly selected a fascist political creed. The term 'lunatic fringe' once attached to such individuals and groups was impossible to shed: it accurately characterized the mainstream public perception.

Among American academic historians, 'native fascism' has periodically been a controversial area of study, particularly in terms of discerning whether its roots were genuine to American culture or strictly imported. Such a discussion amongst historians focuses on whether US populism, dating from the late 19th century, carried a seed of anti-Semitism. In turn, as academic study of right wing 'extremism' evolved from the consensual model of the 1960s to one which in the

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groups identified with native fascism and Nazi-fascist subversive efforts. A more doctrinaire Marxist line is to be found in the works by A. B. Magil (*The Perils of Fascism*, 1938). A number of 'expose' books were written by the early 1940's including several that traced to revival of native fascist groups following World War II. By the later 1930's a major source of investigative journalism about such groups was to be found among several radio broadcasters who formed a cadre of 'opinion journalists' who developed large listening audiences. Prime among these was the well-known Washington-based political columnist, Drew Pearson. The showbusiness and celebrity gossip columnist-turned radio commentator Walter Winchell was a major figure in the mass media focus on native fascists.

[7] The Gallup organization conducted a variety of public opinion polls on attitudes toward Nazi Germany and US perceptions of the need, desire or danger of involvement in European conflict. On two occasions, the term 'fascism' was presented in a general question asking respondents to indicate in one instance whether if 'they had to choose' between it and communism, what selection would they make. Appendix (pp-695-698 Table 1-7) suggest that such a hypothetical forced choice revealed a rather similar proportion (Table 1-4) opting for each of the two alternatives. A rather distinctive class correlation is evident for the choice of 'fascism,' with those reported to be 'wealthy' and having professional, business or skilled white-collar jobs showing above average percentages in making such a selection.

1980s emphasized the continuity of a subculture of racism and ethnic differentiation has undergone a continuing shift in interpretation. Ironically, two divergent consequences flow from this revisionism. The first places the native fascist threat within the realm of public hysteria, while the other suggests that even among the lunatic fringe, important and rational concerns about economic exploitation and the displacement of local social institutions were part of their appeal.[8] Moreover, throughout the 1930s no movement identified with fascism was able to claim adherents beyond the count of a few thousands.

Of those movements and leaders, only Father Charles Coughlin or Huey Long (and later his anti-Semitic disciple, Gerald L. K. Smith) who attained anything approaching on a significant national base. For the angry and disillusioned in American society during the 1930s, fascism was only attractive as a homegrown phenomenon that was part of the indigenous, often local or regional culture. If Huey Long or Father Coughlin each reached beyond their regional or sectarian back of support, it was precisely because they could present themselves as part of the great middle American majority. And, in this sense, Sinclair Lewis's 1935 novel of a legally accomplished fascist takeover stressed how short a step it was from that milieu to a dictatorship established on the principles of super-patriotism and distaste for alien ideologies.

II. THE SPECTRUM OF MOVEMENTS AND THEIR LEADERS

The Competitive Market of Native Fascism

We now turn to the task of describing instances where individuals formed organizations that specifically entered the arena of mass political mobilization in Canada or the United States. Those selected for inclusion represent the most prominent amongst the spectrum, which ranges across those with overt fascist identities and others which manifested at least some of the attributes identified with movements that were seen as 'proto-' or 'quasi-' fascist either in organizational style, ideology or political tactics. Those which were less successful, tended to be directly identified with the fascist regimes of Europe. For others,

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[8] This perspective is particularly expressed in Brinkley, (1982), Ribuffo (1983), and Smith (1992). These views may be defined as an important 'revisionist' orientation to 1930's 'native fascism' and underscores the effort to avoid a standard 'liberal' bias seen in the academic and public culture interpretations of the phenomenon emergent in the decades of the 1940's, 50's, and 60's. Reductionist themes of the 'authoritarian personality' school of social-psychology emergent in this period along with sociological emphasis of this same period which defined social movements as expressions of irrational 'collective behavior' events each reinforced the 'lunatic fringe' assessment of native fascism in America and Canada.

however, there was a more subtle and often ambiguous character to their ideology and goals, which led many observers to perceive them as 'independent' inventors of fascist-like movements. In the context of the 1930s, the degree of parallelism and conscious emulation on the two sides of the Atlantic became increasingly difficult to discern.

By one estimate, approximately 120 organizations in the United States were active in the 1930s with an agenda linking them loosely to each other by virtue of ideology and definition, forming what historians have come to call the 'Brown Scare' as a fascist equivalent to the subsequent 'red' scare.[9] While in a number of instances these were no more than single-person operations consisting of little more than a newsletter and the convening of periodic small-scale meetings (typically using a letterhead with the terms 'Christian,' or 'Nationalist' in its title) they were part of a spectrum that one muckraking undercover investigator exposed as 'The Hate Crusade.'[10]

Funding for many of these so-called 'native fascist' organizations consisted of the small donations of readers or monies collected at public meetings. Thus, there was a pronounced entrepreneurial dimension to native fascism of the depression era. A few prominent anti-labor industrialists and wealthy investors directly or indirectly underwrote a virtual cottage industry of fascist, anti-Semitic and anti-Communist organizations. Henry Ford I, several members of the Du-Pont family, and William Randolph Hearst were names often identified with

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[9] Ribuffo (1983, 1992) and Smith (1992) offer a thesis that has achieved major acceptance in American historical thinking in which the repressive actions taken by the US government beginning with extensive surveillance of native fascist groups offered the model for the more widely discussed anti-Communist crusade by government investigators and private organizations in the US and Canada following World War II. The essential parallelism of the 'brown' and 'red' scares was already evident by the late 1930's where political leaders and media commentators equated both right and left subversion as a danger to a democratic society. Congressman Martin Dies of Texas, who Chairmanship of the US Congressional House of Representatives "Un American Activities Committee" in 1938 clearly took such an approach. In many instances, the native fascist were seen to have received more gentle treatment from this governmental body and to even have been a major source for exposing the machinations alleged to be subverting society from the extreme left.

[10] This was the widely read best-selling expose *Undercover* written by Arthur Durounian under the pen-name of John Roy Carlson. While certainly not written with dispassion, despite some clear oversimplifying of the interrelations of various native fascist groups and the personalities associated with them, this volume based on four years of underground investigation is a highly valuable resource that conveys the common thread of ideology interpersonal networks that represented 'native fascism.'

support for "native fascism and reaction in America."[11] Only at the very beginning of its rise to power did the Nazi regime provide direct financial support to create sympathetic organizations, although occasional aid was given to individuals for propaganda purposes.[12]

In considering the 'native fascists' in both Canada and the United States during the 1930s, one quickly confronts a unique paradox which was at the very core of a strategic problem of leaders and their movements: namely, to identify the elite of their own nation as a greater enemy than foreign dictators. This critical dilemma of 'cognitive dissonance' was resolved in two ways by such organizations: to declare themselves to be the true repositories of native loyalty, rather than the 'establishment;' or, to suggest that indigenous institutions, because they had been subverted by 'alien' elites, could not be restored to health and had to be abandoned. Clearly, those groups which chose the latter course, while doing so in the name of restoring their nation or locality to political health often hinted at, and occasionally employed extralegal and even violent rather than parliamentary means to achieve their goal.

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[11] The phrase is used by George Seldes in his book *One Thousand Americans* (New York: Boni and Gaer, 1947) he named the US Chamber of Commerce, The National Association of Manufacturers and several other business lobbies as the essential backers of American fascism. His *Facts and Fascism* published in 1943, had summarized description of these linkages. Albert E. Kahn, another journalist focusing on the dangers of business sponsorship of native fascism, offered what he considered clear documentation of the direct link between US industrialists and Nazi underground activity. He described the financial contributions of several industrialists to various private anti-union and anti-Communist investigative and vigilanted organizations which has been described in a US congressional inquiry into anti-labor lobbying. See for example, *The Plot Against the Peace*, New York: Dial Press, 1945. What distinguished the general literature of warning regarding the nature of a fascist threat to US society from that of doctrinaire Marxists was the role of the economic elites. The works by Magil, Seldes and Kahn all sought to reinforce their argument that native fascism was a conspiratorial effort by big business to foist fascism on a frightened middle class and a misled working class.

[12] An extensive literature exists on this topic, including a number of academic and popular journalistic 'expose' accounts. On the latter, sources include DeJong (1956), Frye (1967); James V. Compton (1967); Kipphan (1971), Bell (1973), Kippham (1977). Among the journalistic genre are Robert Strausz-Hupe, *Axis America: Hitler Plans Our Future* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1941. Perhaps the most widely read expose on Nazi expionage is that of Leon C. Turrou, whose *Nazi Spies in America* (1938) and was shortly thereafter made into a first-run film with leading film personalities entitled *Confessions of a Nazi spy* in 1939.

Huey Long and the Share the Wealth Movement

Inaugurated as Governor of Louisiana in the year 1928, Huey 'Kingfish' P. Long soon seized control of that state's entrenched patronage system and challenged the powerful hold of the Standard Oil company in its political and economic dominance of this poverty-stricken yet oil-rich coastal state.[13] Elected to the US Senate in 1930, Long soon established himself as a populist gadfly and subsequently launched a legislative plan mandating for the state confiscation of personal incomes over $1 million dollars and those inheritances above $5 million. While technically no longer governor Long, in fact, controlled the office by the fact that he orchestrated the appointment to that post of a highly pliable personal friend. The publication of his autobiography in 1933, *Every Man A King*, Long shortly afterward established a network of local clubs organized around the concept of paying out each citizen a return on the funds derived from the proposed distribution of the monies to each citizen from taxes levied on the wealthy and their estates: 'the Share the Wealth Society.'[14]

Long's ambition to run for president in 1936 soon became apparent. When, near the peak of his power in March of 1935, he was attacked in a nationwide radio address delivered by an aide to President Franklin Roosevelt, Long demanded time to reply; his 'rebuttal' included in broadcast the singing of his own presidential campaign song. On September 8 of the same year, the person whom Roosevelt most feared might upset his bid for a second term as US president, Huey Long was cut-down by assassins' bullet. Concerning his rise to political prominence, one analyst described Long as one of:

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[13] The major political biography of Long is that of T. Harry Williams, *Huey Long* (New York: Knopf, 1969). See also, Luthin (1959); Slesinger (1960; Lipset and Raab (1970). The contemporary linkage of Long with American fascism was proposed by journalist Raymond Gram Swing in his *Forerunners* ... analysis published in the year (1935) that Long was assassinated. The most analytical study of Long's career is that of Brinkley (1982) in which a sociological thesis is put forth for both Long and Coughlin's significance.

[14] The Share the Wealth Clubs and the income redistribution proposal which formed its rationale was never developed in any detail and was meant largely as an organizing device by which Long could enter national politics. A 'utopian' novel published after his death, *My First Days in the White House* proposed the creation of a 'Federal Share the Wealth Corporation,' a large holding company that would 'operate as a steward and trustee for the American people' that would seize all funds derived from the Long tax plan and as a single financial institution would totally centralize the US economy. See Brinkley (1982).

> those masters of the masses, who in their aspirations for political place and power, pandered to the passions and prejudices, rather than the reason, of the populace ... who performed all manner of crowd-captivating tricks, only to betray the people.

The same author described Long as the personification of:

> the dictatorship threat in America ... In his use of military force, distribution of patronage, destruction of local government, and hamstringing of normal parliamentary procedures, the Kingfish suggested Adolph Hitler, Benito Mussolini, Joseph Stalin, and Juan Domingo Peron. (Ibid, 267).

After being labeled "the symbol of American demagoguery", Long once commented to the press, "I'm the Constitution around here!"

In his widely read warning about the threat of a European-style dictatorship (*Forerunners of American Fascism* published in 1935) journalist Raymond Gram Swing noted that while Huey Long was "not a fascist in the sense that he already has a philosophy of the state" but "he punishes all who thwart him with grim, relentless, efficient vengeance ... He has reshaped the organism of an archaic state government, centralized it, made it easy to operate efficiently." Comparing Long to Hitler in his ability to express the resentment of the 'underprivileged,' Swing described his rule as based "fear and approval," and his use of armed militiamen as 'final proof that democracy in Louisiana is no more.'(75,92) Alluding to parallels between Long and European dictators, author Swing expressed the view that, despite the fact that the Southern politician "can hardly help thinking of himself as a coming Hitler or Mussolini of America ... Huey is an improvement on Hitler in two respects ... He is free of the virus of racial prejudice and .. he is not anti-intellectual."(103). Yet, Long's one-party rule and his personal power led to the assertion that he "is waiting ... and indeed plausible enough to Hitlerize America."(107).

Still another contemporary clarion call of warning placed Long among twelve 'American messiahs' and called him "the best showman in American politics." His political methods were said to be those of the "orthodox American politics of the machine school, plus a little gaudy drama."[15] The same commentator referred to Long's vilification by northern 'radicals' and 'liberals' who

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[15] Long made astute and original use of the mass media, including radio broadcasts in which he sang and told jokes along with offering political commentary. This aspect of his 'buffoonery' was an essential element in his becoming well-known as a media personality, yet, in his role as a US Senator "... as a casual plaything - a toy to be used when he wanted publicity and acclaim and a to be discarded when more attractive ventures presented themselves." (Ibid., 45).

shrunk away from him as a dangerous 'fascist.' (Stewart, 1935, 2-3). As of February 1, 1935, Long reported 27.341 'Share the Wealth Clubs' claiming that he had the names and addressees of 7.682.768 members. (Ibid., 22) His national monthly publication, *The American Progress*, claimed to have a circulation of 275.000. Despite the value of his concern for the redistribution of wealth, a contemporary description note that Long acted:

> like the worst sort of megalomaniac ... he lives like an emperor ... he is a strong man - and wants everyone to know it; he has done more than any American in the last three years to make the processes of democracy obviously ridiculous ... . Huey is a serious threat to democracy - because he is showing how feeble the devotion to the machinery of political democracy is in comparison to the demand for economic liberty, equality and security.' (*Ibid.*, 31)

Some historians distanced from the 1930s era pose a revisionist interpretation of the Louisiana leader. Thus, according to Alan Brinkley, while we recognize that Long:

> shared with the fascists certain anxieties, ideas, and images and drew from similar political traditions' his social philosophy, rested on fundamentally different concerns ... At the center ... was a commitment to a major shift in the locus of economic power in America, not to the state, but to small community institutions and individual citizens.' (1982, 281).

Brinkley argues that while Hitler and Mussolini used 'populist rhetoric' these were mere expedients, whereas in Long's case they were genuine beliefs. For his part, Arthur Schlesinger jr. saw Long as 'the messiah of the rednecks,' the reflection of a Latin American dictator, not a Hitler or a Mussolini, as the head of a revolt against economic colonialism.(1960, passim, pages). While condemning the violent death of the man, many in American society were relieved that this threat to democracy was removed from the political scene.

The Khaki Shirts

Within the US and Canada literally dozens of 'shirt movements' arose in the period of fascism's fashionable emergence. Most were lost amid the thicket of disreputable if not comic derision accorded them by any media attention. In December 1934, the son of a wealthy midwest family, Philip Johnson (later to be an aide to Father Charles Coughlin and a world-renowned architect) along with his Harvard classmate Alan Blackburn formed the National Party, an

organization sporting uniforms in the fascist mold.[16] Such 'parlor' intellectuals as Johnson stand were contrasted with those who sought mass support. Among the most likely group to generate such a movement were America's World War I veterans. In 1932, a pitched battle was found with the thousands of 'bonus marchers' who camped outside of the US Capitol to seek an early honoring of the congressional pledge to reward each soldier for his war service. This 'B.E.F.' - *Bonus Expeditionary Army* (a parody of British Expeditionary Force) was turned back with fire hoses and cavalry by President Herbert Hoover under the military direction of Douglas MacArthur and a young Dwight Eisenhower.[17]

From this episode arose the *Khaki Shirts*, a band of several hundred under the leadership of a 'general' who had been a professional mercenary in Africa and China, Art J. Smith. Dedicated to the economic program of 'manocracy,' The *Khaki Shirt* platform included the abolition of Congress, the revaluation of silver, and the creation of the largest army and navy in the world. Headquarters in Philadelphia, the organization's leader proposed a march on Washington to parallel that of Mussolini on Rome. A million and a half veterans were scheduled to invade the capital on Columbus Day, 12 October, 1933. Split by internal conflict, a rally held a few weeks before in a New York suburb turned violent: a heckler being fatally shot by a *Khaki Shirt* aide, with 24 other persons injured in the subsequent melee. When a police raid uncovered an arms cache housed in the organization's offices, a plan to take over the city of Philadelphia and then ransack several nearby military armories was revealed. At the trial of the accused sniper, a witness who had testified that a socialist 'radical' was to blame for the shooting, recanted, and instead asserted that Khaki Shirt leader Smith had threatened to 'kill all the Jews in America' and he did not wish to be

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[16] Both announced they would leave their positions with the Museum of Modern Art in New York and travel to Louisiana in order to study Huey Long's political organization techniques. Their intellectual inspiration was Lawrence Dennis. Snubbed by the Long organization, they both eventually made their way north and became involved in the 1936 presidential campaign developed by Coughlin. Johnson later wrote for Coughlin's weekly newspaper and was in Poland at the time of the Nazi invasion.

[17] This episode was one which greatly enhanced the public rejection of the Hoover administration, since the dramatic scenes of the encampment of the demonstrators being razed by mounted troops left an indelible picture of a government apparently callous to the needs of its people. Confusion over who gave the order to march on the demonstrators following their movement away from the troops was settled when Douglas MacArthur acknowledged his own initiative in this action. It was a foretaste of independent decision-making which led President Truman two decades later to remove him from command during the Korean War.

the first. Smith, considered by the court as more of a fraud than a revolutionary threat, was sentenced to six years in prison for perjury; his 'movement' promptly disappearing from the political scene.

A more serious attempt at a political coup mimicking the classic tactics of European fascism was that of the *Sentinals of the Republic*, funded by an array of reactionary businessmen who were perceived as constituting a "Wall Street Plot to Seize the Government." Members of the J. P. Morgan family and banking firm, the Du Ponts, and other well-known corporate individuals were implicated as founders. The alleged government coup was to be headed by a retired Marine corps commander, Smedley Butler, whose previous claim to fame had included being forced to resign after having told an anecdote about Mussolini running down a pedestrian while speeding along an Italian highway.

While at first some efforts to keep the coup attempt out of the media had occurred, when the story was leaked it led to a full Congressional investigation implicating several individuals who had been instrumental in forming the then - recently created veterans' organization, the *American Legion*. Some of its founders saw it as a US equivalent of the *Croix de Feu* in France and had, on the their own without the knowledge of the membership, approached Butler about leading an army to overthrow the Roosevelt administration in the fall of 1934. Called the 'cocktail putsch,' many journalists described the plans as a fantasy concocted by Butler rather than a serious effort by the agents of Wall Street to stage a rightist coup. Congressional investigators concluded that it was one of several 'isolated cases of activities by organizations which seemed to be guided by the fascist principle' but which:

> had made no progress ... There is no question that these attempts were discussed, were planned, and might have been placed in execution when and if the financial backers deemed it expedient. (*Seldes*, 1943, 290).[18]

No attempt was made to probe further, and none of the principals were ever subject to criminal investigation.[19]

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[18] Seldes claims that the major 'press lords' tried to bury the story of the attempted coup, since some of its alleged participants were affiliated with businesses from whom they derived major advertising revenue. The calling of executive sessions to hear witness testimony added to the restricted news about what had occurred. When treated in the daily press, the entire episode was considered more ludicrous than dangerous.

[19] The *Sentinals of the Republic* was organized as a lobbying group to oppose changes in the child labor laws and the creation of the Social Security system. The group to be formed under General Butler's leadership was to be called the *American Vigilantes* and was to be half

The National Union For Social Justice

As the New Deal sought solutions to the economic crisis of the Depression, its initial limited success and then the blocking of many of its proposed reforms by the Supreme Court appeared to halt progressive efforts by late 1934. Early the following year, Roosevelt faced not only a challenge from Long's *Share the Wealth movement*, but yet another that had arisen under the direction of a Roman Catholic priest - one whose fame via weekly radio sermons had, since 1926, been a genuine tale of an electronic messiah. The 'radio priest,' Father Charles Coughlin had begun his career as a Canadian who resided across the international border of the thriving industrial community of Detroit, Michigan.[20] At first famed for his sermonizing as a guest in the city's Catholic Church, the Bishop of the metropolitan archdiocese gave him the opportunity to establish his own church in a suburb which had been identified as a center of anti-Catholic *Ku Klux Klan*, activity.[21]

Turning to radio broadcasting in 1927 as an expedient for fundraising, Coughlin soon rocketed to national fame via his unique broadcasting skills and personality.[22] He pioneered a technique of modulating his voice to create a

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a million members strong. It would take over the government and would do with Roosevelt 'what Mussolini did with the King of Italy.' (Schlesinger, 1960, 83).

[20] Coughlin was naturalized American citizen whose father, a Canadian citizen, married a native of Buffalo, although the family soon settled in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada. Coughlin was trained as a priest and joined a communal order, the Basilians, which operated a boys high school in Windsor, Ontario. The priest soon developed close ties with the Detroit Archdiocese across the border in Detroit. In 1922, when the Vatican reorganized his order, Coughlin chose to leave it for a position as a diocese priest in Michigan.

[21] The wooden Church established in 1926 was alleged the target of a Klan cross burning. Coughlin claimed this incident as symbolic event defining his mission to overcome prejudice. While no factual basis for the event has been established, a mythology of its significance is noted by Brinkley (1982) and by the priest's own biographer, Louis Ward. Whatever the true events were, Coughlin soon reached national fame. A film depicting his life for which a pilot sequence was made in 1933 contained a dramatic episode of the priest defying the Klan and declaring his resolve to overcome bigotry.

[22] The decision to use the radio was initiated by an advisor to the priest who had just acquired ownership of a local radio station. With the help of the station manager, Coughlin made his first broadcasts with a focus on children's religious instruction. One motivation for this innovation was the need to raise funds to pay the cost of the construction of his new, *The Shrine of the Little Flower*. With funds pouring in from listeners, Coughlin soon made plans for a more splendid stone edifice which was designed in the form of a tower from which the priest made his weekly broadcasts. From a balcony near the top of the structure, the priest

strong sense of intimacy quite distinct from conventional oratorical projection.[23] Obtaining a national network contract in 1930, Coughlin assailed the Versailles Treaty and denounced the Hoover Administration for its neglect of economic misery both in the working- and middle classes. The priest formed an independent network of radio stations which permitted his broadcasts to cover most of the United States.[24] Listened to by tens of millions of those in an unseen electronic parish, Coughlin - a genius at marketing himself and his ideas launched his activities further into the political arena. In November 1934, the radio priest formed the *National Union for Social Justice*.

Based on 16 points of economic and monetary reform, its focus was a silver or bi-metal rather than gold standard, the restructuring of the banking system, and a general attack on the failure of both political parties to address the pressing needs of the mass of Americans suffering from unemployment and nearly experienced poverty. The *NUSJ* was claimed by its leader to have enrolled 8 million members, although the true member-ship was probably closer to 1.5 million.

By the beginning of 1935, Father Coughlin, who had initially been a close ally of Franklin Roosevelt and a supporter of the New Deal, veered openly toward the idea of forming an organization that might become a third political

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could address the audience seated below as well as the millions hearing his voice from his own network assembled by the priest and his broadcast mentor.

[23] The first biographer of the priest described 'the method' in hagiographic tones: Father Coughlin knew the mind of the American public. He was conscious of its limitations and cognizant of its reactions. He well understood that this mind loathed ambiguities, and sneered at pretenses to arguments which were founded upon the use of high sounding polysyllabic words. Plain facts for plain people, couched in plain logic, became the adopted formula which he never deserted. (Louis A. Ward, *Father Charles E. Coughlin*, Detroit, Michigan: Tower Publications, 1933, pp. 37-38)

[24] The contract with CBS was short-lived and was terminated with a major address in which an attack on the Versailles treaty and US involvement in the League of Nations. Refusing to censor his words, Coughlin then created a set sponsors for his own paid broadcasts that stretched across the nation, reaching as many as 30.000.000 listeners. The fact that Coughlin financed his broadcasts mainly from small donations reaching the level of hundreds of thousands of dollars per year was a remarkable fact in the depression years. Moreover, although he was formally supervised in his work by his Bishop, in practice he largely was able to speak without elaborate restrictions until he was censured for comments during the 1936 Presidential campaign.

party.[25] At first suggesting it was only a 'people's lobby,' rumors soon circulated that if Coughlin would team up with Huey Long, a serious challenge to FDR in 1936 might be mounted. With Long's murder in September of 1935, Coughlin now formed an alliance with two other leaders of movements - Gerald Smith with the *Share the Wealth clubs* and Dr. Francis E. Townsend who had formed the Old Age pension organization - that became the basis of the *Union Party*, which, after initial polls suggested in might poll as much as 10 per cent of the vote in 1936, ultimately garnered less than one million.[26] The *Union Party*'s presidential candidate was a rather uncharismatic Senator from North Dakota, William Lemke. During the course of its campaign Coughlin referred to Roosevelt as a 'liar' and 'anti-God,' which led to reprimands from his ecclesiastical superiors. So great was Coughlin's influence that the first official visit by a prelate of the Roman Church, Cardinal (later Pius XII) Pacelli was seen as a basis for FDR to trade Vatican recognition for the muzzling of the rebellious Coughlin.

To many contemporary observers, the style and goals of the *Union Party* and its parent organization, the *National Union for Social Justice*, appeared to many contemporary observers to be a classic example of European fascism being imported to America. Thus, Raymond Swing, in his *Forerunners of American Fascism* described Coughlin's speeches as closely resembling those of Hitler and Goebbels.[27] Opponents of the radio priest, including those in the Roosevelt Administration working diligently to trim the radio priest's political

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[25] Brinkley (1982), Tull (1965) and Marcus (1973) describe the various statements made by Coughlin following his gradual separation from FDR over a two-year period beginning a few months after Roosevelt's election. Over several decades, the 'radio Priest' offered a variety of explanations for the 'break' with the New Deal. What is clear from the outset was a mutual distrust which was only papered over only with some difficulty on both sides. By the middle of the 1930's decade, did became apparent that Coughlin was determined on a collusion course with the powerful president.

[26] The triumvirate of Smith, Coughlin and Townsend was a best only the most expedient of coalitions. Under the circumstances, these three, who were depicted in the mass media as the leaders of 'the lunatic fringe' in US politics, failed to coordinate effectively. Given the initially inflated figures which Coughlin project for the *Union Party* - at one point saying he would withdraw from public life if less than 5.000.000 were obtained - the final result of the 1936 election effort seriously damaged the priests' credibility.

[27] Swing noted "after reading and hearing many of his speeches" that "their technical similarity are close to those of Hitler. These too are vague and emotional. Carefully analyzed, they do not read as radical as they sound. Like Hitler's, the priest's speeches tap the underlying prejudices of listeners." (*Swing*, 1935, 48)

sails made similar charges.[28] The fact that Coughlin declared, "I am the National Union," and was able to virtually dictate every action of the organization despite its local chapters and grassroots flavor, also connoted ideas imported from Hitler's Germany. When Coughlin referred to "International Bankers" as the cause of the depression and war, or that they controlled the Roosevelt Administration, his words were recognized by many as coded statements referring to Jewish economic domination of the US and of Europe.[29] While he avoided any overt identification with either Mussolini (whom he had written to expressing his admiration and soliciting acceptance of common economic goals), the priest's defense of the Abyssinian invasion and his subsequent adulation for Franco's falangist regime increasingly placed Coughlin the camp of those sympathetic to European fascism.[30]

The Black Legion

In a neighboring state to Father Coughlin's stronghold in the suburbs of Detroit, there emerged an organization whose violent and conspiratorial nature constituted one of the most disturbing signs of a native fascist presence in the Depression era United States. Called *The Black Legion*, it had been founded in Ohio in 1931 when several hundred men, in violation of *Ku Klux Klan* rules,

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[28] Roosevelt was cautionious in directly challenging the priest, fearing that to do so would suggest an attack on religion and would divide his many Catholic supporters who would then have to choose between their loyalty to a priest and to their president. What Roosevelt did to avert this problem was to have various spokespersons in his administration undertake replies to Coughlin's bitter attacks. Yet, on the occasion of a reply by one FDR aide, the resulting publicity accorded to the priest and his demand for a reply, merely offered him a grater platform for attack.

[29] Coughlin avoided any significant allusions to Jews in the first years of his national political career, although occasional use of Jewish names as examples of communist or capitalist leaders was in 1936 replaced by more direct criticism of 'atheistic Jews.' By 1938, Coughlin was reprinting *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in his newspaper and was frequently quoting directly from Nazi media sources, or for example, a speech of Joseph Goebbels describing the Jewish origins of Bolshevism.

[30] In his early years of broadcasting, Coughlin had written to Mussolini suggesting that he use some of the priests' economic ideas. Again in 1938 when the Italian fascist regime was criticized in the world media for following Nazi racial policies, Coughlin invited Mussolini to use the pages of *Social Justice*, the priests' weekly newspaper, to reply. The archives of the Italian regime indicate that the Detroit priest was seen as an unreliable and perhaps counterproductive partner in a 'Rome-Royal Oak' Michigan axis.

dyed their white robes ebony and formed a separate organization.[31] Little was heard about the group outside of the Detroit area where a series of lynchings and murders had fanned its reputation as a violent offshoot of the traditional Klan.[32] By 1935, newspapers in Michigan and elsewhere began to carry stories of members being disciplined by floggings and 'ritual slayings.' In May of 1936, a media sensation was created when it came to light that the *Black Legion* was an extensive organization having members in many states.

Structured in a strict, paramilitary form, and when its headquarters was raided, police uncovered a cache of weapons along with documents written by the commander-in-chief of the Legion which declared it to be "a guerrilla army designed to fight the Republican and Democratic parties." (Janowitz, 306, 1952). In ideology, the *Black Legion* was explicitly racist and anti-black, anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic. Testifying in connection of an investigation of its aims and structure, leaders told of their plans to poison the water supply of Detroit, blame this on 'Communist subversion' in order to provoke a counter-revolution. While consisting of a set of separate cells, the *Black Legion* established a front organization, the *Michigan Relief Association*, that provided welfare benefits, an informal employment agency, and a patronage mechanism for allotting public service jobs to its members. Although seen as having been financed by big business, in fact, the Legion intimated local firms and was generally used to intimidate those who hired blacks. Members of the Legion infiltrated both major political parties and a number of local police and county law enforcement units.

Following a 1939 investigation for fraud and extortion, the *Black Legion*'s structure effectively collapsed. While it had been as sociologist Morris Janowitz noted, 'the prototype ... of the agitators and organized intolerance-groups' of the 1930s, it was the *Black Legion*'s emphasis on terror which set it apart. The root of its existence was, of course, the traditional Klan, which had grown significantly during the 1920's in a response to fears of alien culture and the displace-

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[31] See Janowitz, (1952). While any estimates are difficult to establish with reliability, forty thousand is the figure alluded to by Janowitz. As with similar groups of the period, the membership was derived from persons in rural and small midwest communities that had experienced severe economic distress in the depression.

[32] According to Janowitz "in its formalities, rituals, and practices, it displayed many of the characteristics of European Fascist parties, with particular adaptations to American customs ... Officer held military titles equivalent to army ranks, and enforced fascist discipline ... Members were inducted ... at the point of a gun as a symbol that treachery to the organization would mean death ... " (1952, 306).

ment of the white, anglo-Saxon majority.[33] Yet, what the *Black Legion* brought to the nativist scene was a new dimension of agitation against the existing political and economic system itself, rather than merely a vigilante attempt to uphold it. Thus, the organization serves as a link then, between nativism and European models of fascist revolution.[34]

The Silver Shirts

With Hitler's accession to power, a number of quite fringe groups and, in two instances, charismatic figures with some gift for political mobilization emerged on the American scene and who seemed to embody the overlap between nativistic and populist themes and those of the Nazi Germany. One of the most enigmatic figures to arise in this period was William Dudley Pelley, whose organization, *The Silver Shirts*, became the prototype of American fascist groups. A former Hollywood screen-writer and self-styled mystic, Pelley turned to a career as a political publicist in 1930 after having written a book on the how to combat the Depression.[35] He claimed to have formed the *Silver Shirt Legion* on January 31, 1933, the very day Hitler was assuming the position of German Chancellor, and the use of the initials 'SS' was an intentional parallel to the Nazi

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[33] The Klan had enjoyed a remarkable revival from its post-civil war period and was a major political force in many southern and midwest states, including Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Hostile to labor unions, legionnaires blamed strikes and violence occuring in the Detroit auto plants upon communist conspiracies.

[34] Yet, the more general thesis put forth by Janowitz is that 'In general, American nativists have not been able to formulate clear conceptions as to the form that their political action should take ... The successful Fascist revolutions in Europe gave nativists not only a model for directing their hostility against the existing order, but also in varying degrees some self-consciousness and confidence in their goals ... The result was a new type of revolution, which emphasized obedience and which by its very nature was dedicated to war ... It was precisely these political overtones that distinguished the newer forms of nativism from the widespread ethnic intolerance found throughout the population.' (1952, 310-311).

[35] The son of an itinerant Methodist minister who later became a manufacturer of toilet paper, moved toward spiritualism, Pelley wrote a magazine article in 1929 about his "seven minutes in Eternity." He claimed this episode of dying in April of 1928 led to his being becoming a 'new man' who would now stay on earth until 1962. He then sought fame as a religious teacher. While at first identifying the 'anti-Christ' with Catholics, Pelley now shifted the focus to Jews; in 1934 he wrote that there was "but one issue in these United States ... that is the forcible removal of the Jew from office." (Schlesinger, 1960, 81). He claimed that Hollywood Jews had ruined his movie career and that Jewish magazine editors had turned down his writings. See Herzstein, (1989, 166).

elite guard.[36] A diminutive, goateed figure, Pelley designed a uniform for himself and his followers that closely resembled that of the German brown shirts.[37]

Pelley rapidly drew the attention of government officials concerned with Nazi influences to his organization, which numbered nearer 15.000, than its leader's claimed membership of two million.[38] One observer noted that:

> The quasi-military framework of the movement was its most notable characteristic ... On the community level a Department of Local Posts was organized to secure membership and arrange social events and meetings; a *Department of Silver Rangers* to supervise military instruction; and a *Department of Industrial Relations* to handle finances. Other sections included an *Office of Junior Affiliates* and the *Department of Foreign Affiliates*. (Smith, 1992, 58).

In Pelley's writings, which centered on a concept of a 'Christian Commonwealth,' the *Silver Shirt* leader:

> drew on ideas resembling those of Edward Bellamy in *Looking Backward*, positing a government based on a giant corporation entrusted with the task of replacing the profit motive with the tenets of Christianity. Farmers, under his system, because the privileged class, with poor whites and blacks consigned to be wards of the state. (Smith, 55)

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[36] The inspiration for this action was a vision he reported to have experienced regarding a change in the German regime. He was now called to form a parallel movement composed of the "flower of our Protestant Christian manhood." To avoid being labeled as a participant in a Nazi fifth column, Pelley argued that it was adroit to "let a spontaneous American movement be born here that has exactly similar principles and precepts to Hitler's; that shall be American in character and personnel; but that shall work shoulder-to-shoulder with German aims and purposes." (Smith, 1992, 60). According to Smith Pelley drew on ideas resembling those of Edward Bellamy in *Looking Backward*, positing a government based on a giant corporation entrusted with the task of replacing the profit motive with the tenets of Christianity. Farmers, under his system, because the privileged class, with poor whites and blacks consigned to be ward of the state.

[37] He also carried a whip and a cape slung over his left arm. Pelley's weekly publication, *Liberation*, attained a circulation of fifty thousands, but financial problems soon moved to a monthly with fifteen to twenty thousand subscribers. He also printed 'primers' focused on world Jewish conspiracy. Pelly claimed to be unfeasible in detecting Jewish genes and, when he suspected one applicant to his organization was Jewish, burned a lock of the individual's hair and studied its ash for such traces.

[38] Pelley later claimed he had twenty-five thousand card-carrying *Silver Shirt* members, and seventy-five thousand 'fellow travelers.'(See Herzstein, 1989, 165). In 1936, Pelley ran for President in the state of Washington and received 1598 votes. (Schonbach, 1985, 442).

In 1935, in his native North Carolina, Pelley was indicted and convicted of selling unregistered and fraudulent stocks. Following this episode, he seemed even more dedicated to the cause of a fascist-style political movement.

Because of their open incitement to violence, the *Silver Shirts* were targeted for undercover investigation. One informer had revealed that target practice and street-fighting tactics, provided within the organization, were provided by two Marine Corps members. Testifying while under federal subversive investigation, Pelley proffered that he favored the forcible removal of 'disloyal' public officials. Once the US was an active participant in war, Pelley and several associates were indicted under an espionage statute, charged with seeking to interfere with troop recruitment and fostering military insubordination.[39] An editorial in a local newspaper where Pelley had started his organization concluded that "We have seen the *Silver Shirt* movement for what it is. In laughing at it, we laugh at others who find it a menace to the Republic."

Defenders of the Christian Faith

A key figure among several influential evangelical ministers who joined the cause of what was seen as native fascism in the 1930s was Gerald B. Winrod, whose publication, *The Defender*, proved to be one of the most enduring tabloid newspapers offering a mixture of religious and political advise and opinion. Not going beyond elementary school grades, Winrod launched his magazine in 1926 following his creation of an organization to fight what he termed modernism in religion and, in January 1933, took up the source of that evil, 'Jewish Bolshevism.' Winrod's agenda became identified as blatantly anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic. Invited to tour Germany in 1934, he returned having been apparently profoundly altered by his experience.[40] With a circulation of perhaps 100.000 by 1935, *The Defender* became openly pro-Nazi. Just as Pelley had links to German propaganda agencies, Winrod's publication carried a continuous stream of news stories from the Nazi World Service agency. In January 1937, a news syndication office was established in Washington, DC.

By 1938, Winrod was prepared to directly enter politics. In a Republican primary bid for nomination, As a candidate for US Senator for the state of

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[39] As Federal investigators pressed their efforts to destroy his organization, members began to fall away. In testimony before government probers, he subsequently denied he had any intent to harm the American government.

[40] On his return, Winrod became more overtly political, although his religious focus was maintained as well. His secretary, when asked about his missionary work declared that 'the entire United States and Canada are his congregation.' (Schonbach, 1985, 321).

Kansas, Winrod, finished third in a fourperson race having managed to win more than 60.000 votes.[41] A special investigation of the clergyman's outlet of printed material derived from records of the German Foreign Office indicated that Winrod helped distribute over one million propaganda leaflets, and more than 2.5 million pamphlets and magazines, along with 135.091 books from Germany.[42] While no longer able to mount any political campaigns, Winrod soon ran afoul of sedition laws and became one of a number of individuals indicted in 1942 as part of a conspiracy to advance Nazism in American society. When the drawn-out proceedings were finally abandoned by the US government late in 1944, Winrod was faced with additional charges stemming from his use of the mails. He subsequently was tried and convicted, serving several years in prison.[43]

Groups with Direct Links to the Fascist Regimes in Europe

Beginning with Mussolini's accession to power in 1922 and continuing until the early 1930s, a number of organizations emerged in both the United States and Canada reflecting direct efforts by the Italian and German governments to influence public opinion and to offer a basis of ethnic and national identity among immigrants from these two nations, as well as others who might be

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[41] Winrod made the strongest bid of any native fascist who ran for high political office. Fearing a Winrod victory, the *Republican party* establishment, under the leadership of their former presidential nominee, Alf Landon, closed ranks thus avoiding having the 'Jayhawk Nazi' as their candidate. At a much later date, David Duke placed the *Republican party* in a similar quandary of accepting in their ranks a 'neo-Nazi.' After he won his seat in the state legislature of Louisiana, Duke ran for the governorship of the state in 1991. He was defeated, but captured a majority of the white vote.

[42] A congressional investigating committee examining Nazi propaganda, estimated that one in three American families was receiving such material, usually via native fascist organizations such as Winrod's. (See Schonbach, 1985, 323-325.)

[43] In his earlier publishing endeavors, Winrod had been fined and sentenced to jail for defrauding elderly widows. The most successful means for suppressing many extremist political groups was to prosecute their leaders for tax evasion or felonies involving misuse of organizational funds. Many of the native fascists were individuals whose lifestyle included 'confidence games,' that is, use of deceptive information or false investment organizations by which they collected funds for their own use or for political organization purposes often in violation of state and federal laws on misappropriation of charitable or religious monies. Often these practices were widespread, but selective enforcement made politically unpopular grous vulnerable to harrassment and even confiscation of property as a means of destroying their ability to function. Such techniques are employed at the present time against such groups as the Klan and Neo-Nazi organizations.

drawn ideologically to support such groups. These efforts involved two often contradictory tracks, the first being to provide a public relations function for a foreign power, and second to seek some basis for spreading the influence of its ideas (often with espionage being carried out even without the knowledge of its official diplomatic corps) via newly created local grassroots organizations.[44]

In the United States as early as 1921, two associations were created in the United States, *The Fascist Central Council* and the *Fascist League of North America*.[45] In July 1925, the former organization disbanded, with the League taking over its activities. 'Fasci' organizations were established in a number of states, complete with local publications and a federated structure to link such groups nationally. The *Lictor Federation*, established in 1930, became a successor organization and which aimed to somewhat distance American *fasci* from the Italian government. *The Sons of Italy*, a long-standing immigrant organization also became a critical transmission belt for the Italian government efforts to organize interest in and support for its foreign policy and ideological objectives.[46] Various other classical study and cultural organizations provided academic and business links between Mussolini's regime and Italian-Americans to a wider national public.[47]

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[44] The complex relations between various agencies of the Hitler and Mussolini regimes and native fascists is a subject of an extensive literature. See for example, Rogge, 1961; Salvemini, 1977; Diggins, 1972; Compton, (1967); Frye, 1967; Herzstein, 1989.

[45] The '*Consiglio Centrale Fascista* was established in 1923 to coordinate local 'fascio' across north America. All such local organizations which did not belong to the Council were deemed illegitimate by the Italian government, and were branded "ridiculous communist deceits." By the end of 1923, the *Fascist Central Council* was incorporated within the structure of the *Fascist League* (Salvemini, 1977, 15). Se also the chapter by Emilio Guntile in this volume.

[46] The Italian fascist regime did not carry the very strident condemnation which soon became the public perception of Hitler's Germany. In fact, a general positive climate of opinion tended to prevail until the invasion of Ethiopia in 1935. A hit song of the late 1920's even included the lyric "You're tops! Your Mussolini!" These were soon replaced with other words by the early 1930's. The first units of local fascist groups organized under the sponsorship of the Italian government were established within a few months of the March on Rome. In the case of the 'League,' its oath, which included the phrase 'serve with fidelity and discipline the Fascist idea of society,' suggested a potentially conflict with US citizenship loyalty.

[47] While these were often directly subsidized by the Italian government or were outgrowths of previous academic and business ties between Italians and Americans in colleges and universities business firms, the Mussolini regime used these and other new organizations under the guidance of an elaborate public relations contract held by an American advertising firm. In

While fascist groups appeared to pose to no serious subversive threat to US society, one organization became the very symbol of an alien subversion of American society: *The German-American Bund, Die Amerika Deutscher Volksbund*, the *German American Bund*. Originally established under the auspices of the *Nazi Party*, (*The Friends of New Germany*) evolved into a strident exponent of Nazism whose most flamboyant leader, Fritz Kuhn, brought the organization a notoriety which caused its influence to be greatly exaggerated.[48] Formed in Detroit in 1930, its predecessor, *Bund der Freude des Neuen Deutschland*, attracted membership from both US naturalized citizens of German descent and resident aliens.[49] Under directions from the Nazi regime, recruitment of the latter was discouraged and an effort was made to alter the image of the organization to conform to a highly patriotic expression of true Americanism.[50] By 1936, its

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some cases, a handful of academics or businessmen with strong ideological sympathies to the Italian regime were paid for lecture tours and quasi-espionage missions.

[48] On the development and history of *The Friends of New Germany*, Smith (1973); Frye (1967), Diamond, 1974; and Compton (1967). Kuhn, who had worked at Ford's huge Dearborn, Michigan auto complex assumed the leadership in 1935. Kuhn attended the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin and was photographed given Hitler a donation to the 'Winter Fund' on behalf of his groups. This high profile linkage to the Nazi regime provided numerous opportunities to see the Bund as a powerful, but subversive 'fifth column' in America.

[49] The first branch of *the Nazi party* was formed in the Bronx, New York City in 1922. Shortly thereafter recent immigrants working in the automobile factories of Detroit formed an organization called *Teutonia* which was soon renamed the *National Socialist Union*. A majority of the group's members were either resident German aliens or newly arrived immigrants recently made naturalized citizens. Kurt Ludecke, a friend of Hitler and an overseas proselytizer for *the Nazi party* tried to unite German-Americans in a single movement and to also seek funds from the *Ku Klux Klan* and Henry Ford for such purposes. He failed in his mission. (See Herzstein, 1989, 137). See also the chapter by Albrecht Hagemann in this volume.

[50] The German diplomatic mission to the United States had a quite ambivalent relationship to the Bund. When one ambassador was replaced by another in 1937, a greater effort was made to distance the German from its rather boisterous US lobby group. Khun, who had friends among the plethora of Nazi branches of government played one off against the other in his continuing drive to be seen as a legitimate force and rightful hey to the title of 'American fuhrer.'

symbolic swastika was replaced and, while both the US and Nazi flags were flown at the Bund's summer camps and meetings, the message was a distinct one of no official ties with the German government.[51]

From his tenure as president in 1937, Fritz Kuhn, whose appearance closely fitted the stereotype of a thick-necked, Prussian soldier - not to mention his distinct German accent - welded the Bund into a highly disciplined and flourishing national organization. By opening a series of youth and summer recreation camps near a number of urban centers, the Bund soon gained the reputation of indoctrinating its members in the preachings of anti-Semitism and advancing the program of Adolph Hitler. While the uniforms, marches and military rituals connected with its meetings made its links to Nazism highly visible, the German government worked assiduously to separate itself form this 'native American' entity. When Kuhn visited Germany in the midst of the 1936 Olympic games and was received by Hitler, this provided the American public with an indelible image linking he and his organization to an alien nation.

The Bund engaged in community action, including the efforts to boycott Jewish merchants and the distribution of literature lifted directly from the themes of Julius Streicher's *Der Sturmer*. Inevitably, clashes with protesters emerged, particularly in Manhattan and Brooklyn. Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia was accused of ignoring the danger of the Bund when Congressional 'subversive hunters' sought to undermine the organization by exposing its allegedly unpatriotic teachings and anti-democratic goals.[52] When, on February 22, 1939 in any effort to demonstrate its patriotism, the Bund held a large rally in Manhattan's Madison Square Garden arena of Manhattan in celebration of George Washington's birthday, a near riot broke out when a Jewish member of the audience attempted to climb on the stage from which speakers were delivering their remarks. Caught

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[51] As governmental investigations followed in the wage of public opinion demands that something should be done about the Bund, the German government offered its assurances and took definitive action to discourage non-US citizen from membership in the group. Despite its genuine efforts, the perception that the Bund was a subversive Nazi organization only increased as World War II moved closer.

[52] In September 1939, LaGuardia established an anti-subversive squad in the police department, which itself had been accused of harboring a number of Bund activists. For a discussion of LaGuardia's effort to challenge the Bund - which was most active and visible in New York City - see Bayor (1978) and Schonbach (1985).

dramatically by *Life magazine* photographers, the attack on this lone protestor by several uniformed guards of the Bund offered a graphic demonstration of storm trooper methods coming to America.[53]

Although never found to be in violation of any espionage or other political violations, Congressional inquiries into the *German American Bund* led to the embarrassing conviction of its leader for embezzlement of organization funds. FBI figures placed the maximum size of the active members of the group at 8000, others claimed the figure was much larger.[54] In any event, once the US entered the war, the Bund was outlawed and several of its leaders were placed on trial for sedition.[55] Noisy, but innocuous would appear to be the verdict of several historians of the era of the Bund's activity.[56]

The Christian Front and Christian Mobilizers

While New York offered a venue in which serious interethnic tensions between Italians, Jews, Irish and German communities often competed with each other for upward mobility and political power, the rise of Nazism offered a further stimulus to violent clashes, some involving the Bund and still others arising for other groups. Two of these, the *Christian Front* and the *Christian Mobilizers* provided in America's largest urban area a spectre of street demonstrations and assaults on citizens which seemed to be a veritable replay of Berlin and Nazi Germany. Each of these groups were headed by competent and talented leaders; they were in one instance a law student and in the other a modestly successful inventor. The *Christian Mobilizers*' Joe McWilliams, for example, had at first

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[53] The incident of the Madison Square Garden rally was noteworthy as well for the spontaneous cheers which arose when Fritz Kuhn, in a speech to the loyal followers, mentioned the name of Father Coughlin.

[54] Samuel Dickstein provided a highly exaggerated estimate that Kuhn commanded an organization of 200.000 members. See Smith (1973).

[55] Constantly harassed and investigated, Kuhn was initially indicted for fraud and misappropriation of organizational funds. Several key leaders had been indicted in 1940 for violating a New York State law against 'race hatred.' A small number of Bund members were eventually convicted of espionage. Kuhn was stripped of his US citizenship and deported to Germany.

[56] For Hertzstein(1989) and Smith (1992) the impact of the Bund was to closely identify any isolationist attitude with pro-Nazism. It is precisely in this way that the argument is presented that the Roosevelt administration exaggerated the danger of the Bund and welcomed its blatant support for the Third Reich.

dabbled in leftist politics and then had become involved with an organization inspired by the teachings and implicit sponsorship of Father Charles Coughlin.[57]

For its part, the *Christian Front* was founded in the summer of 1938, and met for the first time at the behest of several priests and close confidants to the Detroit radio orator.[58] Having continued broadcasting after a several-week hiatus following the poor electoral showing of the *Union Party* in 1936, Coughlin had, by early 1938, identified himself very openly with the full range of anti-Semitic literature, including the serial publication in his weekly national newspaper, *Social Justice*, and his own version of the *Protocols of the Elder of Zion*.[59] As the 'Radio priest' increasingly offered if not overt praise, then suggestions that Hitler was a critical "defense mechanism against Communism,"

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[57] For the most part, both the *Front* and *Mobilizers* maintained a common is their focus on Jewish economic and political control. Both groups organized boycotts and picketed Jewish-owned stores in New York City, with the latter group most likely to foment violence in the process. See Bayor, (1978). Schonbach (1985) describes the *Christian Mobilizers* as "a group of terrorists; they used a chaotic political situation as a springboard to riots and beatings." In one six-month period, the organization accounted for 328 arrests summons, with 112 convictions. (329-330). The *Mobilizers* broke with Coughlin's *Christian Front* over the question of ties with the *German-American Bund*, with the former group avowing its links and the latter eschewing links with an organization defined as Un-American. McWilliams ran for Congress in 1940 in the heavily German ethnic enclave of Yorkville, garnering only 674 votes. During his campaign, he described how he would act if he became a 'native fuehrer': Td run this country like a factory. I would appoint all the key men, and have absolute control. There will be no opinion but the American Destiny Party opinion. This nonsense about Democracy and equality is through when I'm in power.' (Carlson, 1943, 76).

[58] The first meeting was held in a Catholic church in the heart of Manhattan. Reports sent back to Coughlin's bishop told of the anti-Semitic line taken by its founding members, including one city administrator. The recruitment of those having a bitter hostility toward the Church hierarchy was a particularly troubling dimension of the newly forming the organization.

[59] Coughlin's embracing of the cause of Nazism seemed to many to suggest that he was motivated by a desire to ride on the wave of anti-Semitism which appeared to be at its height in the United States in the late 1930's. Several critics suggested that this was a desperate effort which reflected his declining popularity. See Marcus, 1973, Brinkley, 1982. The focus on clearly Nazi propaganda themes from 1938 until he ended his broadcasting career in the spring of 1940 and subsequently, with heavy pressure from his bishop (with information supplied by US government agencies) he terminated his publication *Social Justice* in May of 1942. He was never tried for sedition as were a number of 'native fascists,' although the threat of such litigation was a prime reason that he agreed to withdraw from political organizing. There is also evidence from interviews of the author that he had been aided by German government funds.

Coughlin was reprinting articles drawn from Joseph Goebbels' speeches and calling for a 'Christian Front,' to oppose Communist subversion in America - a term originally used by Spain's Franco as the European bulwark against the left's Popular Front.

Utilizing the same organizational principles as his earlier entity, the *National Union For Social Justice*, Coughlin called for the establishment of local neighbourhood units which, in the case of the *Christian Front*, were to be 'organized into platoons of 25' to prepare to battle in the event of an attempted Communist coup. After several months of assembling the *Christian Front*, Coughlin dramatically announced in the summer of 1939 that it should 'stand ready' at his call to go into action. During this period of time, the FBI infiltrated one of the local Front clubs in Brooklyn. With the help of an key informant, J. Edgar Hoover dramatically announced in early January of 1940 that 23 men had been arrested for conspiring to overthrow the US government.[60] When Coughlin was first contacted about the coup plot, he disavowed its authors, claiming they did not belong to any organization he supported. When the subsequent jury trial failed to convict the defendants, despite evidence of planning to assassinate government officials and to foster a Left-wing reaction that then could be countered in force, Coughlin once again asserted that the men on trial were upright members of the community and he stood by them in their 'persecution.'[61]

The *Christian Front* and its supporters provided a virtual on-going street-war in New York between 1939 and the first months of US entry into World War II. The New York City police, some of whom were themselves members of the Coughlin organization, saw massive picketing of Jewish businesses, street assaults on Jews, clashes between distributors of Father Coughlin newspaper and individuals who were angered by its contents. When the *Christian Front* experienced an internal split in its ranks - with one group becoming the *Chri-*

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[60] The action by Hoover was meant to be a major public relations coup and did receive extensive front-page media coverage. The cache of arms recovered and the lack of effectiveness of the plotters made the entire appear a bit comical. The ludicrous nature of the plot, which focused on fomenting a counter-revolution by attacking Jewish stores and government offices as a means to stir a Communist response, became a major theme developed by the attorney defending the *Brooklyn Boys*.

[61] The evidence provided by a key informer placed in the Brooklyn *Christian Front* chapter proved to be a somewhat unsavory character, although his testimony was never refuted. The jury deliberately for several days and finally reached a verdict that ultimately freed all but one defendant, a member of the New York national guard who alleged helped steal arms for the 'plot.' While it was never revealed or made the basis of a re-trial, the forewoman of the jury was a relative of the major figure in the plot, a young attorney named John Cassidy.

stian Mobilizers - its effectiveness was undermined. Yet, with the climate of violence so pronounced between Irish Catholic and Jewish citizens, Mayor LaGuardia, using the war situation as his rationale, clamped down of even peaceful large-scale demonstrations Outbreaks of gang violence by Irish youth against Jews in Boston, New York and other cities where the *Christian Front* had been active continued throughout World War II.

Survey data from 1938 and 1939 indicate that, despite his reputation for pro-Nazi leanings, Father Coughlin commanded a radio audience of 15.000.000 persons, a majority of whom indicated that they agreed with his views.[62] While Father Coughlin was unable to assemble enough radio sponsors to continue his weekly broadcasts beyond the spring of 1940, his *Social Justice* publication with its estimated circulation of 200.000, remained a critical basis of the radio priest's national influence.[63] After the US actively entered the war in December of 1941, the publication denounced Roosevelt Administration's aid to Britain and continued to reflect many of the themes broadcast and printed by Nazi propaganda agencies.[64] Irritated by its defeatist tone, FDR sought a way to curb Coughlin and conferred with the Bishop of the Detroit archdiocese about the priest's ties to Germany which FBI, Justice and State departments had each been

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[62] The *Christian Front* was formed at a time of rising unemployment (in 1938, it jumped from 14.3 per cent the year prior to 19 per cent), with two surveys conducted that year - April and December showing that Father Coughlin was still able to draw a large radio audience many of whom indicated they supported his ideas. In Lipset (1970) the demographic patterns reflect a growing base among those on public assistance and among blue collar workers. Those recruited to the *Christian Front* after its formation in the summer of 1938 clearly reflected this mobilization base.

[63] Coughlin had first developed the weekly publication in the Spring of 1936 and its maximum circulation may have reached as high as 800.000 (an estimate given by the priest in 1938), but more likely peaked at approximately 400.000 and thereafter declining until publication was seized in May of 1942 after a post office order denied it the second-class mailing privilege. Generally, *Social Justice* was distributed by young parishioners outside of Catholic churches and on newsstands in the downtown areas of Chicago, Detroit, Boston, Philadelphia and New York. Often passed from hand to hand, the 'reach' was substantially larger than the circulation figures suggest.

[64] A series of headlines such as 'US Invades Ireland!' offered the line of criticism pressed by Coughlin's publication. Often ghostwritten by the priest himself or a close circle of the publisher and his family, the defeatist tone once the US was formally at war raised a cry of protest from the public and from Roosevelt administration supporters.

probing.[65] Though no charges were ever brought, Coughlin agreed to withdrawn his newspaper from the mails and, under pressure from his Bishop and the threat of some form of government prosecution, signed an agreement which prohibited him from any role in political organizing or editorial publishing. From May of 1942 until his death in 1979, Coughlin remained an adamant foe of US entry into World War II, while denying that he was ever aligned with Nazism or anti-Semitism.[66]

The Committee of One Million

With the silencing of Charles Coughlin, the era of so-called 'native fascist' leaders seemed at an end. Yet, there was one individual whose career spanned the period of Huey Long's ascendancy, the *Union Party* campaign of 1936, and the close of World War II. The figure labeled by one historian "the most infamous American fascist," (Blum, 1976, 205) was Gerald Lyman Kenneth Smith, popular known as Gerald L.K. Smith.[67] Having served as pastor of his own church first in Louisiana and later in Minnesota, Smith first entered national politics as an aid to Huey Long. He delivered the eulogy at his funeral and inherited the leadership of the Share the Wealth movement. In 1936, Smith

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[65] There is evidence from the calendar of FDR that he held a secret meeting with Coughlin's bishop, Edward J. Mooney, in the fall of 1941. Apparently information about the priests' ties to German officials and his use of Nazi materials was the subject of the meeting, with the President essentially allowing Mooney to take action prior to US government prosecution. FDR pressed his Attorney General, Francis Biddle to 'do something' about the various publications which offered the flavor of seditiousness. Reluctant to violate civil liberties, Biddle eventually found strategies to pressure Coughlin, including subpoenaing his two parents who were listed as officers of the Social Justice Publishing Company.

[66] See *Marcus*, 1973, *Brinkley*, 1982. In one interview conducted nine years before his death in 1979, Coughlin implied that he pleaded with FDR to avoid bringing the US into war at a meeting in the fall of 1936. "I told it would be the ruin of the Jews", he quoted himself as saying.

[67] The major academic biography of Smith is that of historian Glen Jeansonne, 1988. A second analysis of 'The Christian Right' is the work of historian Leo Ribuffo, 1983. For additional discussion of Smith, see Geoffrey Smith, 1992; Herzstein, 1989.

joined in a third-party coalition with Father Coughlin and the Old age pension advocate Dr. Francis E. Townsend. This triumvirate was less than effective, with each leader jealously protecting its constituency.[68]

Heading to New York city following the 1936 defeat of the *Union Party*, Smith set his energies on the creation of a mass political organization to 'save America.' The anti-Communist and anti-New Deal movement was renamed the *Committee of One Million*. While membership was meant to be-secret, the names of several key backers from big business were soon revealed. When, by virtue of his being compared in demagogic style to Hitler and Mussolini, Smith was depicted in a newsreel as part of the 'Lunatic Fringe,' his new venture was temporarily undermined. Turning to support from Henry Ford (nurtured by a close aide of the auto tycoon with strong sympathies to Nazi Germany), Smith sought elective office and ran for the US Senate in Michigan in 1942. Defeated in the Republican primary by a two to one margin, he nevertheless attained a respectable showing by winning 109.000 votes.[69]

Embittered by yet another electoral defeat, Smith then focused upon the distribution of a tabloid magazine, *The Cross and the Flag*. With the subscription list from Coughlin's then-banned *Social Justice*, he now became a virtual one-man political lobbyist and religious crusader. For the next three decades his inveterate activities would identify him as a vitriolic anti-Semite and racist. While continuing to focus on the theme of anti-Communism, Smith found himself an outcast even among extreme rightist organizations such as the *John Birch Society*. His strong support for Senator Joseph McCarthy's subversive

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[68] The Smith-Coughlin relationship during the 1936 *Union Party* campaign was one of mutual distrust and competition. The priest considered Smith to be a 'dangerous demagogue' and in later years tried to distance himself as much as possible from the bible-thumping fellow-agitator. Coughlin's association with Smith damaged his support among those who saw the priest as a voice of reason compared to the fanatical Smith. See Jeansonne, 1988. When Coughlin withdrew from radio broadcasting and was forced as well to end his publication, *Social Justice*, Smith obtained the subscription list and utilized for his own *The Cross and the Flag* which was published from the 1940's to the 1970's.

[69] While Henry Ford had subsidized Smith for a short period in the late 1930's, the industrialist severed ties with him and was not a financial backer for the Michigan electoral campaign of 1942. The link to Ford had originally been forged via the pro-Nazi secretary to Ford, Ernest Liebold, who also had worked with Father Coughlin and provided an intermediary link to the billionaire. Smith claimed that Charles Lindbergh, then working on defense contracts at the Ford Motor Company, also had contributed to the Senate race. The aviator denied this. Afterward, in the Republican primary, Smith ran as a 'write-in' candidate in the final election and polled 32.000 votes compared to over 1 million for the two major party candidates. See Jeansonne, 1988, 79.

hunting efforts went unrewarded and his status as a political pariah remained with him until his death in 1976.[70] Smith's last years were marked by attacks on US membership in the United Nations and the theme of Holocaust denial which has become the hallmark of neo-fascist and Neo-Nazi movements in the last decades of the twentieth century.

Depression Era Authoritarian Movements in Canada

With quite close economic and cultural ties to its dominant southern neighbor, Canada often produced parallel social movements, some of which were openly identified with European fascism and still others which reflected nativist and populist themes. Despite clear 'independent' invention of organizations displaying various fascist attributes, those events which shaped US organizations also determined the form and destiny of Canadian groups. The most significant of these, the *Social Credit Movement*, centered in the province of Manitoba (but later finding a heaven within the politics of Quebec), offered an situation never to be found among the various Depression-era movements of the United States: the assumption of an authoritarian movement to political power.

A government elected on the *Social Credit* platform, led by a secondary school teacher and lay preacher, William Aberhart, ruled the province of Alberta between 1935 and 1940. Taking on the role of a religious prophet, Aberhart shaped his economic program around a doctrine formulated in the 1920's by a mechanical engineer from Scotland, Major Clifford Hugh Douglas. Known as *Douglasites*, small study groups in several countries embraced the retired military officer's focal theory explaining the defects of the economy: its control by a small clique of banking and financial insiders who manipulated the currency and monetary dynamics of capitalist society to their own advantage. Viewed as a virtual conspiracy, Douglas placed heavy emphasis on the allayed fact that Jews served as the core for the corrupt and expletive system which characterized contemporary economic life.[71] While Douglas' ideas were taken up by several

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[70] Smith's anti-Semitism, which by the 1950's was relegating him to the fringes of US society, served as the major barrier to being a visible figure in the anti-Communist movement of the era. Another barrier to Smith's acceptance as a key player was that perception of his being anti-Catholic and having some staff members who had been active in the *Ku Klux Klan*, despite an earlier relationship with Father Coughlin.

[71] For a comprehensive study of Aberhart's career, see David R. Elliot and Iris Miller, *Bible Bill: A Biography of William Aberhart*, (Edmonton: Reidmore, 1987). Dougals was a civil engineer whose doctrines were formulated in the 1920's and whose key ideas are found in his book, *Social Credit*, London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1924, 1933). The primary study of the

prominent intellectuals and a few political figures, he did not see his plan for correcting the ills of economic life take hold in practical fashion beyond the British dominion of Canada.

In essence, *Social Credit* was based on Major Douglas' so-called "A plus B theorem" in which the first term is the flow of consumer purchasing power - wages, salaries, and dividends - and the second equals bank charges, taxes, and the cost of raw materials. Douglas argued that the financial elite insured a discrepancy between the former and latter, thus creating "poverty in the midst of plenty."[72] Three essential reforms were proposed: that control over the monetary system be retired to the masses, that a 'national dividend' based on a nation's real wealth be paid to each citizen, and that a 'just price' for all goods be established. Sovereignty to citizens was to be restored by organizing a *Union of Electors* that would directly advise elected parliamentary officials regarding policy actions that were needed.[73]

By the middle 1920's, William Aberhart had attracted an enthusiastic personal following in Canada's Alberta province, which according to contemporary accounts, represented a major evangelical movement of Bible prophesy. His publications and sermons generated so much interest that a series of study clubs were formed around his leadership and the opening of a Bible Institute where he served as Dean. His use of radio was a major innovation; he was credited with his having a mass audience estimated at 350.000 among the 1.2 million population of Canada's three western provinces.[74]

Social Credit movement is that of Irving, 1959. A comprehensive analysis of the political history and social bases of the Alberta *Social Credit Party* is that of *Finkel*, 1989.

[72] Douglas, of course, was believers in the Czarist forgery, *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. He claimed to only use this source for illustrative purposes rather than as a genuine document. By the 1940's, Douglas enlarged the conspiracy theory of Jews and financiers to include Nazis, Communists, and socialists. (See *Finkel*, 1989: 82). Aberhart did not at first place the conspiracy notion of economic problems at the center of his political agenda, thus causing some rift between himself and Douglas.

[73] As a political theory, *Social Credit* stressed individual economic rights as the basis of political rights. Any representative elective body was seen to be prone to manipulation by financial (ie. Jewish) interests. To avoid this defect, a distinction was made between 'constitutional' versus 'functional' democracy. To achieve this kind of change, existing parties had to be replaced with a single party committed to the principles of *Social Credit*.

[74] Aberhart had developed an extensive array of publications and his bi-monthly magazine, *Prophetic Voice*, established in 1924, became a major vehicle for disseminating his ideas. In 1928, a new high school was completed based on the funds raised by the Principle who would

With the coming of severe hardship to his province, Aberhart then began to introduce economic themes into his previously purely religiously-oriented broadcasting, and subsequently, focused specifically on the advocacy of *Social Credit* reforms. In 1932, he formed the first of many 'study groups' where speakers promoted the ideas of Major Douglas. A *New Aye Club* founded by a businessman provided new impetus to Aberhart's efforts and represented a bridge to secular interest in the *Social Credit* movement. By 1934, some 1500 study groups existed in a coalition with a major political group, the *United Farmer*'s of Alberta. Thus having established links with the business community and the rural groups of his province, Aberhart now shifted from a largely educational movement to one with the explicit goal of achieving political power.

The Alberta *Social Credit* movement established its own daily newspaper and a weekly radio program entitled "Man From Mars." Early in 1935, Aberhart journeyed to Father Coughlin's *Shrine of the Little Flower* in Michigan. Their meeting may have helped convince the Canadian leader to shift his own direction from advocacy to direct electoral politics.[75] With followers mobilized throughout the province, Aberhart launched a successful assault on the reigns of government. On election night, August 22, 1935, it was announced that 89 per cent of the members of the new legislature were *Social Credit* supporters; 54 percent of the voters had chosen Aberhart for Premier. Headlines in New York and London confirmed a slogan of the of this Canadian movement: "The Eyes of the World are on Alberta."

Despite its zeal for radical change, once in office, the Aberhart premiership of Alberta introduced little, if any, change in the existing provincial economic

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become Premier of the Alberta province a few years later. 'Colleagues, students, and the general public were dazzled by Aberhart's capacity as an organizer.' (*Irving*, 1959, 29).

[75] Even more likely, the influence may have flowed in the other direction. Clearly, however, there are a number of parallels between the careers of Charles Coughlin and William Aberhart. Both began broadcasting on radio - the latter was first, comcommencing use of the this new medium in November of 1925; the former in October of the following year; each began raising fund from their listening audience on a voluntary basis with a 'radio club.' Of course, this might simply be a case of 'independent invention;' although Coughlin (along with Oswald Mosley) contributed articles to Aberhart's publication, with no public record of their having met until Aberhart was elected as premier of Alberta in 1935. Soon after this encounter, Coughlin announced the formation of the *National Union for Social Justice*, and, in the following year, entered national politics. What influence Aberhart had in all of these developments can only be speculated upon, since no definitive information or record of correspondence has come to light.

and social policies.[76] The major outcome of five years of rule was the establishment of a *Social Credit* Board, where disciples of Major Douglas sought to draw up legislation whose overall impact according to one historian, "was to obliterate the democratic and radical aspects of the early *Social Credit* movement in favour of creating an authoritarian party and government." (Finkel, 1989, 60) From its inception, the movement was the personal creation and reflection of its leader, Aberhart, whose sincerity concerning economic change was open to question.[77] His leadership maintained a firmly messianic character, which for many of his supporters more of a spiritual than a political focus. In contrast to Father Coughlin, whom he most closely resembles, Aberhart's ability to successfully enter direct political organization was a result of his complex leadership skills.[78]

Despite its initial populist orientation, Aberhart's *Social Credit* administration increasingly lost credibility with average citizens who, in response to the indifference of its leadership, it was dealt a severe political defeat in 1940. The left-leaning components of the coalition lost faith in Aberhart as he seemed increasingly to move toward some form of conservative and free-enterprise economic agenda.[79] In the last years of his life (he died in 1943) Aberhart sought a national constituency. Moreover, *Social Credit* in Canada had gleaned modi-

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[76] This rather puzzling (and to many faithful followers rather disappointing) development meant that little of the original 'grassroots radicalism' or populism was reflected in the actions of the charismatic leader of the now successful movement. It also suggests how difficult it is for any such movement to shift from campaigning to holding the reigns of power. Moreover, it indicates how the institutionalization of a populist protest movement can be more effective if it does not take positions of governance, but instead, maintains determined pressure on the 'establishment' parties and their leaders.

[77] In October of 1937, after eighteen-months in office, in order to censor criticism of his administration, Aberhart proposed legislation that would have required all newspapers in the Province of Alberta to "print any statement furnished by the Chairman (of the *Social Credit* Board) which has for its object the correction or amplification of any statements relating to any policy activity of the Government ... published by that newspaper within the next preceding thirty-one days." (Finkel, 1987, 62).

[78] Yet both were flawed in the leadership role by a degree of authoritarian personality style which significantly undermined their effectiveness in delegation actions to others or in formulating clear or consistent policy goals.

[79] Aberhart's refusal to response to a growing rank and file anger over his government's handling of social and unemployment payments led to major defections of members between 1937 and 1940.

cum of success. Seventeen *Social Credit* supporters were elected to the federal parliament in 1944, and the provinces of Saskatchewan, British and Columbia and Quebec, each having formed separate Social Credit parties. In Quebec, in 1936, an organization was founded (*La Ligue du Credit Social de la Province de Quebec*) which achieved little pre-war, but then some significant postwar success.[80]

While the ideas Major Douglas (particularly those emphasizing a Jewish conspiracy of world domination) were a base for *Social Credit* political activism in Canada, that shared ideological heritage did not provide a basis of linkage to a variety of 'shirt' fascist and blatantly pro-Nazi and Italian fascist organizations that also emerged in the 1930s across that northern nation.[81] There were attempts by leaders of these latter groups such as the *National Socialist Christian Party* and the *Canadian Union of Fascists* - to explore alliances with William Aberhart's movement. When an organizer for this latter party made overtures to *Social Credit*, he found that it was watering down the corporate state basis of fascism, and that 'Abie [Aberhart] is too full of the milk of human kindness to catch the nearest way,' that is, to eschew revolution for parliamentary reform. (Betcherman, 1975, 80-81). Adrien Arcand, leader of a blatantly Nazi-emulating organization, saw in *Social Credit* an effort to destroy private property. (Ibid, 43).

Of the various 'shirt-' and related fascist-oriented organizations to appear in depression-era Canada, the most prominent and perhaps most disturbing (particular to Canada's Jewish community) Arcand's Quebec-based movement. An editor and publicist, following the March 1932 electoral gains of Hitler, he had written in his weekly publication, *Le Miroir*, that, "for the first time in modern history a government will officially ostracize the Jews, crush their power, and sound the rallying call of the Christian political front in the world." (Ibid., 20). Writing about French-Canadian anti-Semitism during World War II, sociologist E.C. Hughes saw Jews serving as the surrogate Englishman, since English Cana-

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[80] For an analysis of the Quebec *Social Credit Party*, see Pinard, 1971, and Betcherman, 1975. The party enjoyed some significant electoral success beginning in the early 1940's. This development persisted into the 1960's, but a significant erosion of its influence emerged thereafter. Quebec 'Separatism' of later years was closely linked to the political base of *Social Credit* activists.

[81] There was certainly a strong cultural if not political influence wielded by US organizations on Canadian. A *Ku Klux Klan* was active across the border, with some efforts among several of the fascist organizations to bridge both nations. For example, see especially the work of Robin, 1992; Pinard, 1971; also, S.M. Lipset, *Agrarian Socialism*, Berkeley, 1950).

dians were too powerful to attack, Jews could "without fear of either retaliation or of a bad conscience." (Hughes, 1943, 217). Arcand's *National Socialist Christian Party* was established in 1934, and followed the lines of a corporatist economic program which saw Canada as still part of the British empire, but ruled by a 'Grand Conseil National.' *Le Chef du Parti* was designated a supreme authority, below him the chief of the *Grand Conseil.* Uniforms reflected a Canadian variant of fascist attire which also included the swastika.[82]

Entering the mayoralty election in Montreal in April of 1934, the *NSCP* supported a candidate who was a member of an organization, the *Native Sons of Canada*, that shared the super-nationalist if not the anti-Semitic and authoritarian views of Arcand. Over twelve thousand votes out a total of one hundred-ten thousand provided an 'immense moral victory.' Arcand had extensive contacts with US native fascist and, in 1937, travelled to New York to join in a celebration and private addresses to like-minded Americans.[83] Predicting a surge of support for the 1938 parliamentary elections, Arcand organized the first of a series of annual 'Assemblees Publique Fascistes,' which was attended by 3 500 persons.[84] One national newsmagazine described Arcand, 'the would-be Cana-

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[82] With Hitler's ascendancy to power in 1933, a number of 'Swastika Clubs' were formed both in Quebec and Ontario provinces. Arcand's Canadianized fascism had been outlined in a series of newspaper and journal articles and were summarized in a pamphlet reprinted following a major public address in November of 1933. At its core, Arcand charged that liberally democracy was a device invented by Jews and Masons to undermine Christianity, nationalism, property rights and capitalism. (See Robin, 1992, 144). Like Mosley, Arcand devised a unique fascist uniform, developed both active and associate organizational memberships and utilized acquisition of a specially designed uniform as a reward for recruits. It consisted of a blue shirt without tie, with sleeves decorated with badges and armbands, with a large red swastika, a symbol of the white race engaged "dans son effort mondial pour se degager de la domination economique et politique des Juifs." While Arcand asserted his 'moral' solidarity with Hitler, he used Canadian national symbols such as the maple leaf and the furry beaver to stress that his organization was completely loyal to Canada and to the British Empire. From the early 1930's, Arcand was in close touch with the Hitler regime through intermediaries, and was recruited to party membership by Kurt Ludecke. (See Betcherman, 1975, 30).

[83] On this visit, Arcand was a guest speaker at the meeting of the *German-American Bund* in New York. (See Carlson, 1943, 33). At this same meeting were fascist figures such as British ideologue Henry H. Beamish and the leader of the *US Silver Shirt* leader Pelley. There was a great deal of discussion about establishing US-Canadian fascist links. See Betcherman, 1975, 97, Robin, 1992, 155.

[84] According to Robin, t1992: 165) The agenda and procedures at public meetings were tightly controlled, and attendants were treated to a lively show ... Prayer in French and Eng-

dian Fuehrer' as a "tall, good-looking ... slim, clean-shaven young man resembling Britain's Oswald Mosley but acting like Hitler ... a fanatic but no fool ... a passionate fighter."[85] As domestic hostility against his group grew, Arcand experienced the defection of several key movement leaders. The paramilitary character of the Arcand group and other authoritarian attributes prompted legislation late in 1938 to ban fascist-appearing uniforms.[86] Withdrawing from any effort to sustain a national presence, Arcand hoped to support the new Conservative government of Quebec province, but was repudiated by its leader, who referred to the fascist leader as 'my enemy.'[87]

Formed as a branch of Sir Oswald Mosley's *British Union of Fascists*, the *Canadian Union* (at first using the word, Imperial) of Fascists emerged in Winnipeg, the capital of the western province of Manitoba, in 1934. Parallel with its model in Britain, the *CUF* held large-scale public meetings which drew hecklers and led to pitched battles between supporters and opponents. In middle 1930s, a variety of maneuvering between offshoots of Arcand's Blue shirts and the 'Blackshirts' of the *CUF* reflected bitter personal disputes and schisms within the fascist movements in Canada. The attractions of CUF to middle class professional, business and academic sectors of the highly urbanized province of Ontario gave the organization an air of respectability which other groups

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lish, the Fascist salute ... The meetings closed with ... a quarted of hails: 'Vive Le Roi! Vive Le Canada!, Vive La Parti!, Vive Arcand!"

[85] Robin (1992: 157) describes Arcand having dark eyes 'which blazed and popped during oratorical excitement ... and a 'military walk' ... a glib and fluent speaker, capable of inspiring their converted, and convertible. 'In mass meetings I speak like the man in the streets speaks and thinks,' ... boasted to a *Life* reporter 'nor so 'educated' like other politicians who do not know a thing of the language of simple people.'

[86] Arcand remained in supreme control of the leadership of his party throughout its duration. While exact figures are not available, a corps of troops in uniform drilled and in uniform numbered approximately two-thousand. (Robin, 1992, 162). The 'blue boys' surrounded the leader and kept order at all public meetings, with a special director of *Legions* who led his men and women in brisk training sessions involving jujitsu, military drills, and marching.

[87] This was the statement of the newly elected Premier of Quebec. Members of the *Conservative party* leadership sought a form of coalition with Arcand in the early 1930's when their own party fortunes in Quebec were at a low ebb. Arcand had been working as a publicist with local party leaders. (See *Betcherman*, 1975). When, in 1938, Arcand established a new political party under the title of the *National Unity Party* which replaced the symbol of the swastika with a red torch. The slogan of the campaign was "Canada for the Canadians." Conservative Premier Maurice Duplessis had at first given tacit support for a coalition with Arcand's party, but by the fall backed away from this initiative. (See Robin, 1992, 140-144).

lacked.[88] The movement program called for press censorship, nationalization of resources, abolition of provincial administration, and the establishment of corporate state. Referring to all liberals and leftists as 'the scum front,' its staple theme was 'international Jewish finance.'

With Canada's declaration of war on Germany and Italy on 10 September, 1939, a government order banned all public meetings of Arcand's group and that of similar organizations such as the *CUF*.[89] News that Oswald Mosley and his aides had been interned in Britain triggered similar Canadian governmental action. Within three weeks, eleven persons were brought to trial in Montreal, with the result that a total suppression of the fascist groups was implemented.[90] But events prior to the summer of 1939 had condemned them in the public's eye as treasonous, rather than super-patriotic.

III. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR MOVEMENT COMPARISON

Rather than attempting any definitive classification of the various organizations discussed, it is the author's intention at this point to utilize a schema for considering the degree to which each example manifests characteristics linked to fascism. By carrying out this exercise, the aim is to provide a basis for discerning the most common elements amongst the array described in the previous section of this chapter, and to also differentiate between organizations that have

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[88] The inaugural meeting of the *British Empire Union of Fascists* drew two-hundred persons, described as "a collection of perfectly good family men" searching for a panacea to take Canada out of the depression. (Betcherman, 1975, 76). A key aspect of the organization's program of 'corporatism,' with many individuals also being attracted to the movement because of their Italian origins. While Arcand had established links with a number of fascist organizations which were subsidized by the Mussolini government, it was in the Ethiopian campaign of 1935-36 that members were drawn largely to various of the 'shirt' movements. The *CUF* never attained the success of Arcand's organization and the bitter rivalry between the two organizations was the major focus throughout the 1930's.

[89] In late 1937, a Canadian federal government investigation of Nazi and fascist 'blocs' was instituted, with the Jewish community also issuing reports and warning of the dangers of such organizations. It was not until the summer of 1938 that the publicity accorded fascist and Nazi groups in the mass media brought demands for their suppression.

[90] The Canadian government concluded that a conspiracy existed against the state and ordered the internment of persons alleged to be participants. Those arrested, including Arcand, remained in prison until the end of World War II. In 1949, Arcand attempted a political comeback by running for parliament. Until his death in 1967 he maintained his pamphleteering against Jews and Communism.

been seen as quite similar when, in fact, they display a number of differentiating traits. Furthermore, since the comparative analysis is meant to be somewhat comprehensive, it will be possible to comment on the question of 'innovation' versus 'parallelism' noted by Ugelvik Larsen in his conceptual discussion for this volume.

Old World and New World: How distinct?

What do we learn about fascism from the American and Canadian experience with such movements? What, if any, are the unique manifestations and sources for fascist movements in Canada and the US? Clearly, the abject failure and quite marginal role assigned to such political phenomena suggest how disparate were the experiences on the two sides of the Atlantic: in one instance, the massive breakdown of the social order and multi-party politics, while, in the other, co-optation or rejection of radical and chaotic influences from the extreme right. Distinctions in the cultural and economic milieu which led to their triumph in one case and their failure to gain a serious foothold in the other might be offered. Here, one could readily site strong versus weak traditions of democratic political structure, an emphasis on individualistic assertion of civil rights, etc. But, as well, both the US and Canada were formed with, and continued to manifest significant aspects of racism and unequal access to economic opportunity based on religion and ethnicity.

Moreover, we may identify two components of political culture which are present in the case of even the ultimately ruling fascist movements of Italy and Germany, as 'nativism' and 'populism.' The first of these is often identified with the militant maintenance - or where it has seriously eroded - the reconstruction of an ethnically homogeneous society (nation); this is the 'nativism' component. In Fascist regimes, the element of community was central; but race was variable: essential in the Nazi state, peripheral in the Italian. In each case, however, the two movements which ultimately seized power sought a redefinition of the state in terms of its traditional basis in a solidarity community that was inadequately protected or advanced by the nation-state as it was constituted prior to its transformation to fascist rule. According to Sternhell (1976:345), fascist ideology stresses that "the individual had no autonomy and only achieved the status of human being as a member of a community".

In the context of US society, 'nativism' has been an enduring and vital component of 'popular' as well as political culture. Thus, vigilante groups, most powerful seen in the repeated resurgence of organizations such as the *Ku Klux Klan*, are often celebrated in their reflection of individual initiative and self-reliance, while also being seen as having a dark side. What is evident from the

American case is that 'nativism' may have a relatively benign side that even can celebrate one's ethnic minority status as a member of the 'melting pot,' but has, historically, meant that alien groups may become 'super-nativist' at the point where they have assimilated most if not all of their members into the mainstream American society.

In the European context, 'nativism' has been so central to nation-state formation that its existence apart from national loyalty has been far less significant to political organization and conflict than has social class. What fascist movements appeared to suggest was that, if fact, there was a 'community question' which was at the root of or transcended the 'class question.' In the case of the Nazis, it was synonymous with the 'Jewish question.' In both Canada and the United States, the movements labeled 'native fascist' which arose in the period of fascist regimes of Europe had the particular problem of linking an indigenous 'nativism' with a foreign ideology. In order to overcome that handicap, the more successful movements had to either eschew any external trappings of European fascism (uniforms, symbols, etc.) or sought to selectively adapt one or another economic or social policy elements from these new parties and their leaders.

A second component which acts as bridge between fascism and the 'new world' is 'populism,' in which social institutions in general - but especially the political - are seen to lack legitimacy by virtue of their control by a 'professional elite' whose training often removed them from the problems and realities of everyday life: the rule of trained experts who lacked authentic 'grassroots knowledge.' Distant from the people, formal institutions failed to response to the needs of the majority of society. Rules or procedures of parties, churches, and labor unions all shared a specialization and autonomous structure that stifled the voice of the masses.[91]

While European traditions of governance emphasis the 'top down' origins of authority, and the more rigid emphasis of social class distinctions, the events of World War I and the social changes wrought by urbanization and industrialization continued to erode the institutions which defined the 'old order' of aristocracy and landed gentry. Thus, Fest (1974) and others (e.g., Griffin, 1991) stress the very expedient manner in which the Nazi used slogans of a populist character and mobilized mass action without providing any mechanisms for dis-

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[91] On this point, see Warren, 1976, 1990; M. Olsen, 1982; Also relevant here is Dalton, 1988, whose discussion of protest politics and political participation in Western suggests the problem of the formal structure of parties responding to the needs of the 'majority.' On US 'right-wing' populism, see Federici, 1991 and McKenna, 1974. On the relation of elites and populism seen from the perspective of conservatives see Jeffrey Bell, 1992. A theoretical discussion is found in M. Marger, 1971.

sent and local autonomy. 'Populist' action via organized versus spontaneous street demonstrations organized versus spontaneously erupting ones were part of a carefully orchestrated manipulation of popular emotions and grievances. Fascism is, "populist in intent and rhetoric, yet elitist in practice," (Ibid., 41), which is part of the seemingly contradictory nature: the very 'vulgar' character of the movement clearly threatening, while simultaneously claiming to protect the social order against alien influences. Moreover, the internalization of seeking state action to resolve social problems is far more apparent in European versus US society. Nevertheless, the techniques of mass media offered a new intimacy between the leader and the 'man in the street' that was apparent on both sides of the Atlantic.

What underlies the two forces - 'nativism' and 'populism' - as bases for political action which we have indicated is the question of community.[92] For if fascism has a common cause in the dynamics of 'modernization,' with its alleged rise in 'anomie' and 'alienation,' it is that sense of belonging to a proximate and intimate set of social ties which by a virtually natural extension become synonymous with the term 'nation.' While elements of ethnicity, religious identity, race and geography can be bases for such a 'nationhood,' these may be only poorly or very precisely coterminous with a 'nation-state.' What is clear from the events of the 19th and early 20th century in Europe (and later spreading to other regions of the globe) is that 'nationhood' and 'nation-state' both may be undermined by social change and conflict, or that one may gain at the expense of the other.

Thus, being in the shadow of Europe, the spilling over of 'a Fascist era' to the US and Canada would take place either at the very fringes of the political spectrum or, in order to enter the mainstream, it would appear as closely linked to indigenous traditions of 'populism.' The very ambiguity of these 'native fascist' organizations and the goals of their leaders opened them to charges of subversion when they professed only a desire to uphold a nativism that seemed threatened by the influx of alien groups - literally foreign immigrants - or, more insidiously, by the subversive infiltration of ideas (Marxism being the central one) being transmitted by members of economic and political elites. Thus FDR and International Bankers and leftist academics, whether actually part of a Jewish conspiracy or merely its pawns, formed the cadres of the Un-Americans.

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[92] On the relationship of communal ties to voting and social movements see Schlesinger, *American Sociological Review*. On community and voting, see G. M. Pomper and L. A. Sernekos, *Society*, July/August, 1991, pp. 10-16. On the 'communitarian movement,' see Amitai Etzioni, *The Spirit of Community*, Crown Publishers, New York, 1993.

An Inductive Ranking Schema

We now seek to apply to those movements for which brief vignettes have been presented, a set of attributes - organizational, ideological and tactical - that characterize each of them utilizing a selective set of twelve attributes that provide operational criteria to examine their similarities and differences. Among these are characteristics which may define and yet also distinguish 'nativist' from 'populist' organizations. There are also specifically 'fascist' dimensions. The degree to which any given movement may fit all such categorizations suggests the fact of blurred or overlapping criteria amongst the three nominal categories. Thus, the higher the score on the twelve criteria, the more it may manifest several 'faces.'

Clearly, creating any nominal categorization is to reduce the phenomena under analysis to a simpler one than the reality would suggest, such as that the social phenomena being described are, in fact, continuos in form. Thus, by asserting that a line can be drawn between 'alien' versus indigenous movements of the 'extreme right,' I have sought to avoid prejudgement of a critical analytical point: that fascism is a European import to north America. Rather, the analysis aimed at showing a relative closeness or distance among groups and, in turn, how closely the fact some ideal-typical construct of a 'fascist' movement. The dimensions to be utilized for this comparative examination of the selected movements to be used in our discussion include the following:

Organizational style:

Charismatic leader principle - the movement built around the personality of a unique individual whose authority within the movement - constitutes a highly disciplined personal loyalty that is more basic than any given action, policy or even ideological element of the movement.

Paramilitary cadre - An essential component of the movement is the existence of a defensive or offensive internal army capable of and experienced in the use of armed force and physical violence as a necessary element of movement viability.

Mass recruitment base derived from the societal majority - Membership and followership which is open to all regardless of social class background, but which reflects some definition of the 'majority' ethnic, religious or racial group in the society, and excludes others.

Emulation of Fascist Symbols - Manifestations of overt identify with the origins of fascism in Europe such as uniforms, markings, name of organization, greetings or salutes, public displays and formations.

Ideological Focus:

Opposition to Marxist political and economic principles. Equating of Marxism with all forms of Social Democratic programs.

Anti-Semitism expressed in political and economic and (often) racial terms.

Loyalty to the concept of a homogeneous ethnic (racial) community which transcends that of an existing political state.
Distrust of the professionalization of political representatives, regardless of the form of their elective selection.

Tactics Influence:
Mass dissemination of ideas via newspapers, electronic media and large-scale public rituals and displays of symbols unique to the movement including non-violent picketing.
Campaigning for and holding of elective office.
Street confrontation ranging from violence-provoking picketing to random or organized use of force against designated opponents including state police. Organized attempt to overthrow governmental entities.

Each of the foregoing dimensions may be seen as 'practices' of a variety of movements which, although differing somewhat from each other, may be classified according to the dichotomized presence or absence of a given characteristic. Thus, militant social movements of minority groups are excluded, although they may be 'fascist' in style or tactics, but not in ideology or recruitment. Still others may resemble 'fascist' movements in regard to recruitment base, but not in organizational style; still others may have some elements found within each clustering of style, ideology and tactics.

Our schema contains, as well, a certain 'fascist minimum' criterion: movements may lack one or another attribute, but also must meet a thres-hold requirement involving each of the three clusters:
a) charismatic leader principle, b) societal majority, and c) mass media dissemination of ideas.
Thus, we may have:
(i) intellectual movements without charismatic leaders (what were called 'parlor' or 'Park Avenue' fascists by some commentators for those who had no mass following or political organization - examples include Lawrence Dennis, Ezra Pound, and Seward Collins[93];

[93] The social distance between between intellectual and political movements, both in terms of the personal networks of their participants and the dissemination and utilization of ideas by local or national or even international political activists is a subject that has not been subject to any systematic empirical study. For a very initial effort in this direction regarding Neo-Nazi and far-right groupings, see Warren, 1992. This critical linkage would seem to be more evident in European compared to US or Canadian societies. Some descriptive examination of how 'think tanks' influence political parties in the US is James E. Smith, The *Idea Brokers*, The Free Press, New York, 1991.

(ii) charismatic movements drawing from selective minority groups within society such as *Father Divine* in the African-American community, or

(iii) the *American Liberty League* coup plot against FDR under the sponsorship of a small group of wealthy backers who solicited a figure-head military 'man of horseback' who was to lead war veterans recruited from the newly formed *American Legion*. Former Marine commander Smedley Butler revealed the putsch attempt before members of the US Congress in 1934.[94]

For purposes of our comparative assessment, each of the movements to be described as exemplars of fascism are required to manifest 9 or more of the attributes (including the three necessary dimensions); while those with a score of 6 to 8 and at least two of the three 'minimum' dimensions are designated 'quasi-fascist'; with movements having scores above 4 and at least one 'minimum' attribute in each of the three clusters are classified as 'proto-fascist; with other movements are designated as 'populist' movements. Clearly, the designations developed are aimed at a suggestive, more than a definitive set of criteria; their purpose being to aid in the arraying of movements associated with 'an ideal type' heuristic exercise. While obviously applied to the twelve US and Canadian movements of the Depression era, the schema should be applicable to other time-periods and societal contexts.

Examining the rankings which result from applying the 12-item rating to the movements shown in the chart, we note that five of the twelve - *The Christian Front* in the United States inspired by Father Coughlin, Adrien Arcand's *National Socialist Christian Party* in Canada, and the short-lived *Khaki Shirts* headed by Art Smith, The *German-American Bund*, and the *Canadian Union of Fascists*. Grouped at the next level as 'quasi-fascist' are the *Silver Shirts, Black Legion*, the *Defenders of Gerald Winrod*, and the *Committee of One Million* organized by Gerald L. K. Smith. *Social Credit* of Alberta, Coughlin's *National Union for Social Justice* and Huey Long's *Share The Wealth Society* meet the criteria for a designation of 'proto-fascist. The latter organization, while not itself organized in a para-military fashion, was initially established with the backing of the *Louisiana National Guard*, a virtual personal army employed by Long to enforce his political control. absent that feature, *Share the Wealth* would qualify as 'populist' only. Coughlin's *NUSJ*, while initially fitting such a definition, eventually displayed some elements of fascist ideology and tactics in its incipient

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[94] The Congressional investigation report stated that "There is no question but that these attempts to form a militaristic fascist organization were discussed, were planned, and might have been placed in execution when and if the financial backers deemed it expedient." Quoted in Schonbach, 1985, 234-35.

anti-Semitism and in the priest's references in some of his more impassioned 1936 addresses to resorting to 'bullets rather than ballots,' and 'fighting in the Franco way.' While Canadian fascist groups saw a kinship with Aberhart's *Social Credit Movement* via the anti-Semitism of C. H. Douglas, even when it gained an election mandate, the consequences were quite disappointing in their radical economic and political action. Yet, Aberhart himself pursued a style of control that was highly centrist and authoritarian, even being rigidly dictatorial which greatly undermined the organizational effectiveness of his movement.

While each of the movements discussed in this analysis may be ordered by the number of attributes which fall within the array composing fascist-related attributes, the issue of 'success' must also be addressed. The conventional yardstick of their impact is that of influencing the policies of the dominant political institutions and parties. In turn, the need to 'coopt' the platforms of newly emerging movements and minor parties reflects the power exerted by such entities, often defined in the US as a 'protest' third party vote.

IV. ASSESSING THE NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF 'NATIVE FASCISM' IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

Blurring the Line Between Expressive and Instrumental Goals

A number of analysts of European fascism have cited the expediency, inconsistency, and even profound insincerity in the advocacy by various fascism movements and the regimes of Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, and have even (in the case of Fest) suggested that their economic programs were a mere window dressing in a drive for power. Certainly, whatever ideological consistency seen in Nazism has not been viewed as a major factor in its success. Likewise, Lipset in analyzing Father Coughlin's success, notes that anti-Semitism was not the explanation - many of his listeners may not have even 'heard' that ideological message. The view asserted then, is that fascist movements contained the seed of their success in terms of being able to appeal to 'emotions' rather than to 'rationality,' to be sufficiently misunderstood by traditional adherents of left and right ideologies, and to have merely reflected a profound sense of disillusionment with any form of politics.

From a cultural and political institutional approach, several of the US and Canadian movement leaders we have described were innovators and pioneers in the techniques of mass persuasion. They forced others to attempt to match them and to certainly modernize their techniques of mass persuasion. While FDR was

A MULTIVARIATE RANKING OF FASCIST/POPULIST MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA DURING THE DEPRESSION ERA

Name	Years	Leader	Organizational Style				Ideology					Tactics			Total
			Auth.[1]	Para[2]	Mass[3]	Emul[4]	Anti-M[5]	LM[6]	AS[7]	N/S[8]	Anti-P[9]	MM[10]	ST[11]	COUP[12]	
Christian front	1938-42	(Coughlin)*	+	+	+	+-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11.5
Nat.Soc.Christ.Party	1933-40	A. Arkand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	11.0
Khaki Shirts	1933	A. Smith	+	+	+-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+-	+	10.0
Germ.-Amer. Bund	1932-42	F. Kuhn#	+	+	+-	+	+	+	+	+	+-	+-	+	-	9.5
Can.Union Of Fasc.	1934-40	C. B. Crate	+-	+	+	+	+	+-	+	+-	+-	+	+	-	9.0
Silver Shirts	1933-42	W.B. Pelley	+	+-	+	+	+	+	+	+-	+-	+	-	-	8.5
Black Legion	1933-37	----	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	8.0
Defenders	1933-42	G. Winrod	+	-	+-	+-	+	+	+	+-	+-	+	-	-	7.0
Committee Of One Million	1936-44	G. L. K. Smith	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+-	+-	+	-	-	6.5
Social Credit	1932-40	W. Aberhart	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+-	+	-	-	5.5
Nat. Union For Soc. Justice	1934-36	C. Coughlin	+	-	+	-	+	+-	+-	-	+-	+	-	-	5.5
Share The Wealth	1931-35	H. Long**	+	+-	+	-	-	-	-	+-	+	+	-	-	5.0

*No formal position, Cassidy and Moran leaders in New York and Boston.
** After Long's Assassination in 1935 G. L. K. Smith was head until 1936.
# Fritz Kuhn held office, 1936-1940.

fond of imitating the Irish brogue of Father Coughlin at private dinner gatherings, there is no doubt that his 'fire side chats' were developed partly in response to the long success of the 'radio priest' at generating intimacy with a large audience by using specific oratorical devices unique to that new medium of mass communication.[95]

More importantly, however, the use of the radio was linked to a profound change in political discourse: one which blurred the line between entertainment and ideological indoctrination. Here, Coughlin is perhaps the master, but Aberhart and Smith, Pelley and even Long may seen as 'performers' whose styles of discourse included many instances of 'folksy' touches and a straying from purely political disquisition. In fact, for several of these leaders, their media persona was one which crossed between economic adviser, gossip columnist regarding the intrigues of the power elite, spiritual counselor, raconteur, humorist, and perhaps least of all, candidate for office or spokesman for a political cause. This melding of religion, entertainment and political propaganda evolved into such phenomena as 'televangelism', 'talk radio' and 'talk show' formats so common in US society in the last quarter of the century.

Social movement impact cannot be equated with explicit political action. Thus, for purposes of assessment, the 'media messiahs' in the US and Canada, evolved styles of diffuse media presentation along with a certain ambiguity and vagueness in programmatic content that makes the utilization of indicators such as size of audience, readership of print materials, and attendance at meetings or personal appearances, reflective of appeals which are not readily translated into votes or political support. For precisely these reasons, those within the various movements - including often its leader- over-inflated their support when they explicitly entered the arena of political action. The classic case would be Coughlin's *Union Party* effort of 1936. Clearly, many factors explain why individuals may be avid listeners but not voters for a third party. But the 'entertainment' reach, which, during the Depression era, implied the social integration role of many of the movements described in our analysis must be seen as critical to their duration and success, not their ability to influence policies or to gain public office.

In sum, then, the movements we have focused on as diffuse products of a mass media era may perhaps suggest an aspect of many of modern social movements: linking entertainment, banishment of personal loneliness, anomie, or

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[95] The author in an interview with lady Mosley was told that Father Coughlin helped her husband with his radio broadcasting oratorical effectiveness. One technique was to stand away from the microphone and shout into it in order to create the illusion of addressing a large crowd in a forceful manner.

boredom with conventional styles of politics was essential to their emergence and success. Thus, the US and Canadian movements which were able to use the most advanced methods of mass media techniques proved to be the most enduring and successful. While the leaders who sought political power may have found that radio audience size does not translate into ballot-box support, the conclusion was erroneously reached that no other forms of political mobilization could be generated. Even when his radio audience had shrunk significantly by the late 1930's, Father Coughlin could still mount, via a coordinated grassroots lobbying effort, major campaigns of letter writing and telegram inundation of members of Congress regarding neutrality and aid to Britain, and one instance of the defeat of major federal government reorganization legislation.[96] Moreover, on many occasions, Coughlin and other 'media messiahs' claimed to stand 'above' politics.

To some degree, fascism drew adherents both in Europe and in the US and Canada precisely due to its guise as non-politics. Almost at will, then, leaders and their followers could enter or leave fields of controversy that more conventional social institutions, such as political parties, could not. Gauging the strength of such mercurial force was hazardous at best, and could greatly over or under state its impact.

The Multiple Sources of Failure

Thus do we arrive at the two critical questions which have been the focus of considering what role if any was played by European fascism in US and Canadian society in the years between Mussolini's March on Rome, but especially with Hitler's rise to power and the onset of the Great Depression. The first of these may be stated as follows: "What, if any, impact did fascist or quasi-fascist (proto-fascist) organizations have in these two societies during the pre-World War II era?" A second, and correlative query might be phrased in this manner: "Was there ever a chance that fascism might take power in one of these

[96] While his reputation by the late 1930's was one of anti-Semitism and extremism, Coughlin's ability to mobilize large telegram and letter-writing campaigns directed at the US Congress continued through the period of the debate on Lend-Lease to Britain. On the 1938 governmental reorganization bill and at the amending of US neutrality legislation, the priest's impact was significant and perhaps even decisive.

nations?" Both questions have been answered by political sociologists and historians with a remarkable degree of unanimity: very little for the former question, and none for the latter.[97]

Explanations for the failure of native fascist movements range from internal issues of organizational structure and leadership effectiveness to contextual dynamics of US and Canadian society. Thus, on this latter point, stress is given to the multiplicity of targets of hostility present in the highly diverse societies in which these movements sought influence. Largely, however, this latter factor explains the lack of unity and cohesion of native fascism rather than its inability to arise and sustain itself. For example, Coughlin, although he did initially overcome the problem of anti-Catholic bias and briefly sustained an ecumenical mass movement, later retreated to a more narrow base of those who shared not only his attitude about Jews and foreign policy, but also his Irish ethnicity.[98] The bitter anti-Catholic views of many native fascists doomed any leadership role that Coughlin might have sustained.

The failure of fascism in the United States and Canada has also been ascribed to the fact that, as deep as the Great Depression was, and as much economic suffering as it produced - especially to the lower-middle class - the social consequences were simply not profound enough to shake essential faith in the concept of representative democracy. To this may be added a pair of additional explanations: the effective suppression of subversive groups and, especially in the case of the Roosevelt administration, its alleged skill at linking the native fascists with precisely the opposite label that they sought to advance against US foreign policy and the New Deal itself: namely that it was the work of alien forces. The result was to make 'isolationism' equivalent to support of the European fascist dictators.[99]

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[97] See for example, Raab and Lipset, 1970; Robin, 1992; Smith, 1992; Ribuffo, 1988, Brinkley, 1982; and Herzstein, 1989. Janowitz, 1952, and Betcherman, 1975 offer less sanguine interpretations. Clearly, however, a pattern of 'revisionism' is evident in the writings of scholars from the 1980's onward who discount the danger of the 'far right' during the 1930's.

[98] Bayor (1978) analyses the interethnic politics of New York City and, in particularly, the role of the Christian Front and 'Coughlinites' at the local community level. Survey data from national Gallup samples of the late 1930's confirm that Father Coughlin was increasingly dependent on Catholics of Irish and German descent.

[99] This point is made by historians Ribuffo, 1988, Herzstein, 1989, and G. Smith, 1992. In the case of Herzstein, he suggests this was a deliberate strategy of FDR. Ribuffo hints at this as well, whereas Smith only notes how the actions of the isolationists in recruiting native fascists undermined their patriotic commitment to avoiding war.

An additional explanation for the virtual impotence of native fascism was its exposure to public criticism by investigative journalist and various Congressional committees who acted to expose and to delegitimate several movements and their leaders via a label of unpatriotic extremism or simple financial racketing and corruption. Thus, instead of driving various groups underground by making them illegal, they were harassed and made subject to redicule rather than repression. As early as 1934, an elaborate probing of how the Nazi government was seeking to establish a foothold on American soil aroused anger and anxiety among the US public.[100] That same year the exposure of a plot to place a military hero in control of the government, when probed by Congressional investigators, placed on notice those of wealth and influence who might be tempted to form an alliance of reaction that would replace the New Deal.[101] Four years later, still another military figure was questioned by another Congressional committee regarding his support for a coup to end the Communist/Jewish subversion of American government and society.[102]

Although many on the left of the political spectrum called for the banning of 'native fascists,' it was not until the United States and Canada were actually at war that internment in the one case and constraints on freedom of speech in the other were instituted. For example, Father Coughlin's publication, *Social Justice*, although stridely critical of wartime policies, did stay in print until May of 1942 - six months after the US was waging war. Moreover, the priest was 'silenced'

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[100] This was the first such effort, although a probe of communist activities was conducted under the leadership of representative Hamilton Fish Jr. of New York in 1930. One of his key witnesses about the subversive role of Bolsheviks was Charles Coughlin. The 1934 probe of Nazi espionage was pressed by representative Dickstein who uncovered evidence of direct involvement of German diplomats in efforts to promote Nazism. The publicity accorded this investigation and the reaction of the US public belies the argument that fears of Nazism domestic subversion was largely engineered by the Roosevelt administration in order to win the 'internationalist' vs. 'isolationist' debate of the late 1930's.

[101] That the investigation of Butler's charges was a deliberate effort to do so is suggested by Herzstein, 1989 and G. Smith, 1992.

[102] The second figure was general George Van Horn Mosely, who had, by 1938 (when he retired from service), become the object of some significance as a 'man on the white horse' for many in the US native fascist movement. The idea that Moseley was the center of a 'putsch' effort with native fascist and Nazi help led to his being called before the Dies un-American activities committee the year he retired from military service. See Carlson, 1943, particularly 137-139. The Congressional investigation into his activities held in 1938 showed him to be deeply anti-Semitic and ready to repress any radicals on the left or right based on his own judgment and a structure of authoritarian rule.

by his own ecclesiastical superior, who forced Coughlin's withdrawal from political action, although US government agencies were reluctantly ready to indict the priest for sedition or acting as an unregistered agent of a foreign nation in the event his church failed to restrict him.[103] When several dozen 'native fascists' were brought to trial, the proceedings were eventually dropped in a case that alleyed a 'fascist conspiracy,' among four dozen 'small fry' in the native fascist pantheon.[104]

Ironically, rather than challenge US or Canadian society at a time of vulnerability, those most overtly fascist or Nazi organizations among the array of movements we have considered served instead to help cement greater bonds of national identity with democratic nations in contradistinction with those of European dictatorships. By exaggerating their own size and influence, several organizations - particularly, the German American Bund - only served to heightened the tensions between the United States and Nazi Germany, a fact which greatly disturbed German diplomats stationed abroad who saw the negative impact on American public opinion of the threat of subversion and espionage whether genuine or not.[105] Thus, while the vast majority of citizens of

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[103] The specifics of Coughlin's withdrawal from political activism the object of speculation for decades. In 1987, the author was granted access to the files of the Detroit Archdiocese and found that the Church hierarchy was given access to US government investigation information which, in turn, permitted them to offer the 'radio priest' a choice of being subject to both ecclesiastical and then civic trials or to agree to give up political organization. He chose the latter and, in fact, sought no return to his former broadcasting or political action role in the decades following World War II.

[104] The so-called 'Sedition trial' lasted for more than two years and was finally ended following a complex and difficult set of circumstances, including the sheer cumbersomeness of dealing nearly four-dozen defendants each of whom either sought to act as their own legal counsel or who each sought individual representation. Indicted under the so-called 'Smith Act,' this same legislation was used in the 1950's to persecute a number of US *Communist Party* officials for "conspiring to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the United States Government." For a discussion of how major native fascist figures were dropped from the original 1942 trial, see Pillar, 1945. For a critical review of the trial is that co-authored by Lawrence Dennis (who himself was one of the defendants). See Maximilian St. George, *A Trial on Trial*, National Civil Rights Committee, 1945.

[105] The diplomatic communications sent back to Germany in the period 1937-1940 are filled with references to the dangers of having various agencies of the Nazi regime undertake domestic espionage in the United States and to the *Bund* in particular as a source embarrassment to the German government whose policy was one of trying to prevent American intervention. That Fritz Kuhn seemed to relish publicity only exacerbated the problem. At the same time, the head of the AO (*Auslandsorganisation*), Ernst W. Bohle. The far-flung activities of AO along with many public statements made be its head fed 'scare' perceptions. For example, in 1936, Bohle stated: 'We look on German abroad not as Germans by accident but as German

the United States were not supportive of going to the aid of Europeans suffering under these regimes, when war did come, the readiness to perceive a threat had been enhanced by the various 'native fascist' groups that had emulated those who subsequently were to became national enemies.[106]

There is yet another characterization of native fascism which has been given scant attention as a factor in its failure: the perception of its theatricality. From across the Atlantic, fascist leaders, Mussolini more than Hitler, were seen, especially in the early 1930's, as ridiculous and humorous in their gestures, dress and mannerisms. Parallel to these stereotypical images was the labeling of extreme right groups and their leaders as 'the lunatic fringe,' an appellation given in the *March of Time* movie news series to the 1936 alliance of Coughlin, Townsend, and Gerald Smith. Terms such as 'money cranks' for the supporters of *Social Credit*, 'crack-pot' for the ideas of the *Black Legion*, and 'eccentric' for parlor intellectual fascists, all contribute to a tone of unseriousness in the potential threat posed by the ideas and actions of those so defined. While a more contemporary word such as 'extremist' may connote fanatical devotion to a cause linked to mental illness and pathology, in the 1930's the 'American messiahs' as objects of derision certainly served to isolate them from the mainstream of US politics.

What may be significant in the dismissing of native fascism as a posturing of deranged individuals is that their personalities often shape their ideas. This may be a particularly core cultural assumption in US and Canadian society, where the ethic of individualism is so dominant a value dimension. Thus, Mussolini appeared as an operatic poseur, there was little that any close examination of his economic program might benefit one; if Hitler was a frenetic and frothy-mouthed orator with a distinctly crazed facial expression, there was little to be gained by examining what his followers might find rational in his program. When Father Coughlin tore off his Roman collar in the midst of a fiery oration during the summer of 1936 and subsequently engaged in a fist fight attack with a journalist later in that same political campaign, he branded himself a person lacking in the

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through the will of God. Like our comrades in the Reich, they are chosen and obliged to cooperate in the work that Adolf Hitler began with his movement.' (Quoted in Schonbach, 1985, 164). See, also, McHale, 1977.

[106] Several Gallup polls on the question of the likelihood of US involvement in a European war were asked from the mid-1930's onward, along with follow-up questions on what was the preferred outcome of such a war, whether or not the US participated. A large majority of the national samples over the period of 1937-1940 indicated the US would become involved, and that the Axis powers were the preferred victors by only a small minority of Americans, in the range of ten to fifteen per cent.

temperate character of a serious political leader. In this sense, the fascist movements of the 1930s were so dominated by the personality styles of their leaders, that disintangling ideology from leader persona was a virtual impossibility.

Charlie Chaplin's movie of 1940, *The Great Dictator* - a low satire of Hitler and Mussolini - was banned from mainstream theatres in the United States because it might have offended foreign governments. Yet, despite its serious theme of anti-Semitism, militarism and dehumanization, the film may have merely offered a reinforcement and reflection of a prevailing American public attitude: fascists leaders were certainly evil, but they were, in the main, simply foolish figures. Thus, if the American and Canadian 'fuehrers' did not adopt the entire corpus of fascist ideology, they aped its style: and this was certainly key to their banishment to the fringes of the political arena. Many recognized too late that, by using the trappings of European fascism, this insured that the mass of Americans would reject them even before listening to the merits of their message.

Populism, The "Radical Right" and Native Fascism: Some Issues of Political Culture

Several American social historians of the pre-World War II era have distinguished the rise and prominence of a handful of personalities and their authoritarian style of organization (and even their anti-Semitic ideology) as less a reflection of sympathy for or emulation of European fascism than a largely a homegrown phenomenon. Thus, Hofstadter (1955) speaks of the 'paranoid style' in American politics; Bennett (1988) refers to a 'party of fear' that has always been part of an antialien strain in American life; Smith (1992) alludes to the 'inverted nativism' that converted isolationist populists into unwitting allies of foreign nations (Germany and Italy) and thus made them appear traitorous in their own land; Ribuffo (1988) discerns that Smith, Pelley and Winrod were products of an 'old Christian right,' where political styles and indigenous cultural influences explain more than any importation of foreign doctrines.

A still separate strain of thought describes Coughlin, Long and other depression era 'messiahs' as valid spokesmen for the failed New Deal and the 'working class' authoritarian strains of American society. This latter view is embraced by Lipset (1964); while the former is used by Brinkley (1982) and Smith (1992) in refuting the thesis of 'irrationality' in the proto-fascist movements that arise in the 1930s. In stressing the valid social interests expressed in various movements and voiced by its leaders, those historians and behavioral scientists who have evaluated 'native fascism' (rechristened as 'the radical right') underscore its functionalistic response to the social conditions of its era.

For these reasons, one should not find it peculiar that various movements should have arisen which might have embraced this or that element of fascist economics or even racism which could operate in tandem with indigenous cultural themes, and that permitted a sufficient number of adherents to form a viable organization - i.e., to establish a critical mass - from which to disseminate propaganda, seeks financial backing or even to run a few candidates for public office. Moreover, where foreign regimes might wish to support it as a more authentic basis of influence without a blatant link that would be defined as an alien and subversive entity. In fact, the German government recognized that such a strategy was preferred to of direct identification and support.[107]

In his seminal effort to find links forming the 'radical right' in US politics from the 1930s to the 1960s, S. M. Lipset (1960) observes that 'extremist' doctrines either of the right or left are ready bases for building movements that can harm democracy, even if they never assume the form of a party or take power.[108] In considering the various movements which arose in the United States during the decade of the 1930s, revisionist American historians of the 1970's and 80's judge to be psychological or sociological reductionism and sharply question the equating of 'radical' with 'irrational,' or 'status frustration' behavioral dynamics. They also emphasize that a peculiar basis of American political life is its adherence to a civic religion of centrist consensus which serves to overcome the divergent identities derived from ethnic, racial, religious and regional particularism. One consequence of this according to Westin (1962)

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[107] This shift was developed both by the Nazi Foreign Office and by Goebbels propaganda ministry. It occurred in early 1938, and meant that funding and encouragement was given to non-German Americans sympathetic to the Nazi cause, but not affiliated with it. This meant that the *German-American Bund* was in disfavor the view that clearly identified American patriotic groups and individuals were seen as the best vehicle for advancing German foreign policy aims. It was at this time that such individuals as Father Coughlin appeared to provide the best avenue to promoting the Nazi cause. By the time of the 1940 election, a large 'slush fund' was available to German diplomatic officials who launched an expensive campaign to support the activities of known isolationists in the Congress and that such groups as the *American First Committee*, with prominent business and civic figures (including Charles Lindbergh) were the focus of efforts of a clearly discrete kind. (See Herzstein, 1989).

[108] The social dynamics by which 'extremist' versus 'mainstream' ideas and intellectual movements are defined, along with the question of the social permeability of the latter by the former has not been a subject of empirical analysis. There are clues and allusions to such dynamics that can be derived from science literature on social networks, along with descriptions of the organizational bases of new social movements. For a preliminary discussion of these issues, see Warren, 1992.

- and consistent with observations of Smith (1992), Bennett (1988), Jeansonne (1989), Ribuffo (1983, 1992) - is that 'antialien' sentiments form a core element of US political culture.

In such a climate, therefore, while economic insecurities and stress may be critical, it is the more basic cultural issue of Americanism versus Un-Americanism which distinguishes the fault line along which political radicalism and mainstream political action divide. Thus, whether, in the 1990's, when David Duke is attacked for 'Pro-Nazi' beliefs or Father Coughlin in 1938 for similar views, what provides the source of social grievance and protest - in the first instance the danger of the US entering a World War, or in the second federal government favoring the interests of a racial minority over the majority - is less important than the identity of any leader or movement with the legitimacy of the political structure itself. Bigotry and racism may exist in American society, but their importation is clearly beyond the pale.

Occasionally, as it has in the 1950's with Joseph McCarthy, and in the 1980's with the Moral Majority, the agenda of the 'radicals' coincides with that of the 'mainstream.' That is, the 'radical' agenda is highly stable, often quite absolutist: what shifts is its appeal for what Arthur Schlesinger called the 'vital center.'[109] Thus, what is significant about American populism, perhaps to a greater degree than in many other nations, is its legitimation in protest and response by the two traditional political parties. 'Extremist' pressures from either the right or left are thus handled in a highly institutionalized manner where, for example, voters may choose a minor candidate solely for the purpose of 'sending a message to Washington' as was seen in the campaigns of Father Coughlin in the 1930s and George Wallace in 1963 when he ran for president and helped insure the election of Richard Nixon.

By pursuing either line of analysis, that is, the 'indigenous culture' thesis or the 'functional response' argument, the result is to devalue the social process of diffusion and to elevate the dynamic of parallelism. In doing so, a number of analysts likewise suggest that an atmosphere of hysteria partly manufactured by the incumbent political administration of government - Franklin Roosevelt and his aides - both exaggerated the influence of the 'radical right native fascist movements' and delegitimated their message. The result was a 'brown scare' comparable to what was, during the era of senator Joseph McCarthy in the

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[109] The so-called 'collapse' of the political center in Germany is discussed by Fest (1974) as one critical explanation for Hitlers' ascent to power. Essentially, this development involves the failure of 'establishment' parties to address the needs, fears or concerns of their traditional constituencies. The process of the 'alienation of the middle' (Warren, 1976) may be seen as a critical component of the rise of fascist movements.

1950's, the infamous 'red scare.' Ironically, however, what is suggested is the possibility of a fusion of European and American political forms, with the result being the 'independent invention' of an indigenous fascism. This is, of course, the essential message of novelist Sinclair Lewis's *It Can't Happen Here*. Such a possibility is implied by one historian David Bennett who describing the continuity of 'antialienism,' and the observation of Diggins (1972:490-491) that:

> fascism made political theorists sensitive to the tragic ironies inherent in western democracy ... and gave cause to wonder whether America's middle class populism and liberalism could any longer be regarded as simple progressive forces.

This line of reasoning implies that a cultural climate in which elements associated with fascist movements and ideology might find some foothold in the 'new world.' What was most likely to happen, as many contemporary observers of American and Canadian politics commented, is that fascism would come to power in the guise of super-patriotism. Huey Long skirted the edges of constitutional authority and Coughlin inspired, although he did not direct, the *Christian Front* coup effort. Of course, the message of Sinclair Lewis was that regardless of how much they appeared to adhere to the rules, such leaders would, once they assumed power, destroy democracy and create a fascist system as Hitler had done.

Populism and Fascism: The 'Displaced Majority' As a Bridging Mechanism.
The fact of the failure of fascist and Nazi groups to make significant inroads in altering the political structure of US or Canadian society during the Depression era is not subject to refutation; but what is clearly disputed amongst academic analysts is the *possibility* or even *probability* that such movements could have emerged at all out of an indigenous socio-cultural milieu; that they did play role in shaping domestic and foreign policy decisions; or, that similar organizations and individuals having somewhat comparable agendas might still do so in the future, given an appropriately favorable set of social conditions. Certainly those who reject such a thesis may need to question their assumptions in light of the electoral success of David Duke, Patrick Buchanan and Ross Perot in state and national politics in America in the early 1990's. By examining those movements and individual leaders who arose six decades earlier, one may discern not so much a way to guage the uniqueness of that era in terms of right-extremist politics, but rather to recognize what appeals aimed at which social strata suggest a continuity in American, if not Canadian, political culture.

That 'populism' remains a vital force in American political culture is attested to in the discussion since the 1970's of both 'right' and 'left' manifestations, and in

regard to electoral dynamics (McKenna, 1974, Warren, 1976, 1990, 1992; Phillips, 1982 and 1993, Federico, 1991, Bell, 1992). The most recent example of and perhaps most successful populist style campaign was that waged by Ross Perot in the 1992 US presidential election. Utilizing a highly authoritarian leadership style, an innovative mass media device of 'town meetings," and grassroots *People's lobby*, he achieved of 20 per cent of the national presidential vote - over 19 million in total - far outstripped the most successful organizations we have described from the 1930s.[110]

That a ready link is made between 'populism' and 'fascism' evokes a particularly paradoxical issue in the consideration of how both might be joined in the term, 'native fascist.' For, in the context of US and Canadian political culture, the long tradition of local control, distrust of elites, and isolationism/xenophobia all form core values each of which represents significant departures from the practice, if not the theory, of European fascism and Nazism. Both populism and fascism place a particular emphasis on the abolition of class and class consciousness. Thus, in contrast to Marxist, the populist assault of American socialist Eugene Debs in the early years of the twentieth century stressed the social enmity directed at the entire social strata of capitalists; by contrast, William Jennings Bryan saw a handful of big businessmen as conspirators against small business, farmers and workers, the 'plain people.' This vague aphorism offers a typically American populist definition of 'us' versus 'them.' Since the 'plain people' are the majority, populism's political agenda is the restoration of power to that natural majority (See McKenna, 1974, xiii). Many analysts of European fascism (e.g., Fest, 1974, Griffin, 1991, Eatwell, 1993) see its utilization of populist style in rhetoric and mass participation as simply the tools by which it can seize power over the state and then destroy all mechanisms of popular rule.

Although we have noted some overlap between populism and fascism in terms mainly of organizational style and leadership, it is reasonable to ask under what conditions the two political phenomena may draw more closely together. In attempting a response, we shall evoke a concept of 'majoritarian displacement' as the bridging social condition. Thus, 'displacement' refers to the perception (often coupled with a demographic and institutional reality) that the dominant

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[110] The *United We Stand* citizens lobby developed in conjunction with H. Ross Perot's candidacy for the US presidency in 1992 has continued as a basis for influencing national policy in a way quite reminiscent of Father Coughlin's *National Union for Social Justice*. The inability of the radio priest to control the balance of power in the 1936 presidential election as he had hoped, and Ross Perot's ability to do just that - in fact insuring the defeat of George Bush - is worthy of consideration here. In the former instance, a very strong presidential candidate was the key factor; in the latter a decidedly unsuccessful one.

culture at risk because of the gap which has apparently opened up between the formal institutions of society - largely political ones - and the economic or cultural situation of the ethnic, religious or racial group which has traditionally shaped that dominant culture.(Warren, 1990). Thus, despite differences in initial starting points, European fascism and American populism can converge around the alienation felt toward ruling elites or the 'political class,' which is seen to betray the interests of the majority in society.[110]

We speak, then, of the 'displaced majority' being those individuals in a society who define themselves as the carriers of the dominant culture that, with the connivance or acquiescence of elite establishments, grant to newcomers or to those in society who have previously been marginal to it, a position of cultural parity: the majority thus reduced to simply another ethnic minority.(*Ibid.*). While economic conditions may trigger conflicts between the 'displaced majority' and its minority-group challengers, what is central to our conceptualization is the essentially cultural, rather than economic, nature of the tension. Thus, social movements of resistance and restoration may arise under conditions of economic improvement or decline. More pointed, the 'displacement' dynamic is linked to the very constituent elements of nationhood. (Warren, 1993). In this sense, the 'majority' coincides with the 'people-hood' defined by race or ethnic bonds that is formally embodied in a nation-state.[111] We may speak of 'left wing' populism

[110] Consequently, the so-called 'status politics' explanation of radical right politics put forth by Hoftadter and others may be more appropriately viewed as 'cultural displacement' polities. In the US context, this has generally meant WASP's, but also can include those who have accepted the majoritarian culture and have been able to be placed within its assimilationist umbrella, 'the melting pot.' Thus, Father Coughlin as a Catholic, helped draw his co-religionists into that mainstream, while suggesting that Jews remained outside of it as aliens. Coughlin's personal success and recognition helped accomplish in his initial triumphal alliance with FDR, and then lent him the credibility to attack the alien influences in FDR's administration: thus the most recently assimilated minority takes on the values of the majority with the fervor of a dedicated convert. Coughlin himself, as a naturalized citizen, could not run for the US presidency, although he and his followers (and his opponents) thought it might be possible.

[111] Thus, for Hitler, Germany was not a political unit so much as a communal one, defined by race; therefore, disloyalty to the German state would be impossible unless that state were coterminous with the 'German nation.' Since Weimar did not meet this criterion, it was not a legitimate German state; overthrowing it was therefore not an act of a traitor, but of a (112 cont.) patriot. Italian fascism did not create so basic a link between the state, nationhood and ethnicity. But it did suggest that political institutions which were not culturally authentic, in this instance deriving from a train of historical identities stretching to the Roman Empire, could be supplanted with 'modern' ones. In the case of a number of fascist movements, the peculiar blending of right and left ideologies, while perceived by some to be a form of expediency or even 'irrationality,' in fact, can be subsumed under the rubric of restoring the values of the majority where the elite on the one hand has subverted these by its loss of contact

where the role of economic elites in exploiting the interests of the majority do not contain any focus on cultural or ethnic displacement. 'Right wing' populism gives central attention to these latter power and control issues. (See McKenna, 1974).

The ease with which a Huey Long, a Father Coughlin or even a William Aberhart can cross the line between fascism and populism was precisely the basis of the warning contained in two 1935 popular culture offerings, Sinclair Lewis's novel and the 'forerunners of fascism' thesis put forth by journalist Raymond Gram Swing. Moreover, in ascribing failure to the movements of 'proto' or 'native fascism,' in the 1930s to the variables of individual talent, organizational effectiveness, and social conditions offer perhaps a too facile test. For the fact of war preparations - the very policy under severe attack by many of the 'native fascists' - had more to do with their demise that the nature of the movements and their leaders. With the gain of hindsight, we might note that the too ready dismissal of the threat of fascism in the US and Canada in the 1930s by revisionist historians of the past three decades and the denigrating of the potential appeal of the themes of nativism, racism and desire for populist displacement of entrenched elites might well be reconsidered.

A Final Speculative Note

It may be a fruitful exercise to consider how the fate of a United States and Canada might have fared in staving off a powerful challenge from 'native fascists' if both nations had stood aloof while Nazi Germany achieved a complete conquest of Western Europe, and then continued its efforts the Soviet Union, perhaps evening succeeding in that endeavor. Had not war come in 1939 to Canada and in 1941 to the US, nor the economic stimulus of the armaments explosion of 1939 and subsequent years of World War II not occurred, it is far from obvious as to what would have been the fate of such organizations as Father Coughlin's *Christian Front* or Adrien Arcand's *National Social Christian Party*. Would Gerald Smith's electoral fortunes in 1942, which were dealt a mortal blow by the war psychology of the period, been substantial more promising? He and the more mainstream isolationists who warned that involvement in a major world war would bring a militarized and centralized state on a scale not known before proved correct in their prediction, but were powerless to shape the events of the next decades.

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with what might be called 'authentic indigenous thought and culture,' or where the indigenous middle class has been threatened in its preservation of traditional values by the effects of competing or displacement by alien minorities. (See Warren, 1993).

Even with the economic stimulus of war production, the refuse to admit significant number of refugees from the European war was already a firm foreign policy of the United States and Canada reflecting a virulent anti-Semitism. What would have been the status of ethnic solidarity in the face of continuing job competition and limited economic opportunity? And what of Canada's desire for greater autonomy in what would have been a defeated or Vichy-style occupied Britain? Would the strains already evident within the Canadian confederation over French Quebec's allegiance to Vichy France been exacerbated had not the Axis powers been defeated? What would have been the fate of fascism in French Canada under those conditions? And, would 'native fascists' be able to experience gains in their political influence by having Americans 'sustain disbelief' over the evils of Nazism because of its racism and despite its continued military and economic gains?

While contemporary fears of a 'brown scare' in the United States and Canada in the 1930s might have reflected leftist ideological cant, the fact of Neo-Nazism rise in Europe and the success of those with parallel messages in US society in the 1980's and '90's calls for some revising of the 'revisionist' position.[112] If the 'present-mindedness' problem besets any analyst reviewing past events as ambiguous and disparate as fascism, the warning to be heeded is not that of foregoing reinterpretation, but noting how fleeting can be each wave of fashion in scholarly observation and reflection. Those who stress the viability of democratic institutions across the north atlantic generated by the demise of European fascism may also reflect on what impact its persistence might have meant to these same two nations.

[112] Since fascist-like movements are often seen as restorative and yet revolutionary, this peculiar blend - which translates from the Greek as 'instauration' - provides continuity between the fascist movements of the earlier decades of the century and those which are seen amongst the 'neo' fascists and Nazis of recent years. Their common heritage and ideology lies as much with the preservation of national majority as ethnic majority than with any particular economic or political program. The 'deconstruction' of existing states in the wake of the demise of the Soviet satellite system is precisely a process in which some governments now define their task as precisely the restoration of the dominant culture and ethnic hegemony of a viable nation. 'Ethnic cleansing' is the violent expression of that process.

Appendix: Gallup polls 1938/39

Table 1

Marginal Response Distribution to Hypothetical Choice:
Fascism versus Communism
(January 29, 1939)*

"If you HAD to choose between Fascism and Communism, which would you choose?"

FASCISM	24.6 %
COMMUNISM	24.8 %
No opinion	45.7 %
Missing data	4.9 %
TOTAL	100.0 % (N=3148)

*Gallup survey # 145 A & B.

Table 2

Social Integration and Fascism-Communism Choice
1936 Election: Voted or Not Voted

	Voted	Not Voted
FASCISM	25.7 % +	21.6 %
Communism	23.6 %	28.7 % +
No opinion	45.2 %	46.8 %
Missing data	5.5 %	2.9 %
TOTAL	100.0 % 2358	100.0 % 759
	Church Member	
	Yes	No
FASCISM	26.6 % +	18.5 % -
Communism	23.1 % -	28.7 % +
No opinion	44.4 %	47.9 %
TOTAL	100.1 % 2328	100.1 % 838

Table 3
Response to Fascism/Communism Choice in Relation to Reported 1936 Presidential Vote

	Lemke	Landon	Roosevelt	Not Vote
FASCISM	29.4 % +	29.2 % +	23.9 % -	21.0 % -
Communism	35.3 % +	16.5 % -	26.8 %	28.4 %
No opinion	32.4 % -	49.5 % +	43.3 %	47.5 %
Missing data	2.9 % -	4.8 %	5.9 %	3.2 %
TOTAL	100.0 %	100.0 %	99.9 %	100.1 %
N =	34	790	1518	790

Table 4
Fascism/Communism Choice and reported Occupation

	FASCISM	Communism	No Opinion
Missing Data	36 % +	22 %	42 %
Businessmen	35 % +	21 % -	44 %
Students	32 % +	41 % +	27 % -
Professionals	31 % +	34 % +	35 % -
skilled wc	30 % +	30 % +	40 % -
skilled bc	25 %	28 %	47 %
unskilled bc	23 % -	22 %	55 % +
housewife	23 % -	16 % -	61 % +
unemployed	20 % -	22 %	58 % +
unskilled wc	18 % -	30 % +	52 % +
WPA	17 % -	30 % +	53 % +
no occupation	17 % -	22 %	61 % +
retired	16 % -	16 % -	68 % +
TOTAL	25 %	26 %	49 %

Table 5
Size of Community and Fascism/Communism Choice

	FASCISM	Communism	No Opinion
Over 500,000	38 % +	26 %	36 % -
25,000 to 100,000	34 % +	28 %	38 % -
100,000 to 500,000	23 %	30 % +	47 %
2,500 to 25,000	22 %	26 %	52 % +
farm	17 % -	22 % -	61 % +
small town	16 % -	18 % -	64 % +

Table 6
Income level and Source

	FASCISM	Communism	No Opinion
'wealthy'	42 % +	16 % -	42 % -
average +	28 %	25 %	47 %
average	28 %	27 %	45 %
poor +	22 %	24 %	54 % +
OR-WPA	21 %	28 %	51 % +
poor	19 % -	22 %	59 % +
OR-home	18 % -	22 %	60 % +
Old age assistance	17 % -	19 % -	64 % +

Table 7
Age Groupings and response to Fascism/Communism Forced Choice

Age	FASCISM	Communism	Not Choose	
18 -22	25.2 %	32.4 % +	42.3 % -	99.9 % (N=321)
23-32	25.6 %	29.5 % +	45.0 % -	100.1 % (N=732)
33-42	26.1 %	28.0 %	46.0 %	100.1 % (N=744)
43-52	28.7 % +	21.1 % -	50.3 %	100.1 % (N=621)

Age	FASCISM	Communism	Not Choose	
53-62	24.4 %	21.4 %	54.1 % +	99.9 % (N=360)
63 or over	18.1 % -	18.1 % -	63.9 % +	100.1 % (N=249)

Table 8
Spearman Rank Order Correlations of Religious Identification for Fascism/Communism and Approval of Father Coughlin

	FASCISM	Communism	No Opinion
Listeners who Approve of Father Coughlin	+.84	-.57	-.02
FASCISM	--	-.60	-.05
Communism	-.60	--	-.56
No Opinion	-.02	-.56	--

Based on survey of January 20, 1939 for Fascism/Communism and December 12, 1938 for Coughlin reaction.

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THE GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE ON FASCISM

20

STEIN UGELVIK LARSEN

Was there Fascism outside Europe? Diffusion from Europe and domestic impulses[1]

Perhaps the most important feature of this book is that it brings together in one volume a wide and comprehensive presentation of fascism outside Europe. This allows one for the first time to enter into a discussion of an overall theory of fascism while keeping in mind both the European experiences and the general scholarly debate such as it has been conducted up to now.

The book covers a very wide range of countries and world regions during the inter-war period, a historical period when modern globalization had not yet taken off, and when the recent experiences of integration within Europe also lay far in the future. In this concluding chapter I will try to sum up and synthesize some of the knowledge presented in the chapters above, as well as to present new material needed for a comprehensive worldwide perspective.

I will organize the discussion within the following sections:

A) Limits and opportunities in the theoretical debate on European fascism.
i) Political and analytical problems in defining and analyzing fascism (p.706).
ii) The awkward label: 'concept of fascism'. (p. 713)
iii) 'Generic fascism' vs. fascism as an emergent phenomenon in the modern world. The double inheritance of liberalism: openness and individuality. (p. 720)
iv) 'Degrees' of fascism and fascist 'tendencies': the various national fascisms and their similarities. Confusion arising from the use of Weber's 'ideal types' (p. 727).
v) Fascism and political instability as opportunity for creating political space

[1] I wish to thank Peter Cripps for his very valuable proof-reading assistance in the last phase of preparing this chapter.

(political shocks, immigration, economic cycles and war). The distinction between 'above' and 'below (p. 730).

B) Four types of diffusion and spread of 'European fascism' by fascist regimes: German Nazism, Italian Fascism, Francoism and Salazarism – and the spread of Japanese fascism in Asia (p. 732).

C) The diffusion of fascism through Japan's expansionism in Asia
i) Varying conditions in the three major regimes (p. 739).
ii) The radicalization of nationalism in South-East Asia under Japanese control: Varieties of South-East Asian fascism (p. 759).
iii) Currents of European fascism within the settler nations of Asia (p. 792).

D) Conflicting impulses of fascist diffusion in the Middle East and Africa
i) Italian Fascism and German Nazism competing for influence in the Middle East and North Africa (p. 795).
ii) 'Inborn fascism' in South Africa – the long legacy of white settlements among an alien race (p. 802).

E) Traditional authoritarianism and emergent fascism in Latin America and Mexico (p. 805).

F) Populist extremism and fascism in North America and Canada (p. 811).

G) On the understanding of global forms of fascism (p. 812).

A. Limits and opportunities in the theoretical debate on European fascism.

i) Political and analytical problems in defining and analyzing fascism.

Social science, different from many of the natural sciences, is part of public knowledge and its findings are frequently themes within the public debate. For this reason, such topics of important knowledge can not easily be researched because of the problems in getting access to data, the rules of anonymity which prevent us from digging into personal and private matters, and because of the political sensitivity of the research topic in general.

The debate about the 'totalitarianism thesis' exemplifies how the presentation of a thesis and its contents can clearly carry very important political and ethical implications. The attempt to compare two political

regimes – fascism and communism – which obviously had much in common – as well as the comparison itself, was sometimes seen as and meant as an insult. Such problems also apply to the comparison of Italian fascism and German Nazism; the latter was more cruel than the former, and it may be taken as an insult to the Italian public to be placed in the same category as the nation which bore the main responsibility for the Holocaust.[2] If Salazar's regime in Portugal, which lasted from 1926 until 1974, can be excluded from the family of fascist regimes, this may improve the country's reputation in history.[3] For Austria to be regarded as "victim" instead of a fascist "aggressor", would certainly improve its public standing internationally, provided it can generally be accepted as such. Even if scholars try to establish clear criteria for their comparison, a suspicion always remains – not among the scholars themselves, but within the national community of historians, and among the public at large – that it will be judged as a moral defection if the individual steps outside "accepted" interpretations of the national case. For both Hungary and Romania it could be useful to disregard the events of their brief fascist regimes so as to avoid comparison with Hitler's Third Reich or Mussolini's longer lasting fascist state. Especially today, when occasional neo-fascists movements are making themselves felt, it is hard to avoid slipping into a position where

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[2] The 'story' of the debate over the totalitarianism thesis is extensive and there is a very long list of literature debating its content. After the publication of Hannah Arendt's (1951): *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, the book *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*, by Carl J. Friedrich and Zbigniew K. Brzezinski (1956) made a strong public impression when published in the wake of the McCarthy era in the USA. One early summary of the debate is Wolfgang Sauer's: "Totalitarianism or Fascism?" in *American Historical Review* 73, 1967 pp 404-424. However, there is a very long list of recent contributions to the discussion, which often elaborate on themes already debated earlier. The most competent and now updated overview is the re-publication of Juan J. Linz's former study of totalitarianism in the *Handbook of Political Science*, Vol 3, with a new introduction "Further Reflections on Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes", pp 1- 48 in *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*, Boulder-London, 2000.

[3] Antonio Costa Pinto, in his very interesting work of 1995: *Salazar's Dictatorship and European Fascism. Problems of Interpretation*, New York, goes far in his effort to discuss the problem, and indirectly arrives at the conclusion that Portugal's dictatorship was (perhaps?) not similar to Mussolini's in Italy. The "true" fascist alternative – National Syndicalism, presented by its charismatic leader Rolão Preto – was suppressed by Salazar, and the "official" National Union (UN) never grew into a really strong party. The balance of forces – the Church, the Military and the leading economic groups – established a rather peaceful coexistence ("constitutionalized dictatorship" p.166 – "limited pluralism" p. 204).

national "pride" may prevent actual empirical verification. Not only in the popular media, but also among academics, there may well be a certain reluctance to draw the necessary comparisons and parallels. The researcher is part of a national community, and her/his research on it cannot be taken completely out of context.

Similarly, it is politically problematic methodologically to separate German Nazism and other forms of fascism – both for practical and for political reasons. Since the need to fight neo-fascism remains a constant contemporary concern, the grouping together of similar cases into one and the same class may give some people the idea that it is legitimate to use the same means to combat international led or inspired neo-fascist policies as were used in defeating fascism proper. However, such policies can easily be 'overplayed', which is just the response some of the most extreme movements would like to provoke.

The politicization of the concept – and its dilution to comprehend all sorts of enemies of communism – was also a highly important instrument for communist regimes during the Cold war, as it had been before the Second World War. In order to fight global capitalism and pave the way for communist takeover, the theory of 'agents of capitalism' was supported as a general theory of fascism. Wherever capitalism was the system of economic exchange ('exploitation'), fascism was also was present. The task for the communists was thus on the one hand to define which movements were not "fascist", and could be trusted, and on the other to identify "the enemy", which was both the capitalists proper, but also their agents/allies of all kinds. In the last phase before the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe this "theory" was indeed overplayed and became a political farce, and opponents within communism, as well as some who had formerly resisted fascism vigorously, were accused and convicted under false accusations of being "fascist, capitalist lackeys".

The inherent difficulty in applying the Sonderweg-thesis – that the Germans will always be prone to fascism because of their 'special' history and inborn, authoritarian discipline – is politically highly problematic and also socially immoral. Many Germans who never wanted Nazism and strongly objected to it were unable to resist it. Taken to the extreme the Sonderweg ('special predisposition'/'route') thesis is based on the assumption that the German people are destined to be the eternal "carriers" of the non-democratic norm, and that no cure, not even the terrible losses of the Second World War, can change them into democrats and anti-fascists. Even "true" German communists cannot be trusted because they are carriers of the "sonder-

predisposition". If a social scientist were seriously to consider this thesis to be true, he would be insulting the German public, a fact comparable to what Goldhagen experienced when he presented his thesis of "the willing executioners" – i.e. every German was a potential murderer on the Eastern front during the Second World War, when the opportunity to be such was available.[4]

There is also a strong moral undertone in 'The theory of middle class extremism', insofar as the theory points to this particular class as the main or most important social base facilitating the rise of Nazism. The 'middle class theory' tries to explain the growth of fascism in terms of the economic and social situation of the middle class, particularly that of the 'small shopkeeper'[5]. Squeezed between big unions and big cartels these were economically forced out of the market, and thus lost their income and prestige, and became socially 'déclassée'. Would people from the middle classes – because of their class position in modern societies – always be prone to Nazism if instability were to threaten their business? Also according to some versions of the Marxist theory of fascism, small shopkeepers, or the petite bourgeoisie, who strive to make their living today as they did in the past, are the most susceptible to fascist tendencies. The moral sentiments underlying 'the middle class theory', insofar as it focuses on the 'petite bourgeoisie' as a social class, may cause some people to consider it socially justifiable to attack/denounce this group in

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[4] Daniel Jonah Goldhagen 1997: *Hitler's willing executioners. Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*, N.Y - London. Since the publication of the book and the many public debates about it, there have appeared a dozen or so books by various authors, supporting a variety of views that oppose Goldhagen's "thesis". E.g. Eley, Geoff 2000: *The Godlhagen effect: history, memory, Nazism facing the German past*, Ann Arbor, and Wippermann, Wolfgang 1997: *Wessen Schuld?: vom Historikerstreit zur Goldhagen-Kontroversen*, Berlin.

A fine overview of the debate over the thesis is written by George Steinmetz: "German Exceptionalism and the Origin of Nazism: the career of a concept", in eds. Kershaw, Ian and Moshe Levin 1997: *Stalinism and Nazism: Dictatorships in Comparison*, Cambridge. pp 251-84

[5] The middle class thesis has many origins, but the formulation which is probably most frequently referred to is that of Seymour M. Lipset from 1960: *Political Man. Social bases of politics*, New York. In this work he elaborates the ideas of 'middle class extremism' in the chapter "'Fascism' - left, right and center" (p 131-176). An overview of the literature is presented in Wolfgang Wipperman – among many others – in his 1989 (1972): *Faschismustheorien. Zum Stand der gegenwärtigen Diskussion*, Darmstadt. See the chapter "Faschismus und Mittelstand" pp. 71-76.

order to keep the fascist danger under control.[6] Marxist theory of fascism is invariably dominated by the political concern of how to 'stop' or win over 'fascism' since it regards fascism as its principal enemy. The arsenal of Marxist theories on fascism thus identifies the "enemy" by "explaining" fascism, and provides activists with "instruments" to "clean up" before the evil may arise. Morally the activists are also on fair ground since none of us wants the 'Behemoth' back again.[7] However, as I have written elsewhere, Marxists have often achieved better empirical analysis than other social scientist because of this concern for instrumentalism in their theories.[8] The analysis of Italian fascism undertaken by early Marxist inclined historians or social scientists was therefore perhaps better than that of others.[9]

A social scientist may avoid temporarily some of the political difficulties encountered if s/he is able to utilize some technical terminology to describe the empirical phenomena related to fascism with which we are here concerned. In the long run however, the politicization of the findings and the clear implications of such a research platform will become familiar and public knowledge, particularly if the research done is good and interesting. Thus, there is no way out of the dilemma; research on fascism is highly political relevant and one has to be both bold and sensitive in one's approach to this serious task. To put it differently: if research on fascism is *not* felt to be political embarrassing and relevant – it is of no real value.

In turning to the movements and regimes outside Europe, the problem of a

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[6] This kind of implication can easily be seen in one of the more recent Marxist contributions to the theory of fascism. See Renton, Dave 1999: *Fascism. Theory and Practice,* London pp.

[7] This is the title of Franz Neumann's book from 1942: *Behemoth. Struktur und Praxis des Nationalsozialismus 1933-1944* (2. ed.). He describes how the Behemoth is a concept of Jewish origin, and he uses it to describe the Third Reich: "Einen Unstaat, ein Chaos, einen Zustand der Gesetzlosigkeit, des Aufruhrs und der Anarchie" (p. 16).

[8] See my review of Renton's book op.cit. in 2000: *e-Extreme. Electronic newsletter of the ECPR-SG on Extremism & Democracy*, Vol. 1, No. 4 Winter 2000 (www.bath.ac ..uk/Departments/ESML/ps/Newsletter4.ht,)

[9] See David Beetham 1983: *Marxists in face of Fascism. Writings by Marxists on Fascism from the Inter-war period.* Manchester, and in Renzo de Felice 1977: *Interpretations of Fascism*, Cambridge - London, pp. 116-130, 134-153 (on Italian fascism), and Marxist analysis on fascism in general pp. 30-53.

global definition – and the political problems associated with it – becomes acute. The longstanding debate about the definition of fascism has been frustrating, as has – for politicians – the apparent inability of academics to come up with either a clear definition or a comprehensive explanatory theory. This frustration is deeply felt among people who have for years studied European fascism in detail. Some authors take the attitude that fascism was no general phenomenon, and that, as a concept, it can only be correctly applied the Italian scene during the twenty years between 1923 (or 1926?) and 1943[10]. In Spain the situation was different altogether, as it was in Portugal, or in Central- and Eastern Europe.

Even so, it is not too difficult to prevent the concept of fascism from becoming unmanageably fuzzy. If classified as 'fascist', the various national independent movements, or the regimes and parties outside Europe that temporarily collaborated with them, would not warrant much sympathy even if their empirical descriptions employed such prefixes as putative-, proto-, pre-, semi-.

Since fascism proved so cruel when put into political practice, the stakes involved in "solving" the issue of definition and comparison are very high. It is not just an isolated academic matter of defining the phenomenon too narrowly or too broadly, since, when well documented and accepted by a wider audience, the implications become immensely important. With one exception, fascism was the most significant phenomena of the last century, the exception being communism, and its consequences humble the imagination. The political importance of the conceptualization of fascism was clearly documented in the famous interview with the Italian professor Renzo de Felize, published by Michael Leeden, in which de Felize made the distinction

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[10] Renzo de Felice in his 1977 (English trans.) *Interpretations of fascism*, writes that "it was not until the early 1930s that it [fascism] was viewed as a phenomenon whose implications extended beyond the boundaries of Italy" (p. 3). It is, however, interesting to note that Charles F. Delzell emphasizes that de Felice does not include Nazism in his concept of fascism because he maintains that "Fascism was 'born on the Left'" while "Nazism ...was from the beginning a movement of restoration, of Right wing radicalism ." (p. ix) See also de Felice's statements in Renzo de Felice. In an interview with Michael A. Ledeen 1976: *Fascism. An informal introduction to its theory and practice*, New Brunswick, de Felice repeats his assertion that German Nazism and Italian fascism are different (pp. 55-56), although he also talks about "the responsibility of the German ruling class for the success of fascism"(p. 57).

between the fascist 'movement' and the fascist 'regime'.[11] The public debate which followed the publication of this interview split the Italian community in two; while stressing the important distinction between the two concepts, de Felize led people to believe that he favored the 'fascist movement' while resenting strongly the 'dictatorial regime'. Rather than reject everything as part of the same cruel story, this distinction made certain aspects of fascism seem justifiable given the early Italian context. For many people this was totally unacceptable and resulted in de Felize being regarded as something of a "fascist" himself.

In the pages which follow I will avoid the narrow perspective that views Germany and/or Italy as the only two cases of 'true' fascism and expand the discussion beyond the limits of the 'European' scene. This is not to try to escape the moral and political instrumentalist perspectives, but rather to introduce a more open attitude to the concept of fascism. This endeavour will be anchored in a theoretical perspective which is 'case-free' in the sense of not being a "theory of Germany and/or Italy". Thus I do not stick to the celebrated idea – of which Ernst Nolte seems to have been the strongest advocate – that the safest way to explain Nazism in Germany is to elaborate a "theory on the unique case of Germany". This position is in any case untenable since a theory on 'Nazism in Germany' will include universalist assumptions as part of its theoretical logic.[12]

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[11] *Fascism. An Informal Introduction to its Theory and Practice. Renzo de Felice. An interview with Michael A. Leeden*, New Jersey 1976. A general overview of some aspects of the de Felice controversy can be found in Michael A. Leeden 1976: "Renzo de Felice and the Controversy over Italian Fascism", in *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol 11, 1976 p. 269-283 and in the two articles of Borden W. Painter: "Renzo de Felice and the Historiography of Italian Fascism" in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 95, No. 2, April 1990 and "Renzo de Felice and the Historian's Task", in *The Italian Quarterly*, Rutgers University, 2000.

[12] In Ernst Nolte's famous book on the three types of fascism (English translation: *Three faces of Fascism. Action Francaise, Italian Fascism, National Socialism*, 1965) he concentrates on explaining/defining the differences between them. In his reply to critics of Nolte in "The problem of fascism in recent scholarship" pp. 27-42 in Henry A. Turner jr. 1975: *Reappraisals of Fascism*, N.Y., Nolte may be understood to extend the diffusion of fascism beyond Europe (pp. 30-1). Klaus Epstein wrote a very interesting interpretation of Nolte's rather vague theory in the same volume: "A new study of fascism" pp. 2-25: "What makes Nolte's book great despite its unhelpful metaphysical abstractions ....The value of the comparative approach has been indicated above ... in depth is a deplorable commentary on the still widespread compartimentalization of history along national lines ... the author has

To sum up: in analyzing fascism outside Europe one may come up with statements on fascism which some people, or some entire nations, might regard as political insults. But to deny the existence of fascism, or to avoid pointing out possible traits of fascism within hitherto 'clean' regimes or movements, is to avoid problems out of convenience. At the same time, it is equally unacceptable to accuse people of such sympathies on loose grounds, which often happens as a result of the popular and irreverent tendency of designating all "enemies" as fascists.

ii) The awkward label: 'concept of fascism'

Let me then give some thoughts to the ongoing debate on the *definition* and *theory* of fascism. This has to do with logic on the one hand and with the varying understanding of the nature of theories as such, on the other. In the literature we often find that the definition of fascism is mixed up with the explanation of fascism. This problem is hidden beneath the label: 'concept of fascism'. Perhaps it is not always easy analytically to separate what a phenomena *is* from what makes, or brings, it *into being*. Thus, if you define fascism *as* 'middle class revolt' you will explain fascism by implying that it succeeded because it *was* the middle class that revolted, even though at that point you might silently have been thinking of something other than what they revolted against, or what they wanted.

One way out of the dilemma is to drop the label 'concept of fascism' and instead separate the logic into two components: definition and theory, and to avoid the so-called 'one-variable theories'. One-variable explanation can be exemplified by the 'role of individual leadership theory', separately or together with the 'the middle class thesis'[13]. The first theory emphasizes how fascist

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succeeded in his primary task of establishing the *epochal* character of fascism for the period of 1919-1945 and defining its historical prerequisites ... his construction of a fascist 'ideal type', constitutes a valuable ... to all future studies in fascism."(p. 23) . However, it is not quite clear how far Nolte is willing to extend fascism to include cases outside Europe and outside the 'epoch' of 1919-1945. It is however interesting to note that writers who are specialists on Italian history and fascism have a certain tendency to claim that "Italian fascism" is unique and could not be compared with other forms. This may be a "natural tendency" but not much of a theoretical argument.

[13] An exemplary analysis of the 'leadership-theory' is provided by Karl Dietrich Bracher in his "The role of Hitler. Perspectives of interpretation" in Walter Laquer op.cit. 1975 pp. 193-212, although he somewhat narrows the theoretical value of his arguments by

success in local areas, or in certain segments of the society, was dependent on political entrepreneurs who could diffuse fascist ideas into the community, the local milieu and into the nation as a whole. The individual charisma and organizational skills of leaders persuaded people to follow the fascist call – to channel their frustration/ambitions into a fascist mobilization. The one-variable theory is thus an explanation focusing on the availability of national and local leaders. In brief, according to the 'concept of fascism', this may be termed 'the role of the unique personality'. But unless specified, this 'concept of fascism' remains a mere fiction, rather than being a theory, regardless of the many interesting biographical accounts of Hitler or Mussolini. Reliance on this 'concept' has also led many to refrain from defining certain national movements as fascist, due to the absence of a 'unique' personality, such as a Hitler. This approach is also completely context free, by being focussed on the single variable of the individual leader.

Insofar as it is a one-variable theory, much the same can be said about the 'middle class thesis', when treated as a 'concept of fascism'. In analyzing how small shopkeepers and firms were squeezed between big business and big unions, the one-variable theory would state that it is only when the middle classes are sufficiently large and sufficiently squeezed, that fascism can succeed. The social and ideological context of the middle class is underplayed.

The real challenge in theory-building is to avoid reliance on one-variable explanation and instead combine such explanations into compound statements which include several variables whose joint effects are specified and analyzed. The challenge would be to state exactly how individual entrepreneurship and middle class frustration coincided in such a way as to unleash strong fascist support. I have tried elsewhere to envisage a way of solving this problem by suggesting the idea of 'accumulating chains of events' supported by 'stimulating moments'. When three or more supportive conditions occur together simultaneously, or within a brief time interval, they would reinforce each other in a chain reaction, thus providing the basic conditions for the success of fascism. The order in which the conditions occur is perhaps not especially important; what matters is that they are all present and connected in a certain way.[14]

By employing such a strategy one avoids reliance on the typical one-

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confining the relevance of the Hitler-figure and of national socialism to Germany alone".

[14] "Decomposition and re-composition of theories. How to arrive at useful ideas explaining fascism", forthcoming in Alessandro Campi ed. 2001: *Interpretations of fascism*.

variable type of explanation – where the variable might be middle-class revolt, or local political entrepreneurship, or the fact of having lost a war etc. – and appeals instead to a specific concatenation of these variables. James Gregory's celebrated attack on 'theories of fascism' falls into the category of attacks on one-variable explanations when he looks at one theory after the other and finds that in some countries/environments they apply and in others not. Ultimately he rejects them all as unsatisfactory general explanations.[15]

The problem of definition and explanation (theory) implied by what is often labeled as the 'concept of fascism' is therefore well illustrated by the discussion of the middle-class thesis to be found in the literature. If one *defines* fascism a as middle-class revolt, and at the same time *explains* it as a phenomenon that occured when the middle-classes revolted, the tautology is evident. A theory of fascism should rather take the form of a statement which includes several 'background factors'(which are 'not fascist'), which in a particular instance produce 'an effect' – i.e. fascism. Then one can more easily separate analytically the variables in the explanation. If the term 'concept' does convey either *definition* or *theory*, this should be made very explicit.[16] I believe that much of the confusion in the debate about explaining fascism comes from this intermingling of logical expressions.[17]

This difference also becomes clear if one asks explicitly whether, in the explanation of fascism, the term 'fascism' is being used as a *dependent* or an *independent* variable. When fascism is used as *dependent* variable we think of the 'causes' which *produced* fascism as a political movement and as a regime. If we use fascism as *independent* variable we think of the *effects* fascism had as a movement/regime upon the societies concerned. The dependent-independent distinction goes a long way to explaining the fuzziness in the huge body of literature that discusses the 'concept' of fascism.

The researcher also begins with the idea that an 'essential' definition of

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[15] Gregor, A. James 1974: *Interpretations of Fascism*, Berkley. This very interesting book comes up with a rather pessimistic conclusion (pp. 238-62): "What we do not have is a body of valuable theory ... We do have a great number of negative insights. We know, for example, that many popular accounts of Fascism are hopelessly inadequate. ...There is little prospect that the near future will deliver a fully competent theory of fascism. We will have to be content with plausibilities and detailed historical accounts"(p. 261).

[16] See Juan J. Linz 1995: "Fascism" in Linz, Juan et al. eds.: *Dictionary of Democracy Vol. II*, pp. 471-74.

[17] Roger Eatwell touches on this idea in this book, pp. 33-34.

fascism does not really exist.[18] Karl Popper is one scholar who has consistently warned against striving for 'essentialism'[19]. Instead he advocates a form of 'nominalism' which treats definitions as practical instruments for the given analysis. This brings forward the idea that most (all?) definitions of central political concepts can never be fully defined in terms of absolute criteria. Instead, we must occasionally invent conceptual approximations. Robert Dahl's use of the concept of 'polyarchy' is an example of such an effort. He recognizes that democracy does not exist as an empirical, "complete" phenomena anywhere today (it may also never come to exist in its pure form). Therefore it is better to define modern democracies as 'polyarchies' which in some way or other approximate what we may think of as democracies: basic rights, equality, institutions for compromise on distribution of power etc. What we consider as 'democracy' comprises a large set of polyarchies which differ in many aspects, but have several things in common: none of them have all dimensions of (true) democracy and none of them are identical.[20]

One celebrated approach to the definition of fascism is to try to establish what fascism is *not* and to identify which societal groupings, ideologies, or institutions come closest to this 'negative ideal'.[21] From such a 'list' one

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[18] Laqueur, Walter 1996 in his: *Fascism. Past, Present, Future*, New York - Oxford, gives his first chapter the title of "Essence of fascism". However, it turns out to be a rather general outlining of approaches to the study of fascism, which has little to do with my understanding of 'essence'. "Like pathogenic bacilli, fascism could be found in every organism. But it could prevail only if the organism was weakened or in some other way predisposed" (p. 21). He also claims that "Fascism resembles pornography in that it is difficult – perhaps impossible – to define in an operational, legally valid way, but those with experience know it when they see it" (p. 6).

[19] See his 1957/1989: *The Poverty of Historicism*, particularly chapter 10 "Essentialism versus nominalism", pp. 26-34. See also his 1959/1986: *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*, London, p. 279 n 3, pp. 430-31, and several parts of his 1945/1996: *The Open Society and its Enemies*, Part II, London.

[20] Robert Dahl 1971: *Polyarchy. Participation and Opposition*, New Haven and London. He writes about democracy: "Whether such a system actually exists, has existed, or can exist need not concern us for the moment ... as a hypothetical system, one end of a scale ... serve as a basis for estimating the degree to which various systems approach this theoretical limit" (p. 2)."Democracy among a large number of people" is thus given the label 'polyarchy'.

[21] Under the title "What Fascism is Not: Thoughts on the Deflation of a Concept", Gilbert Allardyce invited a symposium to discuss the definition of fascism by trying to

should be able to label movements and regimes as more or less fascist from a scale, or a hierarchy of traits.[22] However, the 'minimum list' is anchored in an 'essential' definition, one which is not written out in full text (an 'ideal type'?), but hidden in the background. I do not deny the pedagogical value of such list-definitions – either of the 'minimum' or the 'median' type – but they are not real research instruments which help us to understand fascism proper.

I will also mention two additional factors which may limit our horizons in searching for a theory of fascism: a) the ethnocentric bias, and b) the "lack of research" bias.

Firstly, I do support the idea that fascism "came from Europe" since much of the thinking and many of the organizational and political forms were diffused from European models. People outside Europe traveled (or sent ambassadors) to visit the fascist dictators or read books or pamphlets published by fascist movements/regimes. But that does not mean the non-European fascist creations had to "come from Europe" in the deeper sense. The European models were fused into the movements and ideas that already existed, with their regional or local identities, but they never appeared as exact copies. They were Asian, African or Latin American models. Unless we acknowledge this difference, we will not be able to grasp the essence of the phenomena under study. (Neither are we guilty of an ethnocentric bias "against" non-Europeans – and thus of being "hostile to them" – by searching for fascism among them.)

Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, there is the problem that we can never research fascism "completely", down to the very last piece of evidence. This has so far been important for our knowledge of non-European

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delineate the 'true' meaning of the word. His paper, along with comments by Stanley Payne and Ernst Nolte, is published in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 84, no. 2, April 1979, pp. 367-98. His conclusion – and the ensuing comments – did not result in much of a clarification. He ends up writing: "The task, therefore, is to study these political expressions [the main, known fascist parties in inter-war Europe] just as they are, while recognizing that the name given them is less intelligible than we would like it to be. Anyway, there is no perfect history any more than there is a real fascism", p. 388. Such a statement is not much of a stimulus to advance the field! The so-called 'negative definition' is therefore a dead end.

[22] See Payne 1995 op.cit. p. 7, and Juan J. Linz 1980: "Political Space and Fascism as a Late-Comer: Conditions Conducive to the Success or Failure of Fascism as a Mass Movement in Inter-War Europe ", in *Who were the fascists?* eds. Stein Ugelvik Larsen et al. pp. 153-89.

cases. In most countries there will always be one bit of archival material left, one extra person to be interviewed, or some problem to "tap" for the generations of scholars coming after us. We will thus never know "everything" about fascism. But how can we construct a "complete" theoretical perspective about a phenomenon we do not "know"? It is true that there is immense variation in the quality of research on fascism in the different national settings. Regulations limiting access to material, policies of supporting/denying research, academic training of scholars engaged in research, availability of competent publishers, and freedom of the public agenda for debate; these are among the factors which vary from one context to another. The "under-research" bias will be very true of some non-European countries. With the death of 'the fascist generation', the loss of evidence due to negligence in securing material or interviews etc. will also curtail the possibility of research ever being "complete".

The only 'solution' to these two challenges lies in the innovative creativity of our theorizing. We have to formulate comparative theory knowing that a "comprehensive test" will not be possible due to "unknown material", but we may remedy this by imagining and specifying what kind of evidence would 'defeat/falsify' our theory. "Completeness" is actually and logistically impossible, but the 'critical' evidence is important and relevant only in light of the theory. The problem in doing comparative research outside Europe is that the European scholars who analyze fascism do not necessarily "understand" non-European contexts. This is a result not only of limited or totally lacking knowledge of languages and cultures, or of the limited range of publications that deal with the phenomenon, but also of the overall political 'code' in which non-European fascism was born. Again, the challenge for theory is to specify the conditions under which the 'falsification' will be final, thus leaving room for "undecided contextual interpretation", insofar as this can be empirically qualified and theoretically relevant.

I therefore take the stand that there is no hindrance in stepping outside the European inter-war context when trying to develop a general theory of fascism, although there are often extraordinary difficulties. On the contrary: it is perhaps only by analyzing the non-European cases that one can understand the European development properly?

There are obvious problems related to the analysis of non-European fascism because the European 'mode of fascism' did dominate everywhere. It

was part of what we now call "world time".[23] In a sense, fascism had to be diffused from Europe in one way or another. However, such a diffusion did not mean that it was only or primarily the special features of European extremist nationalism, or of the populist Führer principle, which were exported. Rather, the 'export' has to be seen in terms of the general trend of modernization that came from Europe (and America). In this way the explanation of fascist growth outside (as inside) Europe is that it grew as a result of conditions created by the diffusion of the structures of the modern industrialized economy, which again were based upon the values and organizational methods of the most advanced states at the time. Thus fascism outside Europe could arise where this diffusion had had the greatest effect; either due to direct imports from Europe, its machinery or institutional structures, or as a result of indirect diffusion, whereby non-Europeans applied European ideas and models to their domestic conditions[24].

To sum up: Research that aims to explain fascism outside Europe should not be limited to one-variable theory, and one should avoid the notion 'concept of facism' as it has been used in the literature. One-variable thinking – derived from a study of the individual European cases – does not lead to interesting results outside Europe. While being aware of the difference between dependent and independent variables in explaining fascism, one may avoid several of the pitfalls found in the literature. The best way to reach a sound

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[23] For the concept of 'world time' see Wolfram Eberhard: "Problems of Historical Sociology", in *State and Society. A Reader*, eds. Reinhard Bendix et Al. Berkley 1973, pp. 25-28. Theda Skocpol, in her 1979: *States and Social Revolutions. A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China*, Cambridge, briefly defines "world time" by saying that "some aspects of 'modernization' have been unique processes affecting the world as a whole" (p. 23.)

[24] The 'export of fascism' is strongly denied by de Felice in his 1977 book op. cit. "Fascism was a European phenomenon that developed within the time span encompassing the two World Wars ... No comparison can be made with situations outside Europe, whether of the same period or later, because of radical differences in historical contexts – in the broadest sense of the term" p. 175. The same sort of denial is presented by Ernst Nolte in his 1969 book: *Three faces of fascism: Action Françaises, Italian fascism, national socialism*, New York/Chicago/San Francisco. However, Walter Laqueur asserts in his latest book, *Fascism. Past, present, future*, New York/Oxford (1996), that "The possibility and likelihood of fascism outside Europe and North America was discussed in the years before and after World War II, and most observers argued that this was a 'false fascism'. Such an appraisal was true at the time, but no longer seems to be correct" (p. 6, 217)

understanding of fascism outside Europe is to avoid getting too fixed on 'essentialism', because that again leads us to think that the "essential fascism" occurred in Europe between the wars. Look for functional equivalence, but in a nominalist fashion.

Finally, do not be misled by missing evidence due to lack of research and challenge all sorts of ethnocentric bias when inferring ideas on global fascism.

iii) "Generic fascism" vs. fascism as an emergent phenomenon in the modern world. The double inheritance of liberalism: openness and individuality

I believe that one of the best strategies we can apply to avoid some of the dilemmas involved in studying fascism outside Europe and to facilitate better theories on fascism, is to drop the entire debate over the so called "generic" tradition of analyzing fascism. As I concluded in the above section, I recommend instead that we regard fascism as an emergent phenomenon, as something inherent in the development of modern societies in the twentieth century.

The "generic" tradition of analyzing fascism is first of all an approach that focuses on the notion of fascism as a political phenomena *beginning at a specific moment in time* and which implies a plague-like diffusion from that *single geographical point* in location and time. This is a common notion in explaining the development of arts and fiction of various genres; the beginning of a new genre in one art form can be localised to one place at one point in time and begins with the works of one artist/author. This seed then grows into the tree, the bacterium spreads the contagion of the disease, the original message is distributed by other agents etc. Generic explanation is thus dependent on the "initial" identification of the phenomenon: the first fascists[25].

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[25] This is the favorite approach among many historians and many use it as a kind of evolutionary approach; a sudden 'mutation' in the historical development inititiates an individual evolutionary transmittance. From this 'point' one can (it is hoped) observe its 'spread' in different contexts. An early formulation of this approach was given by Stanley Payne at the Bergen conference in 1974, which was published in Stein Ugelvik Larsen et al., eds. 1980: *Who were the fascists? Social roots of European fascism 1918-1940*, Bergen/Oslo. This thinking is elaborated in his 1980: *Fascism. Comparison and Definition*, Madison, particularly in chapter 9: "Generic fascism: A conclusion" pp. 191-212. In Payne's most recent book from 1995: *A history of Fascism 1914-1945*, London, he develops further thoughts on the use of biological references/taxonomy, writing that fascist movements did

The main problem with this approach is that it identifies the cause of the illness by its symptoms. Italy would be chosen as the prototype for fascism because the first organization appeared there and the use of the name "fascisti" was first used there. The logic will thus imply that it was something "within the Italian context" which produced fascism, and the spread of fascism involved imitations of the forms and content of Italian fascism. This also happened when the Nazi regime was established in 1933 – with its impact on the world scene – as it did when the Japanese fascist regime diffused its impulses throughout Asia before and during the Second World War.

There is much truth in the approach that explains fascism through diffusion or imitation. There is no point in refuting the statement that the first successful fascist movement (to be labeled as such) and regime was born in Italy. However, the generic approach, insofar as it encourages us to focus only

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not constitute a "specific, delimited genus" from "other genera" (note 6, p. 464). In the new book he also develops "elements of a retrodictive theory of fascism" – "that is, an elucidation of the particular circumstances that would have to have existed in an early twentieth-century European country in order for a significant fascist movement to have developed"(pp. 488-89). He then lists the factors often used to signify 'background conditions' – commonly connected in many authors' analysis (cultural, political, social, economic and international factors). Roger Griffin in his 1991: *The nature of fascism*, London/New York, also uses the expression 'generic fascism' and has developed his own 'concise definition, which begins with the words: "Fascism is a genus of political ideology whose mythic core ... is a palingenetic form ..."(p. 26). See also his chapter in this book where he outlines elements of this theory..

One typical study which attempts to find a 'genetic origin' of Nazism is Rohan D'O. Butler 1941: *The Roots of National Socialism 1783-1933*, London, where he states that "national socialist theory is almost entirely derived from the common elements of traditional German thought during the past hundred and fifty years" (p. 283). Similarly, Daniel Gasman's 1971: *The Scientific origins of national socialism. Social Darwinism in Ernst Haeckel and the German Monist League*, London/New York, traces the roots of Hitler's thinking in German intellectual history: "Its [the thoughts of Ernst Hackel (1834-1919) and his followers] major assumptions and proposals were in all important respects identical with the political and social program of later twentieth-century National Socialism" (p. 82).

See also Zeev Sternhell with Mario Sznajder/Maia Ascheri 1994: *The birth of fascist ideology. From cultural rebellion to political revolution*, Princeton. They advocate the idea that there was an identifiable point somewhere from which fascism developed: "With regard to political theory, the fascist synthesis was already clearly expressed around 1910-1912 in publications like La Laup in Italy and the Cahiers du Cercle Proudhon in France. After the first manifestations of the Fascist synthesis in France, the war was needed in order that a situation should exist in Italy that would enable this movement of ideas to be translated into a political force" (p. 31). They deny the direct comparability of Nazism and fascism.

on the first "generic" case, limits our imagination when it comes to discovering the causes of fascism and its comparative development. It directs our attention too much at this single empirical case as a basis for the global comparison of empirical fascism, and it may take our attention away from the general forces behind fascism in the modern world and the various actual models in the empirical world. The "first" case may not be the most important, and the reasons why the "first" case appeared in Italy may be better found by comparing several other cases than studying Italy exclusively.[26]

What is also important is the obvious logical truth that no other case can be similar to the "first" just because the "first" had to be new and inventive; there existed no example to learn from. The novelty of the phenomenon itself prevented replication and its presence on the world scene "distorted" the fresh development of fascism elsewhere at a later date. Thus it would simply be empirically "impossible" to imagine that a full blown Third Reich could be imitated in any other national context. Hitler's speeches could not really be duplicated in another language and the detailed outlining and praxis of Nazi totalitarianism could not be copied in detail in a state that was less industrialized and not so technically well administered. Therefore, we have to employ very general categories of comparison when trying to build a theory of fascism. We have to lay much emphasis on the time factor and on the local context.

If we reconsider the comparative analysis of fascism in terms of *emergent properties in the world after the beginning of the last century*, we may avoid many of the difficulties involved in the so-called generic approach, and we may move one step forward. The crucial 'revolutions' in Europe in politics, economics and science had "loaded" European development with different options to chose from at the turn of last century. The European models of fascism were born from this general "loading" of the joint European

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[26] In the chapter "Fascism and Modernization" (pp. 117-39) in his *Reappraisals of Fascism*, New York 1975, Henry A. Turner J. (ed.) challenges the concept of 'generic fascism' on similar grounds. "Anyone who read many studies of fascism as a multi-national problem cannot but be struck by the frequency with which the writers who begin by assuming they are dealing with a unitary phenomenon end up with several more-or-less discrete subcategories. Regardless of whose criteria are applied, it seems difficult to keep fascism from fragmenting. ... Fascism as a generic concept has no validity and is without value for serious analytical purposes ..." (p.132). He then refers to the works of George L. Mosse: "Introduction: The Genesis of Fascism" in Laqueur and Mosse eds. 1966: *International Fascism*, (No. 1 Journal of Contemporary History), and Ernst Nolte in his 1967: *Theorien über den Faschismus*, Köln, and others (notes 35 and 36 p. 139).

traditions, while becoming different because of their very different opportunities in terms of national contexts. Fascism depended on such an 'emergent property' from which the führers, the movements, and the regimes developed. They were all different, but had much in common[27]. In the actual world, the various fascisms also put much emphasis on their differences and "national specificity". Fascism of the first "wave" was also different from that of the "second wave", not only because some of its embodiments were successful in establishing regimes, but also because the "second wave" came by necessity after the "first".

What does it mean to say the fascism was an emergent phenomenon? It was a combination of the structural factors inherent in the so-called modernization syndrome, and the ideological components of early liberalism. The introduction of liberal political institutions, the removal of restrictions on laissez faire economics, and the spread of liberal and secular ideas, all coming together with rapid structural changes within societies, resulted in a series of unfortunate consequences for the modern world and provided the 'force' or 'emergent property' which was the 'drive' that produced communism, fascism, conservative authoritarianism, Christian communitarianism etc.. This impulse – which has no 'name' in itself – created opportunities from which all these responses fed. The First World War, as well as the minor wars before and after 1900, thus unleashed fascist movements and ideologies, whereas the Second World War was unleashed by the fascist regimes.

Physicists often talk about 'hidden variables' when they observe regularities and symmetry but cannot detect the independent force producing the observed effects. 'Fascism as emergence' corresponds to this logic. We may not be able to uncover fully the 'causes of fascism' (independent variables), but we can observe their effects as manifested in various movements and regimes, each varying according to its national context.

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[27] A brief but interesting overview of the ideological "loading" at the turn of the century will be found in chapter 2 of Stanley G. Payne's valuable 1995: *A History of Fascism 1914-1945*, Wisconsin: "Radical and Authoritarian Nationalism in Late Nineteenth-Century Europe", pp. 35-70. He outlines six forms of right-wing and/or nationalist authoritarianism: monarchist-traditionalist, corporatist, integral-monarchist, moderate-constitutionalist, modernizing-nationalist, and revolutionary national socialism. The latter was to develop into fascism of four kinds: French, Austrian, German and Italian. In Payne's perspective Eastern Europe did not develop fascism because of its economic backwardness. According to Payne, Italy was backward compared to the Western industrialized countries, while forward compared to the Eastern and Southern nations, thus being "ripe" for a revolutionary, authoritarian solution to lift it out of its backwardness.

In order to get a better grip on this way of thinking I will point to Max Weber's illuminating analysis of how rational science, or the spirit of capitalism 'emerged' from the 'hidden' cause of Calvinist Protestantism. When the Reformation split the European religious and political communities in two – between Catholics and Protestants – Calvinism arose as a religious protestant movement that emphasized hard work as the only route to eternal salvation. In Weber's explanation, the impulse that came from this ideology and behavior facilitated the development of both rational (natural) science and capitalism, in the societies where the Calvinists lived, albeit as consequences unforeseen by the Calvinists themselves. Over a period of time both rational science and capitalism broke their 'bonds' with these original impulses and developed further through internal socialization and reinforcing mechanisms, without links to their origins. In the worlds of science and capitalism today the individuals with Calvinist leanings are rare or non-existent.[28]

In my view fascism also arose as such an emergent phenomena. At some point in time it acquired independence and developed as a consequence 'unintended' by its origin. I hold that early liberalism and early modernization *produced* fascism as one of their 'unintended consequences'; both being radically different from the their unintended 'product'. I therefore strongly support the ideas forwarded by Robert Paxon in his efforts to trace the 'link' between liberalism and fascism.[29] In describing the "Five stages of Fascism" he directly connects fascism with early liberalism; two ideological positions which definitely have to be seen as contradictory. But the idea is again to underline the importance of the 'break' and 'unintended consequences'; we often have to imagine 'hidden' or 'non-obvious' causes when explaining the phenomena we analyze. I therefore believe this strategy useful for future efforts to build theories of fascism, although it requires further substantiation.

Although there is much truth in the thinking of Hegelian and Marxist

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[28] See Nils Gilje's "The Weber-Merton Thesis. Protestantism and the Breakthrough of Modern Natural Science" (pp. 21-38) in Larsen, Stein Ugelvik 2001: *Theory and Methods in the Social Sciences*, N.Y. See also Bendix, Reinhard "A. The Sprit of Capitalism", "B. The Protestand Ethic", and "C. Ideas as Causes and as Consequences" pp. 50-69, in his 1960/1962: *Max Weber. An Intellectual Portrait*. New York, where he outlines the entire theory from the original of Max Weber published in 1904-1905 as: *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*.

[29] *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 70, March 1998, pp. 1-23.

dialectics, we shall not enter into the metaphysics of these traditions.[30] However, there is so much in fascist demagogy on the anti-themes of various kinds that we could easily predict that all nations of Europe would have to challenge some political response of the kind that later came to be called 'fascism': anti-industrialism (anti-modernism), anti-liberalism, anti-democracy, anti-imperialism (for Asia), anti-plutocracy (capitalism), anti-Semitism, anti- parliamentarianism (anti-political parties) etc., were all around and presented themselves as choices to be taken, or problems to be handled by each individual polity.

However, every major revolutionary breakthrough would be followed by some anti-stands. Some of these converged in the twentieth century into fascism. When the Russian revolution occurred in 1917 and the 'Democratic' revolution spread after the First World War, anti-bolshevism and anti-egalitarianism rose as very strong "restoration movements" on the European scene. However, by the turn of that century no one could predict that fascism would become such a concrete, political reaction, although one could certainly predict that some sort of anti-movements would emerge. Despite its being 'anti-' one cannot, however, regard fascism as a force which arose as an anti-thesis of dialectic necessity, in the way propounded by Hegel and Marx. Such a view is too closely bound up with semantic labeling and with the written

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[30] In the wake of the rapid extension of new independent states in the 3rd World there appeared several books trying to explain the "stages" of growth predicting how world development in capitalism would come about. One of them A.F.K. Organski 1965: *The Stages of Political Development*, New York, was particularly concerned to explain fascism as a product of different stages of industrialization. Organski excludes Hitler's Germany as fascist because Germany had already reached the high tide of industrialization when he rose to power. Italy, Spain and Argentina (under Peron) are the main fascist cases and all three of them can be explained as "syncratic" regimes which arose from the same industrial conditions in the "second stage" as an authoritarian compromise between the weakened landed elite and the ascendant industrial elite. Two "weak elites" came together (temporarily) to combat the threat from the organized working classes. The year after Organski's book appeared, the *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy. Lord and Peasant in the making of the Modern World*, by Barrington Moore jr., was published. He was also very much concerned about the alliances between the upper elites and the situation of the weakened landed elite against the rising industrial bourgeois elites while starting his explanation from around 1648. Both of them are thus analyzing the preconditions for fascism as part of the general conditions in the world without relying on the diffusion approach; i.e. the "genetic" spread from the "first case".

words of fascist propaganda, as David Renton rightly asserts.[31] Instead, one has to acknowledge that fascism rose as an emergent phenomenon from the combined effect of liberalism and modernization, and that it became independent of these origins even before the birth of specific empirical entities of fascism appeared. If we overemphasize this anti-labeling we may easily overlook important features of fascism such as its strong 'liberating effect' on the masses and the countryside, and its modernizing effect on large sectors of the public sphere.

We can now start to look at theories that explains the success of fascism as an emergent phenomenon involving liberalism and modernization in imbalance; either strong liberalism and weak, structural modernization, or strong modernization but underdeveloped liberalism. Where the combined characteristics of the two 'were in balance', fascism did not gain much support. And the fascist models could contain both, as well as their 'anti's'.

This will be the perspective where I try to draw some conclusion from the chapters in this book. Fascism universally arose as an emergent property challenging all nations in Europe and elsewhere, and developed very differently depending on the context; it was not an Italian phenomenon that spread to all the others. The generic approach is thus misleading when taken as a theory of diffusion of fascism from one point in time and space, and which adopts that single entity (e.g. Italy) as a measure for what is and what is not fascism, and regards it as the source from which fascism could grow.

To sum up: fascist movements and fascist regimes would differ from each other even if they emerged from the same original source. The main task is therefore to account for their differences and at the same time to explain why they can be classified together. For several reasons they cannot be identical, and neither can they closely resemble Italy, even if they arose from the same, emergent source. When fascism appeared in Siam/Thailand it could not be 'similar' to Germany either, because it had to build on pan-Thai traditions with their domestic ideology of racism and expansionism. The Thai führer wanted land in the neighboring areas, not in Sudetenland or Eastern Europe, and his racism was directed against the local Chinese, not the Jews.

In order to find such similarities one should not rely on the 'generic method' as a logical instrument of research, whatever it might involve. The

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[31] Renton, David op. cit. 1999: "Theirs [the historians' descriptions/theories] are flawed histories inextricably linked to definitions of fascism offered by fascists themselves; thus they do not constitute a critical theory of fascism"(p. 29).

'generic approach' fixes upon the one single case as model for the many and varied occurrences of fascism both inside and outside Europe, and it also prevents the observer from seeing that fascism could arise in a diversity of national contexts.

iii) "Degrees" of fascism and fascist "tendencies": the various national fascisms and their similarities. Confusion arising from the use of Weber's 'ideal types'.

Throughout the literature we find expressions like: "fascist tendencies", "fascist-like activity", "fascist-type movement", "Heimwehr-fascism", "Austro-fascism", "full-blown fascism", "elements of fascism", "fascism in sensu stricto" etc.. Along with the numerous uses of the prefixes mentioned above – such as proto-, pre-(fascist) etc. – they all reflect the uncertainty on how to delimit the concept of fascism. This again leads us to consider the use of a classification which operates with fascism as a matter of degree, a matter of distinction between fascist regime and fascist movement, a matter of the phase/time-distinction - before and after take-over/before and after 1933 - and so on.

It also leads us to the notion that there are only very few, common elements which can be referred to as genuinely 'fascist' and distinct from those of other movements and regimes. Most political parties and movements outside the Marxist camp in Europe were anti-communist, most parties apart from the most genuinely liberal ones were anti-liberal, and for a whole range of very different movements, variants of corporatism were proposed as a solution to the contemporary crisis of world capitalism and the free market. Nationalism was also frequently adopted by different political actors, not only on the right, and several conservative parties were less nationalist than conservative.

We can also adopt the idea that no fascist movement or regime was "fully" fascist/Nazi, since the organizational and ideological utopia inherent in fascism was not conducive to truly political, pragmatic solutions. I therefore sometimes find it useful to use the word fascism to cover empirical phenomena which manifest a relevant *matter of degree* with certain important thresholds. This solution also seems to have adopted in much of the literature, even if this is largely implicit. Hitler's regime was not really corporatist, and the role of the NSDAP as a mass mobilizing organization was gradually reduced as fascism expanded. Mussolini's party and regime was not (initially) racist, but

became such in response to German pressure. Franco's Spain was not created from below through a mass organization, but the regime was organized and legitimized on fascist principles. Salazar's regime in Portugal repressed the ideological fascist movement (National syndicalism), but had to create a formal mass organization (National Union) to provide a link to the people, a strategy also adopted by Franco and by Vargas and Peron in Latin America.

None of the fascist movements or regimes were similar, none were "fully" and utopianly fascist, or, in the language of Max Weber: ideal-type fascism.[32] We also have to speak of degrees of fascism in terms of 'moderates' and 'extremes', as we may speak of 'successful' or 'abortive' fascist movements. A movement or a regime could incorporate some fascist tendencies, perhaps temporarily, or it might start as a non-fascist movement but turn into one; just as a movement might at one point be fascist but then depart from "true" fascism under the impact of various influences. The label/word fascism will then designate a 'scale' from "zero-fascism" to "complete fascism" where ideas, regimes, actions, movements, individuals may be placed according to evaluation of a variety of fascist 'traits'.[33] The selection of factors and their weights will always be a matter of potential disagreement among scholars. Often one event may be decisive: the Holocaust under the Third Reich, the Ethiopian war under Mussolini, the medical experiments performed on living humans by the Japanese regime by the Unit 731 after 1932; or it might be a single written/spoken utterance, such as the "Blut und Boden" of NSDAP terminology, or "Il Duce ha sempre ragione" (The Duce is always right). The exact, operational ordering of individual fascisms on the scale will thus always be a matter of dispute, the main thing is that there exist some broad concensus about the rank or order on the scale. There will always be difficulties: was The Third Reich more fascist than Mussolini's regime on account of its incomparable cruelty to millions of people, or was Hitler's regime much stronger and well ordered than Mussolini's, such that it was merely the logistic superiority that made the

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[32] This approach usually refers to Max Weber's *Economy and Society*, and is sometimes recommended in order to transcend particular national phenomena. See Griffin 1991 op.cit. "Fascism as an ideal type" (pp. 8-12) and his construction of "a new ideal type" (p.13), with references to Ian Kershaw's book 1985: *The Nazi dictatorship*, London, (p.150). On Weber see quotes in T. Burger 1976: *Max Weber's theory of concept formation, history, laws and ideal types*, Durham (pp.127-28).

[33] This idea was also put forward by Ernst Nolte in Appendix B (pp. 576-7) in his 1965: *Three Faces of Fascism*, op.cit.

difference, not its fascism? And was Saldago's Brazilian Integralist Action (AIB) movement in Brazil more fascist than Degrelle's Christus Rex in Belgium?

There is no straightforward answer to such problems of ranking. On a one-dimensional ranking of human cruelty the Soviet Union and Mao's China after 1949 – not to talk about Pol Pot's genocide of one millions Cambodians – would come closer to the top than Italy and Spain. On the dimension 'degree of mass mobilization and collectivization of mind' Hitler's NSDAP would rank far above the Japanese regime after 1933 and Brazil under Vargas after 1937. If all possible characteristics of fascism were to be included, and each individually weighted, it is fairly obvious that it would be hard to agree a on scale ordering. Even the thresholds would be subject to disagreement: should the Norwegian party Nasjonal Samling before 1940 be placed on the fascist scale, or did it only pass the threshold once it embarked on its full-scale collaboration with the German occupying powers after September 25th 1940? It is fairly obvious that it is impossible to arrive at an easy solution to the scale-ranking problem, which is of course related to the entire discussion as already presented on the definition of the 'essence' of fascism. At best, the 'fascism scale' should be regarded as a heuristic devise and a useful comparative, intellectual tool when working with a more or less vague, implicit definition of fascism. The scholar should always keep the ranking and the imagined, multidimensional 'scale of fascism' in mind.

This fairly "open" approach to the analysis of fascism is the one to be used when summarizing the experiences with fascism outside Europe. I will make occasional references to the other chapters in this book while discussing "types of fascism" and the "degrees of fascism" within the very different non-European contexts. What seems to be important to stress is the national, contextual character of fascism. The nationalist appeal could extend across class, religion, region and other sub-societal segments. Even some Jews in Europe and in Palestine could support fascism on this account. The close adhesion to nationalism in each country means that fascism differs from country to country due to differences in national history and geopolitical location. On the other hand the various national fascisms competed in terms of expansionist ideology; neighboring fascisms could not accept expansion into their own areas where they shared borders. Therefore fascism had to vary from one embodiment to another, and common elements are hard to differentiate from opportunism, collaboration and 'genuine' fascism. "Pan-Germanic", "pan-Iberian", "pan-Arabic" and "pan-Asian" ideologies were symptoms of fascism linked to war-opportunism, while militarization of

politics within different forms of paramilitary fascism was linked on the one hand to collaboration and on the other to movements of anti-imperialism, anti-communism, or cults of military veterans.

'French fascism' was essentially based on French nationalism. 'Japanese fascism' had to take an emperor into account and to accomodate imperial, modernist and formal traditions, while Germany was a new Republic with several pockets of German nationals scattered around in Central and Eastern Europe stimulating 'German fascism' towards a 'Greater Germany'.

To sum up: when analyzing fascism outside Europe one has to realize that there is no easily available tool to separate fascism from other political impulses, movements and regimes. I hold the opinion that it is useful to think of 'Italian fascism', 'Spanish fascism', or 'Thai fascism' as distinct phenomena. If we think of fascism as an emergent phenomenon with roots in the preceding century, but which has become independent of its origins, it will be found in different shapes throughout the non-European world. The search for empirical models has to follow the rather vague means of ranking and the heuristic fascist scale mentioned above. The most useful strategy is perhaps to think that there is not one fascism, but many. This will facilitate the search and open up for interesting findings. The judgement of the fruitfulness of the findings will depend on the extent to which one can persuade the world community of scholars and the public at large of their legitimacy.

v) Fascism and political instability as opportunity for creating political space (political shocks, immigration, economic cycles and war). The distinction between 'above' and 'below'.

New forms of politics usually arise when the stable order of the political system is challenged by forces outside or within the society. Political and societal instability was thus a definite prerequisite for the emergence of fascism. Instability set in motion forces which, on the one hand, were a reaction to instability and which strove to pull the society back to the pre-instability phase, or which, on the other, tended to exploit the instability to promote revolutionary upheavals of some kind. In their political strategy the fascist movements also devised propaganda that aimed to 'create instability', i.e. to create the impression in people's minds that a seemingly stable situation was in fact fragile and unstable, thus triggering the kind of behaviour associated with instability.

In political systems with long term stability, fascism thus found no political space, whereas it was successful in some societies which were under acute stress. This underlying stress could have very different causes: economic, political, national, or some specific historical circumstances. Canada, USA, Great Britain, France, the Low Countries (with the exception of Belgium), the Nordic states (except Finland) and Switzerland were stable political regimes, where fascism gained little success. The two large "new nations", Italy and Germany, and most of the newly created democracies in Europe after 1918, adopted fascist or some other sort of authoritarian one-man rule. Political stability worked against fascism, but gave it opportunities depending on the depth and the type of crisis developing.

Outside Europe political stability existed under very different conditions. In Latin America political stability was maintained by means of authoritarian rule, where groups of caudillos only changed within what were normally very limited circles of elites. In Asia and the Arab countries the imperialist rule of Western powers with their superior technology and economies was kept stable partly by means of pacts or some sort of inter-imperialist balance.

In order to create political space for fascism the balance thus had to be severely disturbed. The powers that guaranteed stability had to be challenged, and new groups had to enter the political arena, as they had done in the countries that were emerging as fascist in Europe. This change could happen in different ways, either via a mobilization from 'below' or as transformation from 'above'. This was how it had happened in Europe after 1923, and the regimes and movements in Europe varied quite a lot on 'the fascist scale'. It is therefore useful to regard as truly fascist not only those movements that originated from 'below', but also those that originated 'outside' a regime. These were different, but had much in common. Thus a regime which came into being as a mobilization of the masses from 'below' would face considerable difficulties in detaching itself from the movement, compared to regimes that created movements 'from above'. Very much of the direction or shape of development was dependent on domestic context, less, perhaps, on direct modeling from outside. Thus the two World Wars and the Great Depression in between stand out as the main destabilizing forces which triggered fascism inside and outside Europe. Their impact on the various parts of the world was uneven, and one may label them as intervening variables between the emergent forces and the development of national fascism in individual countries. They did not shape fascism as full scale political entities.

Theoretical summary:
The analytical perspective arising from the foregoing discussion can be briefly summarized as follows: fascism outside Europe was dissimilar to fascism in Europe. Therefore one has to approach the analysis with a more open mind than is implied by an exclusive focus on a European model or by the adoption of a single European country as the prototype of fascism. It will be very useful to analyze fascism comparatively using the heuristic 'fascist scale', and to attempt a ranking of the individual models, whereby it is important to specify clearly what characteristics of fascism are chosen as the basis for the ranking.

Fascism appeared in many contexts and took different forms. The origins from which it emerged were liberalism and modernization. Some of the models were able to emancipate people from parochial imperialism, despite the fact that fascism was primarily opposed to liberalism. Fascism was seen as a bulwark against modernizing forces that threatened the established order, but at the same time it functioned as a powerful vehicle for modernization. Fascism fought communism, but borrowed methods and models on a large scale, and even entered into far-reaching alliances with communist regimes (e.g. the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and Japan's pact with the Soviet Union). This multitude of facets involved in fascism make it obvious that one-variable analysis ('concept of fascism') and short 'essential' definitions, cannot bear fruits. One has to be more modest and work with vague operational criteria when selecting characteristics of the fascist syndrom.

On the other hand the researcher has to overcome the temptation to "find fascism everywhere". When realizing the political importance and emotional tensions associated with the phenomena under study this should encourage us to be disciplined in our work and inspire constructive criticism.

B. Four types of diffusion and spread of "European fascism" by fascist regimes: German Nazism, Italian Fascism, Francoism, Salazarism – and the spread of Japanese fascism in Asia.

There are two main problems connected to the diffusion of fascism from the four fascists regimes in Europe: one internal among competing forces within the regime, and the other external in terms of international competition among regimes. In addition there is the problem of defining and understanding the direct engagement during the war of the fascist powers in establishing puppet states and supporting plain collaborative movements in occupied territories.

The *internal problem* resembles the many types of conflicts typical of

a totalitarian state. In theory a totalitarian state is based on the simple idea of hierarchical centralization. This principle implies that the main policies and leadership conflicts are decided 'at the center', by the Führer or by the Central Committee (or the general secretary/chairman in person). However, when the inclination of leaders like Hitler and Mussolini (but less so for Franco and Salazar due to less emphasis on the party as the institution of the regime) was to rule by 'double competence', or by 'divide and rule' strategies, the signals from the top were unclear and often indecisive. Personal initiatives from below and competition between layers of 'similar' competence, lead to confusion and to policies from both rivals which turned out to be unsuccessful.[34] There was no agreement on the policy of how to "export" the national variant of fascism abroad.[35] In the first chapters in this book we see clearly how various personalities and organizational layers competed for influence in the export of fascism, while the leader himself was rather unclear or indecisive as to how to command the external party affairs. Therefore, the fascist parties did not succeed well in extending their influence abroad, among the target individuals who had emigrated to different countries, even if much energy was put into this endeavour.

The *external problems* were directly related either to the fear of the domestic regimes of being engulfed by their European 'progenitors', or by the genuine, domestic fascist movements themselves, which feared accusations of being 'foreign agents' and thus susceptible to espionage. The domestic, fascist movements would also have difficulties in establishing themselves as independent, autonomous alternatives.

The first challenge was also particularly serious since the autonomous states outside Europe had, in their history of struggling against the protracted threat of European imperialism, always been opposed to direct political influence from Europe. The European fascist regimes therefore had to be

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[34] See Kereshaw, Ian and Moshe Lewin (eds.) 1997: *Stalinism and Nazism. Dictatorships in comparison*, Cambridge, particularly the concept: "working towards the Führer", pp. 104-05.

[35] The serious conflicts within the German Nazi movement on how to penetrate the occupied areas of Eastern Europe illustrate this problem very clearly. See Dallin, Alexander 1957: *German Rule in Russia. 1941-1945. A study of Occupation Policies*, London. Alfred Rosenberg, who was the main ideological proponent of "Pan-Germanic ideas"and had designed a fairly coherent Ostpolitik, was gradually removed from influence in the running of occupied territories in Eastern Europe as the entire idea of basing Nazi rule on cooperation with native collaborators was abandoned. pp. 56-8, 168-81, 558-65, 637-40.

cautious on two fronts: to avoid suspicion of interfering in the foreign policy of non-European states by avoiding direct and open support to domestic movements, while also giving them some favorable treatment.[36]

In addition to the general spread of fascist influence from Europe in general, the European regimes wanted to occupy an important position among their 'own' stock of European émigrés. They attempted different policies to encourage the inhabitants of their local 'colonies' to become fascists, members of the PNF, NSDAP etc., and to remain loyal to their 'home regime'. The émigrés were of two kinds: those who were naturalized citizens of the non-European state, and those who still had passports from the European, fascist regime. If the European regimes could succeed in establishing strong support among "their own" in the foreign country, it would be an important base for further expansion within that country. Since the émigrés of both kinds were also often organized in the same local associations and read the same local papers etc. the strength of loyalty among those who bore passports from the home country could bring many more of the non-European citizens of European stock over to their brand of fascism. But the danger of the external-domestic challenge would eventually cause alarm within the non-European government, which would order the closedown of both types of émigré movements.

In addition there is the rivalry between the different European fascist regimes in terms of the diffusion 'their' form of fascism and fascist power. The story of the Fascist Internationale (CAUR) clearly illustrates this inter-fascist conflict. The organization was (perhaps?) intended to be an instrument for the coordination of the various national fascist movements, but none of the main fascist leaders (Mussolini included) wanted to give it any strong support[37].

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[36] During the approach to the Second World War the main fascist powers were also actively engaged in many different direct espionage activities, which trend that continued throughout the war period. The most conspicuous were perhaps the German efforts in Latin America and the Japanese in South East Asia. See e.g. Stanley Ross: "Latin America: The fascist stepping stone to USA", in W. W. Chaplin (ed.) 1947: *Deadline Delayed*, and on Japan: Eric Robertson 1986: *The Japanese File. Pre-war Japanese penetration in Southeast Asia*, Singapore.

[37] Some of the activities within the CAUR are described by Hans Fredrik Dahl 1991: *Vidkun Quisling. En fører blir til.* (Vidkun Quisling. A führer is born) Oslo, pp. 354-59, where Quisling and the Danish DNSAP leader were members of a committee which should design a new international fascist organization: 'Entente de Fascism Universel'. (pp. 358-9). But for the reasons described above nothing came of it and it was typical that the CAUR

Since none of the European regimes invested any significant resources in order to assert themselves as the dominant force of fascism, this rivalry was never really accentuated.

In war the European fascist regimes abandoned party activity altogether and tried to create possible alliances through diplomatic channels alone. Contacts both with the holders of regime passports and other emigrants were often maintained via more specialized channels, such as the German SS organization or business contacts, with the purpose of achieving various tactical war-goals, like the Germans did in the former colonies.

In the overall perspective of fascism outside Europe, the effect of the 'import/export' of fascism from Europe to non-European countries was rather small, for the reasons given above. The regimes/parties themselves split into factions due to internal party-political disputes, and the non-European countries were extremely reluctant to accept direct control from outside. Contacts with former colonial or emigree countries were only apparent on the symbolic level.

Therefore the real impact from Europe came from the diffusion of ideas and 'models'. These were not necessarily imitated but functioned as catalysts insofar as they were seen – by visitors and via personal contacts – as having succeeded in Europe. The inherent strategical danger of being 'tied' to an outside regime/movement was clearly appreciated among the different non-European countries, as was also the case among direct imitators and those who had 'links' to the main regimes on the European scene.

In looking at the four forms in which fascism spread: German Nazism, Italian Fascism, Francoism and Salazarism, it is obvious that German Nazism was the most successful, since it was the strongest, the most ruthless and the most expansionist. The NSDAP formed a viable organization (AO) and recruited widely among Germans abroad. However, as Hagemann shows in his chapter, there were obvious limits to recruitment and as the war approached much of the activity came to a standstill.

We may imagine one general type of dynamic that resulted from the conflict between the internal and the external dimensions of fascism within each country: what would happen if both the 'domestically' established fascist party and the 'external' party became strong at the same time? One would then have a situation of competition and rivalry, but also the conditions for a potential

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picked leaders from the minor countries and movements.

revolution based on foreign control. This was the situation in Czechoslovakia and Austria before 1938, and in many regions bordering on Germany, where the local NSDAP advocated a policy of "Heim ins Reich", while the local domestic parties wanted an "extended" land at the expense of someone else's territory.

For several reasons the domestic fascist party wanted to keep a distance from the dominant external party, since the latter provided a basis for 'fifth column' activities such as espionage or subversion in favor of the "homeland". Such activities did not however need a large party to be effective. The small number of key persons needed to provide either economic or military intelligence did not depend on a big membership organization. However, if war should break out, the strong membership-based organization of an external dependent party would be useful for raising money and military or civil personnel to administer an occupied territory. Such was the situation in several of the Central and Eastern European states, and in South East Asian under Japanese occupation it became a well planned policy.

		European steered	
Domestic Party		Strong	Weak
	Strong	a)	b)
	Weak	c)	d)

From the table above we can illustrate the following generalization of the diffusion of organized fascism from Europe:

The a) alternative represents the situation where the European party recruited well among its emigres in places where there existed a strong domestic party with its own identity and mass support. This was the unlikely alternative in the non-European context. Alternative b) is the situation where there is a genuine fascist based party/regime that builds on domestic traditions and which is a candidate for fascist takeover. Alternative c) represents the 'espionage' /collaborating option and would be a likely candidate for prohibition by national governments. Alternative d) represents the stable, non-viable fascist context.

When we read the four chapters on the spread of German Nazism, Italian fascism, Francoism and Salazarism we get a very clear impression of the contradictions inherent in the "external expansion of the movement", also

within the regimes themselves. From the experiences described in the four cases studied, we find a multitude of influences, commands and ideas connected to the diffusion of each brand of fascism abroad. Individuals and agencies competed with each other, and the leaders had no clear idea of how fascism abroad would be useful for their own power at home. When we add the competitive international inter-fascist relations we can also see how difficult it would have been, e.g. in Latin American or in Australia, to establish strong, externally led fascist organizations capable of matching their strength with the national parties of different political leanings. There are few reasons to believe that the Fascio all'estero and the AO-Landesgruppen would have much of a common aim – a joint agenda – when operating within the same emigrant regions of Buenos Aires, in Sidney or in Cairo. Even if we can establish similarities of origin and content of fascism, the political aims between them would be different.

This is basically due to two main components: nationalism and racism. Extremist nationalists had no general policy of working together – despite the Anti-Comintern alliance – but instead each of them had a very specific expansionist goal: to enlarge, or to engulf for themselves as much foreign territory and and as many vital resources as possible. Racism was also a very selective way of ordering people; each race had its place in a hierarchy, and an outsider within a particular system, such as a Spanish fascist or a Rumanian legionary within German Nazism, would never be of equal status to someone of the stock which that system justified. Fascism was therefore very different from Communism, which in theory at least regarded all men from the working class (in their definition of class) as equals, regardless of national origin.

This comparative overview can be summed up with the following short conclusion:

1) The direct impulse of spreading fascism from Europe to non-European territories was hampered by the inherent contradictions between domestic and emigrant party formations within the non-European territories.

2) Within the European "mother regimes/parties" themselves there were numerous conflicts concerning the role and aim in the support of the emigrant parties. Internal conflicts concerning the structure and leadership of the external organization prevented any efficient development of an external party/movement.

3) The prospect of a strong emigrant party/movement from one European

fascist regime would also conflict with another fascist regime's aims and influence. The delicate competition between German Nazism and Italian Fascism in the Middle East, and to a lesser extent in Latin America and in the USA, give some indication of the limits on the growth and success of fascism in general in the non-European territories in particular.

4) The influence of European fascism in non-European territories was perhaps the strongest: i) where anti-imperialist and even anti-European sentiments were strongest, because fascism could be seen as a direct ideological and organizational inspiration for violent domestic and nationalist movements, or ii) where European fascism could be seen as a general, efficient model – a 'third way' – to construct a regime that might be capable of matching Western hegemony in the global competition, and where direct dependence and 'links' to European fascism would be negligible. Non-European fascism could therefore not be "led" from Europe, except in the case of direct military occupation.

In turning to Japan's fascist expansionism in Asia there was relatively little competition from the export of European fascism. As I will show in the next section, it was only inside the 'settler nations' that internal competition occurred among various European emigree groups. Japan was the nation which, after World War I, got the most of the small, former German colonial territories in the Pacific. During the period 1931-1945, Japan built a fascist empire that covered the huge imperial territories administered by the European imperialist powers (and the USA). In contrast to the fascist regimes in Europe their expansionist policies of penetrating into the foreign administered territories were very carefully planned an executed. Initially these policies relied on groups of Japanese or of people friendly with Japan who were prepared for the military invasion, but later they involved the recruitment and training of large organizations of natives. The Japanese were much more efficient in this policy than the Germans on the Eastern Front, or the Italians in the Mediterranean areas. Neither the Francoists, nor the Salazarists enjoyed much success with their parties' foreign recruitment, but neither were they waging war.

C. The diffusion of fascism through Japan's expansionism in Asia.

i) Varying conditions in the three major regimes.

In no part of the world was anti-European feeling so strongly developed, on a broad and systematic basis, as in Asia. Western imperialism was hated, but outside China resistance to it had so far been successfully put down, and initially the alternatives of both communism and nationalism were politically weak. This was largely due to the lack of civic institutions and was also – to varying degrees depending on the particular colonial administrations – a result of ethno-European attitudes that prevented native people from getting an education and assuming positions in the leading sectors of the societies. The intense hatred of Western imperialism was also the reason why the Japanese invasions into many South-East Asian territories were at first met with sympathy and welcomed as a possible support for the scattered local groups in their fight for independence. Japanese war-propaganda also insisted on the emancipatory role of the Japanese army against Western imperialism: to free Asia from the white cultures, under the slogan "Asia for the Asians", to establish "the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (Dai Tao Kyoeiken)".

Western imperialism came up against very different conditions in Asia than in most other parts of the world; in Asia the Western countries were trying to conquer huge states and nations whose cultural traditions and political institutions were older than their own. While Western imperialism elsewhere often encountered very primitive cultures or almost empty territories, in Asia it was forcing its rule over much more complex societies. The competitive and inhuman entrenchment of the Western powers was also highly provocative and cruel in the eyes of the indigenous populations. But with the Europeans (and the Americans in the Philippines) came also modern ideas of nationalism, liberalism, democracy, communism – and fascism. The encroachment of Western imperialism had the side-effect of bringing the Asian cultures into contact with modern political influences in the West, political ideas which often contradicted the legitimacy of imperialism. Thus "Westernization" carried spiritual "anti-imperialism" in its baggage. The impact of these contradictory forces was most important in the three large regimes: Japan, China and India.

I refer to the chapters by Kaza and Kirby for concrete and direct analysis of Japan and China, while the comments below refer to some more general comparisons. India is not covered with a separate chapter in this volume.

Japan herself escaped much of the direct and enforced Western influence and never became a Western colony. The self-reliant modernization through the Meij restoration from 1868 onwards, and military success in two fairly recent wars, had conferred on the Japanese the role of political leader in Asia. In 1933 she withdrew from the League of Nations and abandoned the treaties on military arms limitations. This came after the occupation of Manchuria in 1932, and in 1937 she launched her main attack on the Chinese mainland. Emboldened by her early successes she also launched a forceful attack on the USA and the Allied powers on December 8th 1941, as they were engaged in war with Germany and the Axis's powers at home.

After the 'February 26th incident' (an attempted coup by young officers) in 1936, Ishiwara Kanji and Tôjô Hideki established a hardline dictatorship, which had evolved from close cooperation within the higher echelons of the bureaucracy, the military, the business elite and media. Japanese expansionist ambitions and the international situation provided the political leaders in Tokyo with the opportunity to go ahead with their fearsome adventure. Japan's signing of the Tripartite Act with Germany and Italy on 2nd September 1940, providing her with political connections and a military pact, also proved that the fascist affinity was definitely very strong.

Japan had never been under comprehensive imperial control. She had experienced a rapid industrial modernization and had developed a form of democratic polity before the authoritarian, kakushin ('fascist') powers took control. She was also herself a colonial power, having gained complete control over Korea in 1905. She was also the first and only power to have beaten a European great power (tzarist Russia) in a large scale, modern war. Before that she had colonized Formosa in 1895, and after 1919 she took control of several islands (former German colonies) in the Pacific[38]. The ideology legitimizing the regime which began its warfare in the early thirties in China was racial and expansionist – like its European, fascist counterparts. This was particularly

[38] The Japanization of Taiwan has been well described by Alan M. Wachman 1994: *Taiwan. National identity and Democratization*, New York and London. The problem of domestic nationalism had long been thwarted; as he says, the "Taiwanese have inherited a legacy of subjugation by aliens: Spanish, Dutch, pirates, Manchurians, Japanese, and, in the minds of some, the KMT [Kuomintang] and refugees from the mainland." During the fifty years of Japanese occupation a very strong discrimination was introduced so that a very low proportion of the Taiwanese could get public employment and Japanese was introduced as a compulsory language. However, the Japanese introduced a competent, centralized and unified administration and 'order' which, after they left, was instrumental in shaping Taiwan as a unified political entity (pp. 92-94).

evident in the way the Japanese treated their closest neighbor, the Chinese.[39] From the very beginning of the occupation of Manchuria in 1931, through to the Rape of Nanjing in 1937 and the extreme cruelty against the local Chinese inhabitants in Malaysia and Singapore during the campaign in late 1941 and early 1942, Japanese aggression showed clear racist parallels with the German exterminations among the Slavic people of Central and Eastern Europe.

There has been an ongoing debate on the problem of whether Japan's regime after 1933 should be classified as fascist, since it could not be compared in all its characteristics with the Third Reich or Mussolini's dictatorship. Gregory J. Kaza's discussion in this book outlines several of the problems connected to this debate, but to my mind his conclusion suggests that the *kakushin* element within the bureaucratic-military regime is clearly comparable to fascism in Europe. Nonetheless, he emphasizes strongly the absence of the monolithic party that mobilizes from below, and the lack of a single, focal demagogue. But the role of the Emperor and the political-military leaders filled much the same role as the party leaders in Europe ('functional equivalence'). The vision of the state as the ultimate institution – grounded in the belief in sacred unity – resembles in many ways the emphasis on undisputed collectivism and the aspect of amalgamation implicit in the idea of the Gesellschaft and the Gemeinschaft in Germany, insofar as these involved a link between the land, the führer and the people (Blut und Boden). The development of the Japanese fascist regime after its birth in 1936 also provides parallels that justify its inclusion in the fascist family: compared to Germany and Italy, Japan could rely on the past glory of an ancient, national culture – which had also been revived during the last century. However, in contrast to the two European fascist regimes, Japan had not experienced defeat in a war or the loss of colonies. Instead she thrived on a growing economy and wanted unrestricted markets and new colonies which could be exploited for resources and provide space for population increase. She also adopted the expansionist attitude of pushing ahead – of not missing the opportunity – when things were rapidly happening elsewhere in the world and her most important competitors lay beaten on the battlefields of Europe.

The incorporation of Korea after 1905 gave Japan (estimated population

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[39] Sheldon H. Harris, in his *Factories of Death. Japanese Biological Warfare, 1932-45, and the American cover up* (London 1994), gives an overview of some of the experiments carried out by the Japanese "Unit 731" (and corresponding units throughout the occupational territories) did on living humans. The overview permits many comparisons with the disclosures of Nazi medical experiments.

in 1940: 72 millions) a strong foothold on the mainland and a necessary stepping stone for what came to be the Manchurian campaign beginning in 1931. After taking control over Formosa, Japan had a strategic advantage for a military advance towards China, South Asia and the islands in the Pacific. Japan was ready for attack and many of the countries suffering under Western exploitation were eager to find ways out of subordination.

The Japanese were therefore ready to feel inspired by visits of German Nazi officials and by their own visits to Germany, and to absorb the influence of this form of fascism. For the other Asian nations – apart from former German Guinea as John Perkins explains in his chapter – it was more reasonable to seek ideological support first among the stronger neighboring powers rather than look all the way to Europe for help. This is one of the reasons why 'genuine' European fascism did not spread easily to Asia. The geopolitical position was not conducive to its influence and similarly the general attitude towards European values and persuasion was not the very best.

Why did Japan become fascist? Compared to China and India the conditions that facilitated fascism in Japan were far more suitable for the development of a totalitarian dictatorship, at least according to current theories on fascism. The stability of a multitude of civic institutions, and the strength and level of the capitalist market could compare with Germany, as could the level of militarization of politics. The decline in economic advance, experienced gradually after World War I but acutely during the global depression that began in 1929, triggered widespread civil unrest comparable to the situation in Europe. The Japanese middle classes, as well as the farmers, felt threatened by the decline in earnings and the prospects for the near future.

The missing "führer figure" in Japan was functionally replaced by the legitimizing role of the emperor. He served as a figurehead; politically distant, but highly important in providing a spirit of sacred unity and high ethical values, he was thus useful as an ideological justification for most of the military-expansionist activities. In inter-war Japan there flourished ideological journals and groups – often violent – many of which could be called fascist, depending on the type of definition applied[40]. Even so, none of them amounted to a uniform fascist mass movement, and within the ruling dictatorship there were different shades of moderate and radical right wing factions. Only few

[40] For details on currents of fascism in Japan see Gregory J. Kaza 1984: "Fascism from Below? A Comparative Perspective on the Japanese Right 1931-1936" in *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 19 pp. 607-629.

of them may be called 'pure fascists' in the European sense. Instead of falling back on the politically discredited term of 'fascism', Japanese scholarship tends to define the overall ideology of the main currents in political leadership as an aspect of the dictatorial regime of the 'kakushin right' ('selective revolutionaries' or 'renovators'; see p. 193).[41]

However, the regime was only vaguely 'directed' by such ideological imperatives. Moreover, compared to the Third Reich there was nothing like the Nazi guidelines which could be appealed to when implementing decisions. Practical policies and ideological directives do not always coincide, as illustrated by the question concerning how much of German foreign policy was Nazi and how much not?

As Kaza strongly emphasizes, many of the scholars deny that the Japanese dictatorial system was fascist due to the role of the emperor within the system ("the missing führer"), and the lack of a genuine mass party (cf. the Imperial Rule Assistance Movements, in this book pp. 211-212, 216-218). In Spain and Portugal the party was also of limited significance. Its power was also drastically reduced in Germany and Italy after it had taken over government. The NSDAP and the PNF were driven into the shadows while the paramilitary formations assumed the crucial roles due to their infiltration of the police, the military and certain sectors of the civil service. The militarization of the European regimes thus largely resembles that of the dictatorial establishment in Japan. In Germany it was the Wehrmacht which fought the war for Hitler as the Japanese army did for their people/emperor. The SS and special party formations were few in number, even if they became responsible for the worst deeds behind the lines. Most prisoner of war camps

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[41] George Macklin Wilson is one of the scholars who resists the description of the Japanese system after 1936 as fascist. In the chapter "A New Look at the Problem of Japanese fascism", he attacks the arguments forwarded by Maruyama Masao in his *Thought and Behaviour in Modern Japanese Politics*, 1963, and denies the existence of a 'European fascism' in Japan, although he admits one might talk of a "Japanese fascism". A strong undertone in Wilson's analysis is, however, his attack on communist theories of Japanese fascism. He distrusts the reasoning of these theories and thus avoids applying much of his negative attitude to Marxist thinking to the Japanese case. In Henry A. Turner ed. 1975: *Reappraisals of Fascism*, New York, pp. 199-214. See Stanley Payne's summary of Wilson's article in his op.cit. 1995, p. 329, and his very clear and argumentative overview on Japan (pp. 328-37) which concludes that "Japan had developed a somewhat pluralistic authoritarian system which exhibited some of the characteristics of fascism, but did not develop fascism's most distinctive and revolutionary aspects" (p. 336). To my mind this implies that he admits the existence of a "Japanese fascism", but as something different from European fascism.

run by the Japanese were also terrible places to be held captive, and the Japanese guards were similar to, and behaved much like, the Totenkopf KZ guards in Germany, Poland and most other places where the Nazi organizations took over. Acts of wartime cruelty committed by the Japanese at sea and on land are well known and compare closely with the 'standards' of Germany's Eastern campaign. Also the Japanese kamikaze suicide torpedo planes – with the attendant public ceremonies presenting the volunteers – reflect a connection between ideology and 'sacrifice for fatherland and people' which is comparable with the behavior and indoctrination of the SS troops.

There are, however, important differences, and one is therefore confronted with the idea of 'kinds' and 'degrees of fascism', and particularly with 'Japanese fascism' as a distinct type. If we believe in a uniform definition of fascism, one which is general but does not suppose the German system to be the sole blueprint, the Japanese case does have to be included in a global definition of fascism. Recalling what I said above, no political system was fascist – nor could be fascist – in all theoretical dimensions. Japan's fascism obviously lacked the ruling party with a strong paramilitary army, and also, as Kaza points out (p. 212), it did not have the close control over the executive branch which we consider typical for some of the European fascist regimes. The administration was more orderly in formal decision making and not dominated to the same degree by the will of a solitary Hitler or Mussolini (p. 214). However, if we assume that the German administration was run from above according to a 'divide and rule' policy, we are liable to forget the well ordered and elite traditions of these institutions, which were famous for their disciplined rationality. Without them the Third Reich could not have carried out its blitz operations, nor held out as an aggressive military society against most of the Western capitalist world for almost six years, nor to kill so many Jews from all over Europe in extermination camps, as it did.

In discussing the similarities between Germany, Italy and Japan, Kaza holds the opinion that, because of the strength of the kakushin radical right in Japan, this regime differed ("differences are too great" p. 219) from Germany and Italy, but is comparable with the dictatorial regimes in Portugal, Poland, Greece and Rumania (pp. 221-222)[42]. His emphasis is largely on the

[42] He says that they "do not share enough positive traits to justify the hypothesis that they had the same causes and effects"(p. 219). But this statement suggests that fascism is brought about by a single cause and which has a single effect, which to my mind is problematic as a theoretical point of view.

connection between the regime and its mass following[43]. This brings us to an important distinction in the general concept of fascism: the strength and the depth of the bond between state and civil society. A fascist regime relies on popular and enduring support for its legitimacy and this can only be achieved in societies which have strong, institutional organizations and liberal opportunities. 'Real fascism' was created from below, not organized from above. Japan thus had most of the 'effects' of fascism, particularly during the World War, but less of its structural conditions – if Kaza's analysis, based on many other authors, is true. However, communism succeeded in many corners of Asia in the wake of Japan's fascist expansion, and this was also dependent on popular legitimacy, institutional opportunities and local nationalism. Communism was imported from Europe, but managed in the long-run to get a much better foothold than fascism ever achieved in Asia. It also succeeded in spite of the route predicted by Marxist theory[44].

Kaza concludes his discussion of the fascist character of the Japanese regime with the following: "[...] while Japan may not qualify for the name 'fascism' , German models nonetheless had a major influence there, and Japan thus deserves a place in research on the worldwide impact of European fascism" (p. 187). Again I must recall my remarks on the political aspects of defining fascism (p.710), since Kaza's reference to the reluctance of many Japanese scholars to define the Japanese regime as fascist, seems to depend largely on their efforts to "free" Japan from the burdensome political comparison with Nazi Germany (pp. 184-87).

There are at least two reasons to define the Japanese regime as fascist. Firstly, it exhibited most, though not all, of the important characteristics which are generally included in the definition of fascism, and secondly, the emergence of the Japanese fascist regime also occurred in accordance with most of the theoretical conditions that account for the breakthrough of the fascist regimes in Europe. It met the global crisis in capitalism with the same response as the modernizing fascist regimes in Europe: by transforming the state into a totalitarian instrument for internal control and directing the state's

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[43] See also his discussion and comparison in 1995: *The Conscription Society. Administered Mass Organizations*, Yale (pp. 99-102, 161-165).

[44] See the short discussion of this point in Francois Godement 1997: *The New Asian Renaissance from colonialism to the post-Cold War*, (Eng. ed.), London (pp. 47-61).

coercive energies towards external expansionism.[45]

I defend the definition of Japans as a fascist regime by referring to Japan's 'sacred glory', to its racism and to its 'right' to catch up with Western imperialism on the world scene by acquiring political and economic control over neighboring territories. Japan's fascism could not be "exactly" the same as Germany's or Italy's. Germany had thrown out its emperor in 1918 and lost its traditional figurehead when president Hindenburg died in 1934. Italian fascism made a compromise with its monarch, as Franco did with the Spanish monarch during the last phase of Spanish fascism. Fascism and royal institutions went along with the ups and downs in Central and Eastern Europe, the two sometimes profiting from each other, at other times becoming bloody enemies. It is therefore problematic to regard single institutions as "missing" when deciding which regimes or movements were fascist or not. One has to apply an overall perspective on both causes and effects. In my opinion Japan was a fascist regime, with an authoritarian, disciplined leadership which referred to the emperor as the undisputed leader of the people and a regime which tried by military conquest and brutality to impose this system on the rest of Asia. It grew out of a modern industrialized democracy, however fragile, but which was in much the same condition as the Weimar republic in its lack of a stable equilibrium between modernization and liberalism.

An easy answer to why **China** (estimated population in 1940: 452 millions) did not become fascist, is that it was threatened and attacked by a fascist regime and therefore – as in the European theater of war – two fascist regimes did not fight against each other. China also lacked most of the overall civic institutions and modernizing structures which would have been conducive to fascist mobilization from below. As shown in the chapter by William Kirby in this book, even in military circles the fascist inspired factions were too isolated and too closely connected to Chian-Kai-shek to have been able to break out

[45] Barrington Moore jr. op. cit. 1966 stresses the point that – seen from the point of central political control – the survival of the 'feudal heritage' in Japan, by means of the administrative, hierarchal control of every village and neighborhood, in a sense made strong, local party organizations superfluous. While having this system available the bureaucratic, military rule of Japanese fascism could implement their totalitarian policies with much more ease than through a mass based party organization (pp. 228-30, 311-13). Moore holds that this could be done because of the preservation, or rather the reorganization, of the old Tokugawa Shogun system, from 1600 on into the modern 20th century Japan. For this reason, as soon as they had occupied new territories, the Japanese implemented the same system throughout the entire rural and urban communities everywhere in South-East Asia.

and form a political organ capable of initiating a mobilization from above[46]. Kirby shows how reluctant Chian-Kai-shek was to connect his regime to the society surrounding it. He also hesitated for a long time over the "risk"of becoming a 'führer' and was reluctant to start the active fight against the invading Japanese troops. He seems to have been much more of a feudal lord/emperor, within a decentralized power system than a modern political leader intent on centralizing rule in his hands. The fact that he relied on traditional authority, used forced conscription, and had no understanding of how to appeal directly to the people, made him seem a threat to many Chinese instead of being a collective symbol and figurehead.

In military circles in China, there existed small-scale fascist groups, but they were strange to many Chinese; like the Blue Shirts Society and the C.C. Clique. As Kirby points out in his chapter, however, not even the vocabulary was suited to the concept of fascism ('fanhsi'/'pangho'/'fa-hsi-ssu-chu-i', p. 228) in Chinese, making it difficult to implement a loaned ideology. The example of Liu Lu-yin and his refusal to accept Nazism in China because it ran against the basic norms of Sun Yat Sen's three-peoples principles – the founding ideology of Kuomintang – also illustrates the problem of combining German national socialist ideology with traditional Chinese nationalism (p. 256).[47]

The discussion of Chian-Kai-shek's role and the various efforts to turn him into a demagogue within the Kuomintang came to nothing (Chang Hsueh-

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[46] Barrington Moore op. cit.1966, pp. 198-201, focuses also on how reluctant the Kuomintang regime was to initiate any modernization of agriculture and to stimulate domestic industry thus failing to mobilize any support whatsoever. Consider also his emphasis on how the communists profited from the war by appealing to the peasantry so as more effectively to resist the Japanese. Japan almost 'offered' them the opportunity for power later – as if a "devilish conspiracy" existed (p. 224).

[47] In his most recent book: *A Place in the Sun. Marxism and Fascism in China's Long Revolution*, Boulder 2000, A. James Gregor does emphasize that in Suns' Three Peoples Principles there were several elements of fascism. Relying on the analysis of the Indian Marxist M.N. Roy he asserts that "... Marxists should have known from their first contacts with Sun Yat-sen's Kuomintang that they were dealing not with 'petty bourgeois' and 'anti-imperialist' elements but with anti-Marxist and nationalist 'counter-revolutionaries' ... In fact, the economic system anticipated by Sun' was evidently an anticipation of the totalitarian economy of fascist state" (p. 39). In a later paragraph Gregor does, however, state that Roy's identification of fascism in Sun's doctrine "was in fact, a confused recognition that the Three Principles of the People, Italian nationalism, and Fascism were variants of the class of reactive, developmental nationalisms" (p. 68).

liang's small National Socialist Party', p. 254). Does this point to the conclusion that China could not become fascist at any price? According to Kirby's analysis, Chiang Kai-shek's effort in 1934 to create the 'New Life Movement' was the kind of thing that might resemble the beginning of a mass fascist following (p. 261). Chiang Kai-shek did not go beyond the existing Kuomintang party circles and did not incite the masses to move. But another Chinese leader did – one who fully understood the potential of ideological mass mobilization. From Marxist theory of communism one could *not* predict that Mao would succeed in mobilizing illiterate peasants in rural China, but he did. He succeeded so well that the Kuomintang government lost the civil war and had to flee to Formosa (subsequently renamed Taiwan) in 1949. Mao's militarist, centralized discipline over the party, and his appeal to Chinese consciousness and cultural strength, might, perhaps, have been used by Chiang Kai-shek if he had understood the potentials of fascism.

The fact that the Kuomintang's dictatorial leader was unwilling to adopt new tactics, learned from his German advisers, explains why he failed to remain leader of the huge Chinese population for a longer period of time. His strategy seems to have concentrated mostly on controlling the inner factions of his party rather than appealing to the people, while building fragile alliances with various warlords. Although Mao stood on the communist platform, he proved that mass-politics could succeed in unmodernized conditions, particularly when there was a threat of civil and/or international war. Mass mobilization would then be a prerequisite for modernization (as it was after the war), and not a result of modernization. This is also an important conclusion to add to the many theoretical statements concerning the success of fascism.

Thus chairman Mao and the communists, who were rather weak and enjoyed only modest popular support in the early 1930s, profited from being the first and perhaps most aggressive in resisting fascist Japan, thus building their postwar power on anti-fascist mobilization. Collaboration was weak and only very opportunistic in China, largely due to the Japanese attitudes of cultural and racial superiority over the Chinese. There was therefore almost no obvious potential for genuine fascism in China. The fact that China was so different from Western society, that it lacked Western-style institutions, and depended on a backward economy, meant that the few positive adaptations of fascists ideas and organizations were of no influence.

The Kuomintang regime was weak (but often very cruel) and seemed to have been hampered by several internal conflicts (divisive campaigns instigated by warlords and communists). External limitations – Japanese aggression and Western imposed privileges – hampered the growth of

anything like a centralized and efficiently unified political force which could rule China in a manner like the fascist regimes in Europe. The preconditions for an alternative fascist route were lacking: national unity, level of modernization, domestic middle class forces, a radical ideology of expansionism, and a figurehead like the Japanese emperor to whom one could appeal for a higher, spiritual legitimacy.

The situation in **India**, the second largest country in Asia and in the world (population estimate in 1940: 316 millions), was very different from China. From 1600 the British East India Company had gradually extended its control in India, supported by the British government. Following the 'Mutiny' of 1857, an uprising that was easily quelled, the British formalized their takeover of the country. However, in being ruled as a colony since 1858, nationalist sentiments, especially in the latter part of the nineteenth century, would constitute a constant challenge to foreign administration.

From 1919 on, the National Congress Party (founded in 1885) was the principal force in freeing India from British dominance and achieving independence. The pressure of mobilization from below was felt and the British gradually tried to set up several institutions which might give limited opportunities for self-government; in the event they such functioned as vehicles for common action among the Indians against their colonial rulers. Barrington Moore, in his famous analysis of the political 'routes' to the modern world, had problems in fitting India into his historical analysis, when explaining how the large nations developed either into democracies, or into communist or fascist states.[48] In his classification, India did not represent a clear-cut case; it became a relatively stable democracy, but with a very large and a very poor agricultural economy. Economic growth was slow and the market economy encountered massive hindrances in trying to penetrate into

[48] See Barrington Moore op. cit. 1966, p. xiii, where he declares: "Finally, in India we may perceive still a fourth general pattern that accounts for the weak impulse towards modernization. In that country so far there has been neither a capitalist revolution from above or below, nor a peasant one leading to communism. Likewise the impulse toward modernization has been very weak. ... in India, this case stands somewhat apart from any theoretical scheme that seems possible to construct for the others ... the degree of rural misery in India where there has been no peasant revolution is about the same as in China, where rebellion and revolution have been decisive in both premodern and recent times."

the countryside.[49] Why didn't the Indians rise against the British and rally under an extremist, nationalist party leader similar to that of fascism, in order to obtain freedom and a higher speed of modernization to the benefit of all?

Several forces worked against it: firstly, the British had a very strong grip on both the administration and the military in India, and in various ways the colonial ruler played the various national groups off against each other. With the massive influx of British and other allied military personnel during the First and the Second World Wars, the opportunities for armed revolt were also limited. British historians also put great emphasis on the beneficial role of the British administration for the Indian people in general.[50]

Secondly, the well-organized, non-violent Gandhian movement (Satyagraha) in a sense precluded large-scale alternatives inside and outside the Congress Party. Having sat in the party leadership most of the time since 1919, and having had some success with his non-violent, mass movements, it was hard for Ghandi to suggest alternatives. The war severely tested relationships with the British: Gandhi and the Congress Party demanded unconditionally of the British either to guarantee complete freedom after the war, or to do without Indian support for the Allied war efforts. However, the Congress Party's 'Quit India' campaign, initiated on August 8th 1942, put an end to much of the

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[49] "Only one line of policy then seems to offer real hope, which, to repeat, implies no prediction that it will be the one adopted. In any case, a strong element of coercion remains necessary if a change is to be made" ibid. p. 410.

[50] In a pamphlet by William Joyce (undated): *Fascism and India*, B.U.F. publications, Chelsea, the author outlines "A fascist constitution for India" (pp. 8-13), which should comprise various bodies partly elected on lower levels, but controlled by the British at the top level – since "the natural and ethical right of Government is conferred upon us by the fact that three centuries of our lifeblood and our mental energy have been devoted to the making of India" (p.1). The author asks the following question: " ... why our concepts of Nationalism do not extend to the independence and nationality for India, the answer is very simple. Nationality is neither a wish nor a solemn resolution. It is a fact. Hence either India is not a nation at all, or she is a multitude of nations" (p. 5). Then the author goes on to say that a "Fascist policy of Imperialism" and a "Fascist Britain" are necessary to save the dominions and the Empire: "The future achievements of India and Britain are bound together like the rods of Fascism". Therefore, he suggests rational modernization, without socialism and Indian self-consciousness (i.e. nationalism), and even with "the most autocratic imposition of public hygiene" (p.15). The system should be a centralized, corporate and British dominated regime, which meant that India would have faced a most unpleasant development if the British fascists had gained some stake in government.

party's internal political maneuvering, since it resulted in many of the party's political leaders being detained for the rest of the war.[51]

Thirdly, conflicts within the nation between Muslims, Sikhs, the Hindi, and other religious groups, stimulated campaigns for regional autonomy and separatism, some of which had strong historical roots. The unique traditions of social stigmatization and isolation of large sectors of the population from social and political contact – through the caste system – was also an obstacle to large-scale, national mobilization. Furthermore, the fascist alternative was not seen as an obvious choice for the Indians, especially as they became aware of how the Japanese had treated indigenous people during their colonizations of Korea and Formosa, and in their early advances into Manchuria, and in the north of China.

However, there were two movements outside the Congress party which stimulated different forms of radical nationalism, but neither of which led to extremist recruitment on a large scale. The first of these currents was the Muslim league which, founded in 1906, gradually took steps to unite the Muslim communities behind the demand for a separate, and independent Muslim state, which was later to become Pakistan. Their nationalist, or rather communalist separatism developed initially in connection with the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire after the First World War. In India, Anti-British sentiment crystallized into a few attempts at creating 'Kalifath movements', which were responsible for triggering several local, violent anti-Hindi riots. During the early phase of the Second World War, however, the British felt stronger support from the Muslims, something which they rewarded in 1947 by readily accepting the partition of India to allow the creation of a separate Muslim state outside Hindu control. The opposition to the war efforts by the huge Congress Party stands in contrast to its acceptance by the Muslim leaders in India. Since they were more in tune with British policy, the Muslim communities did not feel the same need to mobilize in pursuit of 'national' liberation, as did the majority of the population.

Various groups emerged from among the Hindi communities, which aimed to create a specific Hindi national identity and culture influenced by Western ideas, but as a bulwark against foreign domination. Among the most politically important of these were the political party Hindu Mahasabha (=

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[51] See Jim Masselos 1991: *Indian nationalism. An history*, New Delhi, particularly chapter 11, pp. 199-224, where he describes how Indian leaders were imprisoned during the war years (including Gandhi himself for a time, before he was released on grounds of ill-health), thus pacifying much the large-scale, political nationalism.

Great Hindu Association), established in 1915, and the RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh = Association of National Volunteers), founded at Nagpur in 1925 by Keshav Baliram Hedgewar (-1940). The RSS has often been compared to European fascism, and both the ideology, the politics and the organization did import several traits from Hitler's movement and ideas.[52]

In the attempt to create a common Hindu identity – constructed from above, in Anthony Smith's terminology – the ideological tenets of movements were found by searching into old traditions in order to construct foundations on which to construct Hindu particularity and greatness.[53] This ideology was codified by Vinayak Damodar Savarak in his work: *Hindutva. Who is a Hindu*? from 1923 and further developed as a political ideology in the writings of Hedgewar and his successor Madhan Sadashiv Golwalkar (-1973). The RSS therefore provided the ideological platform for extremist nationalism, and thanks to its strict organizational hierarchy it was also successful in recruiting voluntary troops for militant action. The volunteers ('swayamsevak') were organized in local branches (the 'shakha'). The leadership of each branch was in the hands of a non-elected 'guru' or 'sarsanghchalak' (Hedgewar and Golwakar during the pre-1947 period). The 'pracharak'('preachers') were the full-time party leaders or 'activists' on the subordinate levels and the organization centered around ceremonial meetings where oaths were made, and loyalty to the cause of the RSS was pledged. The difference between the

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[52] See Sarkara, S. 1993: "The Fascism of Sangh parivar", in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Bombay, 30. Jan. 1993, p. 16. The topic is discussed in Shiv Lal 1989: *Indian Political Thought. Hindu Politics from Manu to Madho*, New Delhi. He draws several parallels between the RSS's ideology and organizational style, and Hitler's SS in Germany. In analyzing the writings of Svakar, Hedgeaard and Golwakar, he finds many items that "smack of ... deep love for Nazism and Fascism" (p. 67). See the chapter "The RSS", pp. 65-73, in which Shiv Lal often quotes statements from RSS leaders where they praise Hitler's expressions of aggressive nationalism, militant Hinduism, racism, organic unity, anti-democracy and liberalism, and the importance of physical (military) and spiritual education of youth.

[53] Christophe Jaffrelot, in his 1994: *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics 1925 to the 1990s. Strategies of Identity Building, Implantation and Mobilization (with special reference to Central India)*, London, links the origin to these movements to Swami Dayananda (1824-1883), who created the Arya Samaj societies. He and his followers harked back to a Vedic golden age, when the chosen people "came down from Tibet into Aryata – a virgin territory between the Himalayas and the Vindhya mountains, the Indus and the Brahmaputra – and then became the 'sovereign lords of the earth', whose inhabitants they instructed in Sanskrit, the 'mother of all languages', p. 16.

RSS and 'genuine' European fascist movements has been attributed to the reluctance of the 'gurus' to declare themselves real 'führers', and to the diversity of opinions concerning the role of the State in their strategy /ideology.[54] The RSS was also less of a political party than the PNF or the NSDAP, and perhaps it wanted to persuade others to rule while preparing the ideological mentality and militant organization for a takeover.

The murder of Gandhi on January 31st 1948 – plotted by a small group of loyal 'savarkarites' (loyal to V.D. Savarak, the leader of the party Hindu Mahasabha), and carried out by a former RSS 'swayamsevak' – was intended as a violent protest to Gandhi's willingness to pay concessions to the newly formed state of Pakistan. Nehru immediately arrested and banned the RSS on the suspicion that they were planning a coup d'état.[55]

This proves that during the 1940s there were several organizational options available which could have led to extremist policies comparable to those of the typical fascist tradition. The weakness of Indian communism, the success of Gandhi's non-violence campaigns, the strength of British military leadership and the threat of the Japanese, were among the factors which served to prevent the amalgamation of the Hindu nationalist forces in a revolutionary spirit.

However, the real fascist alternative was developing outside India among Indian prisoners of war. In Germany a small contingent was established under the name of the Indian Legion (later put under command of the Waffen-SS), but there was greater potential within the Indian National Army in Malaya and its branches in Thailand and Burma. The INA provides a powerful example of a typically fascist military organization which was formed inside the Japanese military establishment and was to a large extent trained and led

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[54] On the conceptualization of the RSS, see Jaffrelot op. cit. 1994: "To sum up. Since a characteristic of the RSS's Hindu nationalism has been to down-play the role of the state we cannot classify it straightforwardly as a fascist movement (ref. to D.E. Smith 1963: India as a secular state, Princeton, p. 468). As distinct form Nazism, the RSS's ideology treats society as an organism with a secular spirit, which is implanted not so much in the race as in a socio-cultural system and which will be regenerated over the course of time by patient work at the grassroots. Finally, in contrast to both Italian fascism and Nazism the RSS does not rely on the central figure of the leader" pp. 63-64. See also p. 77, where he repeats the distinction between fascism and RSS.

[55] See Jaffrelot op. cit., p. 87, where he writes that the Hindu nationalist Sardar Patel, one of Nehru's ministers, said that "a wing of the Hindu Mahasabha had been responsible for the whole operation" and that Nathuram Godse, the assassin, did not belong to the RSS.

by the so-called Fujiwara Kikkan (the Japanese intelligence organization, under major Iwaichi Fujiwara, initially consisted of 15 men, a number which increased to 250)[56]. Of around 20,000 Indian soldiers captured in North Africa in 1941, some 2500 joined the Indian Legion (of which 250 entered the 'Sonderkommando B' and the rest the so-called 950th Regiment of the German Army).[57] Among the 60,000 Indian prisoners of war captured after the fall of Singapore in 1942, around 90% joined the "first" INA.[58]

The story of the INA is divided into two parts: from the beginning in 1942 it was led by captain Mohan Singh, but due to various controversies with the Japanese in Tokyo, and due to disputes with the president of the political organization the India Independence League (IIL) in Japan, Rash Behari Bose, Singh lost faith in the Japanese treatment of the INA and personally dissolved it in December 1942.[59] Subhas Chandra Bose was then called home from Germany. After a meeting with Hitler on May 12th 1942 he was allowed –

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[56] See ed. T.R. Sareen 1987: *Select documents on the Indian National Army*, Delhi, which presents material on the Indian Independence League and the Indian National Army, which was under the leadership of general Mohan Singh and Subhas Chandra Bose. The army leaders were brought before the court in the famous Red fort trials of 1946 accused of collaboration. Bose had already been killed in a plane crash on Formosa during a flight to Japan in the summer of 1945.

[57] See Neulen, Hans Werner 1985: *An deutscher Seite. Internationale Freiwillige von Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS*, Munich, pp. 353-69. A German-Indian Intelligence 'Kommandogruppe" (part of the military Abwehr) had been organized already in 1940 by Indian students in Berlin, and within the AA (Auswärtiges Amt – Department of Foreign Affairs) a special Indian office aimed at supporting the Zentrale Freies Indien (ZFI). See also a brief presentation on the Indian Legion with uniforms and 'tiger symbols' in Littlejohn, David 1994: *Foreign Legions of the Third Reich*, Vol. IV, San Jose, pp. 126-32.

[58] Voigt, Johannes H. 1978: *Indien im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, Stuttgart, gives some information on the Indian Legion which was stationed outside Bordeaux, but was not posted to the front. After the Allied invasion in France the legion was moved to Angoulême, Mansle and Poitiers. When the march into Germany began, 40 of the soldiers were killed near Dijon and 29 captured soldiers were 'executed' by the French in Poitiers. On the assumption that he was being attacked by an Indian prisoner, a French officer killed the prisoner and in the turmoil arising from that event all the rest of the prisoners were shot. pp. 294-95, 381-82. See also his "Hitler und Indien", in *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, Jg. 19, (1971) pp. 33-63.

[59] In Gosh, K. K. 1969: *The Indian National Army. Second Front of the Indian Independence Movement*, Begum Bridge- Meerutt, estimates the 'first' INA to approximate 40,000 men; p. 59.

through a bilateral agreement with the Japanese military leadership – to travel with a German submarine towards South-East Asia, where the Japanese would take over further transport. After several months, he landed on Sumatra on May 1st 1943 and was flown to Tokyo before finally arriving in Singapore on July 2nd 1943. From then on – permanently dressed in a military uniform – he used all his talents and his impressive charisma to recruit and build up the 'second' INA. This eventually grew from 10,000 men who remained from the 'first' INA to 40,000 and also included a strong influx of civilians to the Indian Independence League which was reorganized and headed by Bose.[60] In 1944 Bose moved his forces and headquarters to Bangkok on the advent of a Japanese attack on Indian soil. He had then organized a 'Free India Provisional government', which was given some symbolic function on Indian territory on the islands of Port Blair (Andaman and Nicobar on November 6th 1943). [61]

With a rather limited army force and with units from three INA divisions, the Japanese launched the Imphal offensive into India on March 19th 1944. However, with too little strength and too late in the war, the Japanese had to abandon the offensive already on July 26th 1944. Even if some of the INA units fought well, the military venture of the entire INA in general was a failure. Many of the soldiers died or deserted to the British and Allied forces on their counterattack towards Rangoon and the final victory in Burma.[62]

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[60] The estimates of the INA and IIL vary in the literature. In Yoji Akashi's article "The Japanese Occupation of Malaya: Interruption or Transformation", in McCoy, Alfred ed. 1980, he writes: "While some 100,000 Indians had joined the INA/ILL movements before Netaij Bose's arrival in Malaya, his personal charisma and fiery speeches had an immediate impact on the masses who responded to his nationalist appeal by signing up with the INA/ILL movement. After Bose's arrival over 350,000 joined the ILL, and 200,000 volunteered for the INA" p. 76. Menezes op. cit. 1999 puts his estimates as follows: "After the 'dissolution' of December 1942, the strength of the INA had dropped to 12,000. Now another 10,000 prisoners of war answered Bose's appeal, and by 1945, another 18,000 civilians as well" (p. 386). In *An Indian Freedom Fighter in Japan. Memoirs of A.M. Nair*, 1982, the author writes that Bose's target was 300,000: "(On one occasion, in an emotional flight, he actual mentioned the figure 'three million' which of course, he himself acknowledged later as a slip of the tongue')". The maximum number was between 25,000 and 30,000 and the "effective strength of persons capable of fighting ... was not more than between 12,000 and 15,000," p. 236.

[61] See Lebra, Joyce C. op. cit. 1977, pp. 34-36.

[62] Menezes, S.L. 1999: *Fidelity and Honour. The Indian Army from the Seventh to the Twenty-first Century*, Oxford, reports that of the 15,500 INA personnel in Burma in 1945, "150 were killed in action; 1,500 died of starvation or disease; 5,000 surrendered or

On August 18th 1945 Bose was killed in an air crash in Taipei on Formosa, on his way to Manchuria from where he planned to go to the Soviet Union to seek help in freeing India from the British.[63] Compared to the Burmese (BNA) and Indonesian (PETA) voluntary armies, the INA did not revolt against the Japanese in the final days of the war. Bose's determined action to try to enlist Soviet help clearly proves his intention not just to be a collaborator, but to fight against the British to the bitter end.

The political ideology of Subhas Chandra Bose (1897-1945) was formed during his student days, and on entering the National Congress he became one of its most radical members. He worked closely with Gandhi, was a general secretary of the party and became its president in 1938. But he was voted out of office in 1939 because of his radical attitude towards the British. He was arrested by the British, but escaped and after several hindrances made his way to Berlin. When organizing the Indian legion in Germany, near Dresden, Bose emphasized the all-Indian character of the undertaking and put great emphasis on having Indian prisoners of war from different religious groups together in the same small units. He wanted religious and caste equality and tried to build a common Indian identity among the soldiers. This was also his aim when he went to South-East Asia and started to reorganize the ILL and the INA (Azad Hind Fauj, in Indian). Both organizations were to reflect all sections of Indian society, and Bose strongly underlined the role of military activity, offering his followers only "hunger, thirst, privation, forced marches and death'. He was given the title of Netaji ('führer'), and, dressed in his uniform, he provided the INA soldiers with their slogan: Chalo Delhi! (On to Delhi!).[64] In organizing the INA, Bose also recruited a women's regiment – 'the Rani of Jhansi', named after a woman heroine from 1857 – which grew to 500 volunteers, the subject of women's equality in India was raised for the first time as an important political symbol.[65] Bose made the INA into a 'revolutionary army' and when the Provisional Government of India was set

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deserted; 7,000 were captured; 2,000 escaped towards Bangkok. Of the 40,000 Indian prisoners of war who did not join the INA, 11,000 died in captivity, of disease, starvation or were murdered, some even cannibalized by the Japanese," p. 397.

[63] The Indian government appointed two different commissions in order to discover the final fate of Bose. Neulen, 1985 op. cit. note 27, p. 465.

[64] See Memoirs of A.M. Nair 1982 op. cit. 1982, p. 227-8.

[65] A short description in Ghosh K.K. 1969, pp. 156-57.

up on October 21st 1943, among its first decisions was its declaration of war on Britain and America. He also called for a 'total mobilization' of Indians in South-East Asia and was able to raise large sums of financial help to support the INA and the IIL.

The INA was involved in two operations on the front: the Arakan campaign (January 15th 1944) and the Imphal campaign two months later (March 19th 1944). The first of these brought some INA forces across the border and onto Indian soil (they planted the Indian national flag on March 18th at Moirang in Manipur and upheld a small base at Mowdok), but the Imphal campaign was a military failure.[66] Ghosh raises the question of what would have happened if the Imphal campaign had been a success and Bose and the INA had been able to move into Indian territory in full strength and recruit a mass following against the British. "There is no doubt that the introduction of an authoritarian Government and a socialist economy as considered by Bose to be favorable for the quick progress of the country. ... he seems to have kept his mind open for collaboration with the nationalist forces in India ... and at least one occasion he looked for the guidance from Gandhi. All this makes it difficult to rule out Bose's cooperation after the success at Imphal with the nationalist forces and leaders in India in an all-out anti-British revolt" (p. 264).

Were the INA and the IIL organizations built on principles and organizational forms similar to fascism?[67] T.R. Sareen, in his *Select Documents on Indian National Army*, Delhi 1987, presents several statements on the ideological profile of Bose and the INA (doc. 35ff.), most of which represent Bose and INA as true 'patriots': "He possessed an indomitable will and great organizational ability; beside which he had a tremendous faith in his mission ... Subhas had a wider vision [than Mohan Singh] of mobilizing the entire Indian manpower in East Asia into an irresistible army of liberation and of hurling it against the British in India. ... Subhas fought with all his might against the British with Japanese help ... his earnest and precise mind, his vigorous action, his initiative and love for the masses irrespective of their classes, won him wide respect ..." (pp. x-xi). This is the kind of reputation he gained after 1945. It was a reputation that grew following the famous Red Fort

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[66] Details and maps of the two campaigns in Ghosh, K.K. 1969, pp. 174-92.

[67] On Bose's fascism see Massa, F. 1974: "Le fascism hindou de Chandra Bose", in M. Bardèche et al.: *Etudes sur le Fascisme*, Paris. Also Adam von Trott 1969: *Eine deutsche Tragödie*, (evaluation of C. Sykes, p. 288), Düsseldorf-Köln and J.H. Voigt 1971: "Hitler und Indien" in *Vierteljahrsheft für Zeitgeschichte*, Munich, 1971.

Trials, when the INA officers were put on trial by the British, although they were released in 1946 during a storm of patriotic sentiment that swept over India.[68]

However, both the Indian Legion in Germany and the INA under Japanese supervision were raised to resemble the 'fascist armies' of which they were parts. How much 'fascism' there was in them, and in what way 'Indian fascism' could be compared with what Bose had learned directly from his contacts with Hitler or Toyo, is disputable.[69] All the voluntary Waffen-SS forces on the Eastern or Western front were definitely trained in the spirit of the SS ideology, just as the voluntary forces under Japanese control were trained in the typical Japanese 'seishin'.[70] Mussert, Dergelle, Quisling and Pavelic also saw themselves as 'patriots' involved in 'defending' their countries against 'bolshevism', 'bourgeois plutocracy', or the Jews' 'world-hegemony'.[71]

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[68] The British had to yield to the very strong sentiments among the Indians, and Nehru also went a long way in supporting the idea that the INA internees should be regarded as patriots and released. See Ghosh, K.K. op. cit. 1969, ch. 8: "The INA in Indian politics (1945-1947)" pp. 198-251. See also Cohen, Stephen P. 1990: *The Indian Army. Its contribution to the development of a nation*, Oxford-Bombay-Calcutta-Madras, where he writes that "The INA seems to prove the British wrong who maintained that India was not really a nation, and that Indians could not work together. The theme of unity in Subhas Bose's propaganda war against the British does not seem to have been recognized by the British themselves when they made the major blunder of putting a Muslim, a Sikh, and a Hindu on trial together in the Red Fort. But to many Indians the Indian National Army, not the Indian Army, was an object of true devotion ..." p.161.

[69] The oath which the Indian Waffen-legion had to swear was the same as for the other Waffen-SS units: to the national 'führer' Subhas Chandra Bose and under the high command of Adolf Hitler. See Neulen op. cit. 1985, p. 396.

[70] See Neulen op. cit. 1985, pp. 356-7, on the difficulties in the SS-training of the Indian volunteers in Germany. There seemed to be several difficulties in supplying them with suitable food. In terms of discipline, the 3rd Company of the 2nd battalion of the IR 950 objected to orders being given by their German superiors, since they felt their duty was to prepare to fight in India, not on the Western front. 170 men were accused by the German military court and 47 sentenced from six years to three months of prison.

[71] Ghosh, K.K., op. cit. 1969, discusses how he Allies portrayed the INA in their propaganda as "Japan's 'India Puppet' and its chief a 'Quisling', who after training in Nazi-Japanese Organization techniques in Berlin and Tokyo, has gathered around him ... extremists who are ready to play the Japanese game ..." References to *New York Times* 1943 and '44 (p. 191).

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Taken together the three large regimes of Asia presented very different political situations on the advent of fascism: Japan was "ready" for it in terms of her specific circumstances, and Japan was much smaller and more politically unified in 1939 than the others. China was still struggling with internal, regional divisions and gradually with a split that became deeper and deeper, and which meant that China could not become a unified, centralized regime before 1949.[72] In the pre-war period India was on her way to independence, but with great uncertainty as to the willingness of the British to grant it full freedom. India was also deeply split internally, hampering progress towards an 'all-Indian' national state. The British decision to partition India in 1947 perhaps prevented an authoritarian, nationalist solution from becoming a reality when independence was eventually declared, even if other types of authoritarian rule emerged in the wake of independence.

ii) The radicalization of nationalism in South-East Asia under Japanese control: Varieties of South-East Asian fascism.

Japan's blitz-war in Asia represented a clear challenge to most Western imperialist powers in the region. With minor exceptions all colonies east of India were lost to Japanese influence within less than a year and came under Japanese military control. French Indochina under Vichy France quickly surrendered and opened up its territories following a neutrality pact which allowed Japan all possible use of the territory of Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam. As early as 1940, independent Thailand also made a pact with Japan giving it access to strategic, territorial points and permitting free passage to its military forces. This pact also made it easy for Japan to extend her military conquest towards British ruled Burma, Malaya and Singapore (and further towards India and Ceylon). The American-ruled Philippines were overrun at a very early stage, as were Dutch-ruled Indonesia and the different archipelagos to the east of Indonesia (to facilitate an advance towards Australia/New Zealand). Including the several encroachments on China's mainland, Japanese military power stretched over most of South-East Asia (as

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[72] In his new book *A Place in the Sun. Marxism and Fascism in China's Long Revolution* (Boulder 2000), A. James Gregor goes a long way in advocating that fascism, as reactive nationalism and with totalitarian objectives, has been continuously present in China since the revolution of 1911, and was particularly prevalent in post Mao China.

well as the already firm grip on North-East Asia except for land under Soviet control). However, after the fatal defeat at Midway in the Pacific in May 1942, the Japanese military expansion was halted. Despite the violent and gradual loss of many strategically important islands in the east, the Japanese occupational forces stayed on in the larger occupied territories until the bitter end, which came on August 16th 1945.

Being thus engulfed by the Japanese military and political presence, the individual territories had to cope with the occupying forces either by neutrality pacts, by direct collaboration, by nationalist mobilization from within, or by resistance. Since none of the other chapters in this volume address the subject of South-East Asia I will look at it at some length to present some of the most important issues and discuss their fascist character.

In order to capture the overall developments within the area and to assess the political importance of Japan's impact, I have tried to summarize some vital information on the various countries in the table below. This table necessarily conveys the regional differences only in brief and simplified form, but its purpose is to help one visualize the salient issues of collaboration versus import of variants of Japanese fascism, or the development of genuine nationalism. The table format also necessitated that much concrete information about each country will follow in the preceding pages and continuing discussion.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

	Estimated population in millions	Colonial power	Collaborating organizations/fascism	Status during WW2	Japanese declaration of independence Anti-Japanese revolts	Final independence
Myanmar (Burma)	16.1 (1940)	Britain 1886 a province in Indian empire. 1935 a separate colony	Mil: BIA/BDA-BNA (BIA 200,000 recruits - BNA 55,000 trained) Pol:: Thanking party and 'the 30 Comrades'. (Dobama Sinyetha Asiyone-national front), BASU, Sinyetha.	Ba Maw-administration and Aung San military leader - collaborated. Maha Sangha Association, National Service Association as government creations.	Declaration of 'independence' 1.9.1943. On 25.9.43 new territories added to Burma. March 8th 1945 Mandalay anti-Japanese revolt	Reoccupied by the British 5.5.1945. Final independence January 4th 1948
Thailand (Siam)	15.2 (1940)	Independent kingdom, with limited royal power after coup in 1932	Phibun initiated Thai nationalism and himself as führer. Several new youth organizations and inaugurations of new order of conducts (ratthaniyom/wiratham), Wai Salutation. Yuwacon Thanan and Luc Seua youth organizations.	Phibun Songkhram's government collaborated and issued a declaration of war against the Allies 42, but fell 24.7.1944 to a moderate Pridi-led government.	Phibun's expansionism resulted in the 31.5.1943 six "new" areas granted to Thailand by the Japanese	Independent kingdom
Laos	1.9 (1950)	France made it a protectorate 25.8.1883	Few if any pro-Japanese organizations	Vichy collaboration from August 30th 1940	8.4.1945 'independent' kingdom, King Sisavanag Vong and Phetsarah as prime minister from the Lao Issra movement	Reoccupied by the French 13.5.1946. Kingdom in a French Union. Independent on October 22nd 1953

Cambodia	3.2 (1946)	France made it a protectorate 25.8.1883 and part of the Indochinese Federation	Yuvan Kampuchearat - a Japanese sponsored youth organization. 'Revolte des ombrelles' against the French and pro-Japanese - July 20th 1942	Vichy collaboration from August 30th 1940 Son Ngo Than collaborator and minister under Sihanouk	Sihanouk declared 'independence' 9.3.1945. Than as premier (had tried to revolt against the French in 1942)	French forces reoccupied in Sept. 45. Final independence 3.7.1953/ Febr. 54
Vietnam	28.6 (1950)	France made it a protectorate 25.8.1883 made and divided it in three: Tongking, Annam and Cochin-china.	Mil.: 3.000 Indochina Giyūgun forces, 100 Tokushu Kōyōnin (special employees/guards)	Vichy collaboration from Augsut 30th 1940 Emperor Bao Dai collaborated with the Japanese after the Mei-go operation 10.1.45 Under the control of Japanese intelligence office Yasu Butai	10.3.45 'Independence declaration'. Sept. 2nd Democratic Republic of Vietnam declared by Ho Chi Minh in Hanoi.	The South reoccupied by French and Americans in 45. The South under French control and Bao Dai as political figurehead. In the North entered into civil war Dec.46. June 4th 1954 Divided by the 17th parallel by Geneva agreements
Sumatra	(Part of Indonesia)	Part of Dutch Indo-nesia. Seve-ral revolts	Mil.: 5-6.000 Sumatra Giyūgun. Lasjkar Rakjt in Atjh Pol: The Pusa party	Collaboration by Atjeh State in North Sumatra	Efforts of separation from Indonesia failed	Part of Indonesian development

Malaya/ Malaysia	4.4 (1940)	UK 1824 Treaty with the Dutch. 1874 Protectorate adding new provinces.	Mil: 2.000 Malaya Giyūgun, 5.000 Malay Gigyūtai Labour Service Corps. Pol: KMM and KRIS	Ibrahaim Yaacob military, collaborator. March on Kuala Lumpur failed in the last days of occupation.	No success in efforts of independence or union with Sumatra.	1957 Independence. Federation of Malaysia
Philippines	16.5 (1940)	USA since 1895.Abortive independence mov. 1899-1902	Pol: Kalibapi 1,500,000 Mil:Makapili 6.000, Hoan Giyūgun, (few hundreds), Honour guard 250 Philippine constabulary 40,000	Jose Laurel's collaborating government with Manuel Roxas and Jorge Vargas	'Independence declaration' 14.10.1943	Reoccupied by Americans 23.2.45 Final independence July 4th 1946
Indonesia	70.5 (1940)	Dutch colonization. 1850-70 adding non-Brit. Borneo and Celebes.	Mil.:25.000 Heio, 34.500 PETA, Paramilitary groups: Seinendan (600,000), Keibōdan, 80,000 Jibakutai, 50,000 Hizbullah, 50,000 Gakutai 120,000 men Pol: "Three A movement", Putera, Java Hōkōkai,	Soekarno chairman of Central Advisory Council. No complete government. Hatta another central figure. The Masjumi Islam council with Hadji Hasjim Asj'ari. Beppan as Japanese intelligence section	'Independeence' July 17th 1945 (Japan). Soekarno independence declaration Aug 17th 1945 14.2.45 - The Blitar anti-Japanese revolt	Reoccupied by the Dutch and the British. Civil war. Independence 27.12. 1949 and 17.8.1950 Unitary Rep. of Indonesia.

* Data on the population and independence dates are taken from B.R. Mitchell 1995: *International historical statistics: Africa, Asia & Oceania* (second revised edition), London, and Milton W. Meyer 1997: *Asia. A concise history,* Lanham/ New York/Boulder/Oxford. The following books have been used as general reference: Robert E. Ward and Roy C. Macridis (eds.) 1965: *Modern political systems. Asia*, New Jersey; John H. Esterline and Mae H. Esterline 1986: *"How the dominoes fell". Southeast Asia in Perspective*, Lanham; Milton Osborne 1991: *Southeast Asia. An illustrated introductory history*, Sydney; Craig Baxter, Yogendra K. Malik, Charles H. Kennedy and Robert C. Oberst 1987: *Government and politics in South Asia*, Boulder/London; Francois Godement 1997: *The new Asian Renaissance from colonialism to the post-Cold War,* London/New York. Data on military collaboration og political organizations are taken from various sources on each country, but often from: Fujiwara Iwaichi, (F. Kikan) 1982: *Japanese army intelligence operations in Southeast Asia during World War II*, transl, Hong Kong, McCoy, Alfred ed. 1980: *Southeast Asia under Japanese Occupation*, Yale, Lebra Joyce C 1977: *Japanese-trained Armies in Southeast Asia. Independence and Volunteer Forces in World War II*, New York, Robertson, Eric 1986: *The Japanese File. Prewar Japanese Penetration in Southeast Asia*, Singapore, Pluvier, Jan 19.. : *South-East Asia from Colonialism to Independence*, London - New York - Melbourne.

In general South-East Asia forms at least five different sets of territories in terms of opportunities for Japanese influence.

a) French Indochina was a region where the countries were only semi-independent under French rule. Having retained French colonial administration and power throughout a period that had remained almost stable since before 1941, it was only in the last phase of the war that Japan intensified its efforts to gain political and military control. Vichy France's rule in Indochina therefore developed in a way that was very different from other countries in the region.

b) Thailand and Burma also experienced very different situations. As the only independent state in South-East Asia, Thailand quickly opened up for a neutrality pact giving the Japanese access to all vital points of strategic military importance. Burma was a British colony where the war went on through most of the period and from where Japan planned to invade India.

c) The Philippines was an American colony, but ruled by a semi-autonomous government. Being geopolitically close to Japan made her an obvious target for the first wave of invading Japanese forces. However, the Philippines was a difficult territory to administer and put up intense and prolonged resistance, almost comparable to the resistance on the Chinese mainland.

d) Malaysia was a British colony bud divided into very distinct and separate identities, with Singapore as the dominant strategic and economic center. The whole area was quickly overrun by the Japanese and kept under one Japanese military administration together with Sumatra.

e) Indonesia, a concept which at that time was not fully commensurate with the territory as it is today – was ruled by a Dutch colonial administration. It was surprisingly easily overrun by the Japanese invaders and split into three main areas of military administration. Within this area the Japanese tried out various tactics to stimulate and control nationalist movements while trying to extract the maximum resources for their war efforts with the minimum expenditure of their own resources. In 1945 it was also militarily pacified after the Japanese surrendered on August 15th 1945 with no Allied invasion.

Let me briefly examine the history of these five territories – with reference to the table above and in terms of elements of Japanese fascism.

Cambodia, Laos and **Vietnam** had been under French colonial administration since 1884 (during the war under Admiral Decoux as governor general). By the mid 1970s they had all become 'people's republics' ruled by Soviet-

oriented, or Chinese-supported communist parties. Resentment at prolonged French colonial rule seems to have made communist mobilization easier. Geographical proximity also facilitated the emerging communist takeover in China. These countries experienced largely similar challenges during the Japanese occupation because of the pact of August 30th 1940 between Vichy France and Japan, giving the latter free access to harbors, airports and other types of infrastructure for military purposes (the first Japanese forces advanced into Vietnam on September 22nd 1940). This strategic situation made resistance more difficult and pacified the internal political forces which elsewhere were either put to use by the Japanese, or enlisted into various forms of anti-Japanese activities. The French garrisons were kept in their barracks and the French administration continued their tasks until March 9th 1945, when the Japanese arrested the French administrative and military personnel and implemented complete control over the entire territory. The split between Vichy and Free France resulted in several complications for the anti-Japanese resistance, but in general the Vichy administration in Indochina in these three colonies (protectorates) acted as a 'buffer' between the Japanese and the national populations.[73]

Laos consists of three very different parts: the northern kingdom of Luang Prabang and the two adjoining regions of Vientiane. For a long period it was squeezed between Thailand and Vietnam. Due to a forced deal by the Japanese, implemented between the government of Thailand and the French, parts of the North – Western Laos (West of the Mekong river) – were given to Thailand on January 31st 1941. The French, in an effort to resist the loss of the entire territory to Thailand, initiated the Free Lao movement. This became, however, a popular base for the recruitment of forces opposed to French colonial power. Lao nationalism was therefore strongly encouraged and the French (Charles Rochet) put a lot of effort into the creation of a national

[73] In his 1996: *A History of Cambodia*, Boulder, David Chandler writes that: "Vichy rule [in Indochina] in some ways was more flexible, in others more repressive and certainly more ideological that the governments provided by the Third Republic had ever been. This was partly because to appease the Japanese, and following a pro-Axis, anti-British line and partly because, perceiving their vulnerability in Southeast Asia, they sough to retain control while using very little of their depleted military forces. .. [in Cambodia] encouraging an enhanced sense of national identity, linked to idealization of the Angkorean era and Jayavarman VII [1181-1220] in particular; and the organization of paramilitary youth groups along Vichy lines. These groups gave thousands of young Cambodians their first taste, outside the *sangha*, of membership in an extra familiar group." p. 165.

consciousness which could later be turned into a political movement capable of being used to oppose Japanese/Thai interests. They promised King Sisavang Vong in Luang Prabang that he would acquire more territories after the war, and also promised some form of political autonomy and to work to reduce the importance of the Vietnamese (who constituted the majority in the larger cities) in the running of Laotian affairs.

From this policy a new sense of identity gradually took shape, but not as a simple unifying force. Nationalism had various identities in Laos (often associated with different regional royal families), while the French wanted Lao nationalism to be the general all-encompassing vehicle for anti-Japanese resistance and for the reestablishment of the country's status as a French protectorate. There were also different opinions among the Laotians as to whom to support: the Japanese to get rid of the French (and the Vietnamese), the French to get rid of the Japanese, or Ho Chi Minh in order to get rid of both the Japanese and the French while keeping close cooperation with the communists in Vietnam.

In the last months of the war the chronology of events was as follows: On April 8th 1945 the Japanese declared Laos independent and united under King Sisavang Vong, with prince Phetsarath as viceroy and prime minister, while retaining for themselves the main political and military positions of power. When the Japanese withdrew in August after the end of the war, Free France wanted to reestablish the former status quo. They were supported by King Vong and the southern regional leaders. However, Prince Phetsarath, whose inclinations were anti-French, with his power base in the Lao Issra movement, reaffirmed the earlier independence act of April 1945 and issued on October 12th a provincial constitution for a free and united Laos. After several difficulties Phetsarath persuaded the king to head the new state following his coronation on April 23rd 1946.

However, in the end the French won after having launched several attacks on the Lao Issra government forces. Soon they forced their way into their former strongholds and on May 11th 1947, after reconquering the provinces given to Thailand by the Japanese in 1941, they gave Laos a new status as "independent kingdom within the French Union".

The final solution was however highly unstable for Laos, as were the similar arrangements reached in the two neighboring French protectorates. The Japanese occupation, and the political mobilization during the last phase of the war, had set in motion political developments which meant that the status quo from before 1940 would never survive for long. But the totalitarian forces which finally won in the power struggle were not extremist nationalist and

fascist, but Soviet-supported, Asian communism.[74]

Cambodia was the other country which was politically neutralized by Vichy France's deal with the Japanese. As in the Laotian example the Japanese seceded three Cambodian provinces to Thailand (Battambang, Siem Reap and Sisophon) in 1942 as part of a policy of strengthening their independent ally. It was in these provinces that the national Khmer Issarak (Free Cambodia) movement first took shape under the leadership of Pock Khun.

The first important nationalist revival in Cambodia was initiated by Son Ngoc Than who together with Pach Chhoeun published a newspaper in the Cambodian language which was strongly anti-French in its political sentiments. On July 20th 1942 Than and Pach Chhoeun also organized a political demonstration in Phnom Penh against the French treatment of people who had previously acted peacefully in a pro-Japanese but anti-French demonstration; the so called 'revolte des ombrelles'.[75] Pach Chhoeun was imprisoned, but his colleague Son Ngoc Than sought asylum in the Japanese embassy and was later taken to Japan, from where he returned as a genuine collaborator two years later (May 1945), at which time he was installed under Prince Sihanouk as minister for foreign affairs (he held the rank of a captain in the Japanese army). Norodom Sihanouk himself had been installed by the French on April 25th 1941 as the new king of Cambodia (aged 19 years) and maintained a very fine balance between the Vichy French administration and the Japanese occupiers.

Sihanouk tried to find ways to maximize Cambodia's independence during the last months of the war. On the one hand he "collaborated" with the Japanese against the Vichy French administration by accepting "independence" in March 1945, after the French rulers had been turned down. On the other hand, when the Yuvan Kampuchearat – a Japanese sponsored paramilitary youth organization – staged a coup against the French, inspired by the Japanese secret police, the Kempeitai, on the assumption that Sihanouk was not 'nationalistic' enough. But Sihanouk put down the uprising and

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[74] For a brief overview of the various phases of development, see Adams, Nina S. and Alfred W. McCoy (eds.) 1970: *Laos: War and Revolution*, New York-Evanston-London, particularly Chapters 6 (Alfred W. McCoy) and 7 (Nina S. Adams). Brown, MacAllister and Joseph J. Zasloff 1986: *Apprentice revolutionaries: The communist movement in Laos, 1930-1985*, Stanford, Chapters 1-4 give a general overview of the beginnings of the communist takeover.

[75] See Marie Alexandrine Martin 1994: *Cambodia. A Shattered Society*, Berkeley-Los Angels-London, pp. 48-49.

arrested the plotters. By placing the conservative nationalist Than as prime minister he isolated him from his ultra-nationalist, anti-royalist circles and made him vulnerable to political criticism. For his own part, Than tried to secure complete "independence" from the French after the Japanese defeat in the war, his last optimistic hope for an easy "victory", but the new administration led by liberated France was by no means willing to accept such a "quick" solution. In the end Than was arrested for collaboration with the Japanese and exiled to France.

The 'balance' in Cambodia during the war was aimed at maintaining the peace – via some form of collaboration – with the powerful Japanese occupiers, while keeping a "realistic" nationalism alive in the hope of establishing a sound popular platform capable of resisting the return of the colonial powers. This kind of nationalism was strongly stimulated by the Japanese turnover of Cambodian provinces to Thailand. When the Japanese began losing in the war it was important to eradicate the stamp of collaboration, while hoping for a sound deal that would help the cause of future independence with the new French leaders and the Allies in general, and permit the return of the lost territories.[76]

In conclusion one may say that there were too many dividing forces within Cambodia to break the ground for a fascist-like mobilization. Anti-Japanese sentiment, anti-French imperialist feelings (against both the Vichy administration and the prospective return of 'normal' French rule), anti-royalism (sometimes influenced by French 'liberal' ideas), strong anti-Vietnamese feelings, and growing support for 'leftism' (communism) – all of these left the political forces in the country too divided to become a breeding ground for the uniform and crystallizing nationalism which fascism needed in order to take off. The closest thing to a fascist leader may have been the ingenious collaborator Son Ngoc Than, who also returned from exile in France to Cambodian politics in 1951-52, when he achieved a "comeback" like that of Phibun in Thailand. He first went into guerilla warfare against the king and was from 1956 leader of the Khmer Seri movement. He then lent his support to another collaborationist activity with the USA (CIA). After the coup d'état

[76] The outline above is based largely on Caldwell, Malcolm and Lek Tan 1973: *Cambodia in the Southeast Asian War*, New York and London pp.31-37. See also Pierre Lamant 1986: "Le Cambodge et la décolonisation de l'Indochine" in *Les Chemins de la décolonisation de l'empire colonial francais*, Paris: Centre de la recherche scientifique, pp. 189-99.

by Lon Nol on March 19th 1970, Than became senior adviser to Lon Nol, and served as prime minister from 1971-75.[77]

Vietnam was the third of the French 'protectorates' which was politically and militarily "neutralized" by the Japanese under the Vichy government. Under the French, Vietnam was divided into three distinct political units: Tonking, with its capital in Hanoi, Annam with Hue, and Cochinchina with Saigon. The two southernmost units were ethnically Malay and strongly Indian influenced, while Tonking was mostly influenced by Chinese traditions. The central political unity of Vietnam was established in 1802, when the Nguyen dynasty won over its rivals and Gia Long settled as emperor in Hue, where he set up his central administration and fortified the city. However, the emperor became powerless when in August 1883 the French imperialist wars subdued all three of the Vietnamese lands and forced them into one "protectorate". He was to become a 'peacetime collaborator' linked to the imperialist invaders in his country.

Since it was the dominant country among the French ruled administrations, Vietnam was felt to be a constant threat to the two neighboring countries across their Western borders. Whereas in Laos and Cambodia the nationalist awakening resulted in antagonism towards both the immigrant Vietnamese and the Japanese, while retaining the long-standing militant anti-French sentiments, national mobilization was different in Vietnam. The border to their much mightier neighbor in the north was also very decisive for the political developments which were unleashed when the war began. Under French imperialist rule, as well as under Japanese occupation, refugees in China became very important to the continuation of Vietnamese resistance and finally for the breakthrough of communist power.

During the Second World War the political development among the political actors in Vietnam was balanced between support for the Japanese occupiers and the French administration.[78] After the Japanese brought down the Vichy French administration on March 9th 1945, Emperor Bao Dai tried to balance the situation and accepted another form of collaboration as head of a

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[77] A short description of the post-1945 development is found in Esterline, John E. and Mae H. Esterline op. cit. 1986, pp. 76-85.

[78] See Tønnesson, Stein 1991: *The Vietnamese Revolution of 1945. Roosevelt, Ho Chi Minh and de Gaulle in a World at War*, London, Newbury Park, New Delhi pp. 103-07.

Japanese sponsored puppet government over Annam, residing in Hue.[79] This was gradually extended regionally towards the very end of the war to include the rest of the country, and on August 8th 1945 the "independence" of all of Vietnam under Bao Dai was proclaimed.[80] The Japanese also tried in the last months to bring some "all-Vietnamese" nationalism into the Hue government under the emperor.[81] However, the rule of the emperor was very fragile and short-lived and he was so utterly disgraced by his involvement with the Japanese that he had to give up the throne on August 25th 1945.

When the Japanese capitulated on August 14th 1945, several different forces had already been mobilized. Foremost the Vietminh organization, led by Ho Chi Minh and Vo Nguyen Giap, managed to take the political initiative during the last crucial phase of the war. When the Vichy French forces were subdued by the Japanese, an alliance in the north of Vietnam between Free France, the US and the Vietminh guerillas was formed and supported by China. Ho then took advantage of the turbulence in the final weeks of the war to thwart the initiative of the Hue government and gain control Hanoi. He entered the city with a small force of Vietminh guerillas and on September 2nd proclaimed the Independent Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV). In accordance with his political sympathies, he formed a nationalist government and invited non-communists to join. The events which subsequently escalated into the two Vietnam wars, proved how important the domestic mobilization from within would be to win the battle against the foreign imperialist powers and their supporters.

In conclusion one cannot say that much of a fascist inspired movement was either allowed or stimulated by the Japanese, except for the minor Giyūtai

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[79] On the estimated strength between French forces and the Japanese see Tønnesson, Stein op.cit. 1991, pp. 240-41. Between 1942-44 Japan had "some 30. - 40.000 men in Indochina while the French Indochina Army numbered somewhere between 60.000 and 64.000 men (12.000- 13.000 of whom were Europeans). "

[80] On the role of Bao Dai and his government under Tran Trong Tim as collaborators see Tønnesson, Stein op.cit 1991 pp 296-98."It would seem possible that some of the ministers anticipated the Japanese defeat and engaged in merely a temporary tactical alliance, but it seems less likely that this was the case for the whole cabinet" p. 297. See also pp. 283-88.

[81] A brief description of the historical events of the last part of the Japanese occupation of Vietnam is given by Esterline, John H. and Mae H. Esterline op.cit.1986 pp 27-32.

and Tokushu Kōyōnin (special employees), organized at the last moment and perhaps not amounting to more than 1000 men.[82] The individual who gradually came to the forefront as a national 'führer' was a person of quite a different political color, someone who was able to mobilize an all-out war against the world's superpower – and win it. Bao Die had no charisma and no political vision which could put him in the forefront of a national awakening. His rule under the French and the collaboration with the Japanese apparently made him also unfit for the task. When he returned from Hong Kong to become once again ruler under the French over South Vietnam in 1949, he proved his inability to form an independent and viable political alternative to the French and the communists. He was authoritarian and rude, but with no clear plan or political ideology to unite and modernize the country.

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Altogether the effect of the Japanese occupation of Indochina, with the effort of French (and later the US) imperialism to regain political control, led to considerable militarization of politics and with it increasingly authoritarian forms of rule. The great national mobilization which – after 1945 – brought the last French (and US) dominated power to an end in all three countries, was built on a strong national and communist ideology, not a fascist one, but perhaps with much the same tenets. Communist mobilization succeeded in China, in North Korea and in the three former French protectorates, but not in the rest of Asia. Geographical proximity may be one important factor in explaining why communism did not successfully spread outside this area; another is the different way in which the Japanese influence operated here compared to the other regions in South-East Asia. Vichy France became more fascist as the war went on, and the pact made with Japan meant that it would have been politically counterproductive to make a conscious effort to build domestic nationalist-fascist organizations, since these would necessarily have to be anti-French.[83]

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[82] See Joyce C. Lebra op. cit. 1977, pp. 134-40, where he discusses the reluctance of the Japanese to organize any paramilitary movement which could be seen as a threat to the Vichy French administration. After the invasion of Normandie on June 6th 1944 the situation changed, however, but still the Japanese felt uneasy about putting an end to the French administration and built instead a voluntary recruited Vietnamese national force.

[83] For supplementary reading: Allen, Louis "Studies in the Japanese Occupation of South-East Asia, 1942-1945 (II): 'French Indochina to 'Vietnam', Japan, France, and Great

b) **Thailand and Burma**

The Kingdom of **Thailand** was the only country in South-East Asia to have kept its autonomous status while its neighbors were under colonial rule. It had been reformed into a constitutional monarchy by the coup d'état of June 24th 1932, with the lawyer Pridi Phanomyong as leader. A new coup on June 23rd 1933 deposed Pridi, who was considered a more left-wing, civilian politician, and put his colleague colonel Pibun Soggram, a military professional and right-wing politician, into a prominent position. For the next decade the two politicians were constantly competing for influence within the restricted democracy. In December 1938 Phibun became the prime minister and initiated a policy of intensified nationalism, chauvinism and pan-Thai expansionism towards areas inside Laos and Cambodia/ Kampuchea. He signed a friendship treaty with Japan in June 1940 – after the fall of France – which gave Japan the opportunity in early 1941 to interfere in the expansionist, territorial 'conquest' of Phibun against the control of Vichy France, thus securing Thailand three of the provinces from the neighboring countries, to which it laid claim.

Thailand was thus very closely linked to Japan and when in 1942 the Japanese armies landed in Thailand, Phibun welcomed them and declared war on the Allies. As a reaction to this pro-Japan policy, Pridi withdrew from the government and formed a loose coalition of Free-Thai. He took up contacts with several anti-Japanese groups, but the Allies were reluctant to support his underground activities. It was not until July 1944, when Phibun was ousted and the Pridi-supported coalition could form government, that the Allies started to trust the cooperation with the Thai government.[84]

Thailand was thus a very opportunistic actor, towards whom Japan remained peaceful , so long as it was not obstructed in its military operations. However, there was no clear evidence of mass support for pro-Japanese mobilization, nor any organizational development in the direction of fascism. Resistance was also negligible, until the last year of the war.

Britain, Summer 1945', *Durham University Journal;* Elsbree, Willard H. 1953: *Japan's Role in Southeast Asian Nationalist Movements*, Cambridge, Mass; Hammer, Ellen J. 1954: *The Struggle for Indochina*, Stanford.

[84] Cooper, Donald F. 1995: *Thailand: Dictatorship or Democracy*, Montreux-London-Washington, gives in chapters 1-4 a broad overview of the historical phases before and during the Japanese occupation.

Taking into account the local traditions of Thailand, however, the ultranationalist profile of Phibun's policy clearly demonstrated fascist leanings. This was to be seen in a harsh racial policy aimed at the Chinese minority. It involved deportations, restriction of their civil rights, prohibition of the use of the Chinese language, physical repression, violence etc., according to a formula of an expansionist policy for Greater Thailand. Phibun's ultranationalism aimed at conquering several tracts of neighboring territory in Cambodia, Malaysia and Laos. In 1939 his directives included changing the name from Siam to Thailand. Phibun's policy was thus directed towards stimulation of extreme, nationalist sentiments, and he built up paramilitary youth organizations (Yuwachon Thahan and Luk Seua), indoctrinating them after the model of the Hitler-Jugend. He tried to create an image of himself as 'führer', the Than Phunam of Thailand, and introduced a set of obligatory 'state conventions' (the twelve ratthaniyom) of proper behavior which were aimed at modernizing and homogenizing the state.

In conclusion one may say that Phibun's program and attempts to force the country under his leadership present a very distinct picture of an effort to shape the 'new' Thailand according to a fascist model, but one which was not completely successful. His close cooperation with Japan did not imply that his policies were a "slavish imitation of the Japanese, a matter of particular sensitivity to Phibun himself, but further Westernization, albeit in a similarly vague and contradictory fashion as in former times under absolute monarchy".[85] However, when the tide turned against Japan in its war efforts, several political forces within Thailand grew wary of being invaded by the Allies and voted Phibun out of the government (comparable to Mussolini's defeat in 1943, when he was voted out as führer). He did, however, return to post-war politics and became the figurehead of several governments in Thailand after the war. Phibun's leaning towards fascism involved a willing effort of imitation, but where several constraints prevented him from developing a full-scale fascist regime. Paradoxically, one constraint was the fascist, Japanese presence. Others were the absence of any genuine hatred of

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[85] See Brailey, Nigel J. 1986: *Thailand and the Fall of Singapore. A Frustrated Asian Revolution*, London p. 77. See also his references to Phibun's "alleged fascism", where he writes: "Phibun was far from being an absolute dictator, it also indicates that his 'fascism' or 'racism' was of a very superficial kind". (p.74). On Phibun see Thamsook Numnoda 1977: *Thailand and the Japanese Presence, 1941-1945*, (ISEAS Paper 6, Singapore 1977), and Thak Chaloemtiarana 1979: *Thailand: The Politics of Despotic Paternalism*, Bangkok.

the white race and a nationalism that was also based on Buddhist traditions.

In Burma fascism could build on strong nationalist organizations which were bitterly opposed to British colonial rule, which was based on a policy of divide and rule, the divisions being made between the various minorities living in large areas outside the main urban center in lower Burma. A cynical policy of importing large numbers of Indians as immigrant labor and making Burma a part of India, with the aim of thus destroying the national state and the Burmese identity, created strong resentment and led to several revolts among the Burmese. Burma also became the westernmost frontier for the Japanese war after the fall of Mandalay on May 2nd 1942, thus inspiring struggles against the British and the Allied forces in India and in the far north of the country, while giving strength and providing direct contacts to the anti-fascist forces which finally took over the nationalist movements in the last phase of the Japanese occupation.

Burma had effectively been a British colony since 1862, when "the three parts of Burma held by the British – Arakan, Tenasserim, and Lower Burma – were amalgamated into one province under the Government of India".[86] This was the outcome of several British efforts to gain control by means of various commercial and military operations, which ultimately resulted in the destruction of the old monarchy. During the runup to World War II the British slowly tried to introduce some sort of steered, local independence in Burma, while aiming at the same time to keep it under British governorship. Burmese nationalism grew from these colonial circumstances , but not as a unified force, since the southern and central parts of Burma had different national aspirations from the north, which included the Karen and Shan peoples. The new constitution of 1937 institutionalized a semi-parliamentary state, which excluded the northern and eastern parts (Chin, Karen and Kachin), and where the essential powers over immigration, foreign policy and finance still lay with the British governor, who also had the power to appoint several of the seats in the senate. The 1937 act did, however, finally split Burma off from India, laying foundations for a more unified national policy.

The new nationalist force grew out of the student organizations in Rangoon in 1930, of which the Dobama Asiayone ('We Burmans Association'), later renamed as the Thakin Party ('lord/master party'– 'we are the masters of Burma'), was perhaps the most prominent. The nationalist

[86] The quotation is taken from Esterline, John H. and Mae H. Esterline. 1986: *"How the dominions fell". South-East Asia in perspective*, Lanham, p. 211.

movements in general were significantly stimulated by the Sayan Sen revolt in 1930, a revolution which proved that the Burmese themselves had the courage to challenge the British colonialists.[87]

In October 1939 three parties formed an alliance called the Freedom Block: "the Dobama Asiayone (Kodaw Hmaing faction), the BASU, politically active monks, and the Sinyetha (Poor Man's Party) of Dr. Ba Maw."[88] Aung San became secretary and Ba Maw 'Ahanshin' (president-dictator). Educated in Europe, Ba Maw was a politician who served as Burma's first prime minister between 1937-38. He was ousted by the British and joined the Thakin party after the outbreak of the war in Europe on September 1st 1939. He then turned his small party into an ultra-nationalist movement, stipulating that, unless Britain granted them immediate independence, it could expect no support from them in the coming war. However, the new prime minister U Saw arrested Ba Maw and the leaders of the Dobama movement. But Aung San and the 'the Thirty Comrades' slipped away to Taiwan, where they received military training from the Japanese.[89] Gradually they returned to Burma and started recruiting for what was to become the Burma Independent Army (BIA), formed on December 28th 1941. By that time they had enrolled around 3500 volunteers, and when the Japanese army entered Burma from Thailand 'the Thirty Comrades' entered along with the invaders led by Aung San, resulting in a wave of popular support for the BIA, which was soon able to recruit a force of around 200,000 volunteers.[90] The BIA was thus hailed as

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[87] The rebellion broke out in Lower Burma in December 1930 and was finally suppressed in April 1932. The small army called the Galon Army, led by Syan (Hsaya) San, was based on small village communities and ideologically inspired by traditional religious and mythical ideas related to old Burmese history. By the time the revolt was over, 3000 had died and 8000 villagers had been arrested. See p 91.

[88] Quoted from Martin Smith 1991: *Burma: Insurgency and the Politics of Ethnicity*, London and New Jersey, p. 57.

[89] The history of 'the Thirty Comrades' and their training and contacts with the Japanese has been analyzed by Czech scholar Jan Becka 1983: *The National Liberation Movement in Burma during the Japanese Occupation Period (1941-1945), dissertation Orientales 42, Prague*, and Won Z. Yoon: *Japan's Scheme for the Liberation of Burma: the Role of the Minami Kikan and the Thirty Comrades'*, Ohio University Papers in International Studies, SE, Asia Series No. 27.

[90] See *Japanese-trained armies in Southeast Asia*, op.cit p. 65-6 on the rapid growth of the BIA and the Japanese decision to disband it. See also Guyot, Dorothy 1966: *The*

a liberating army by the Burmese, but not so much among the minorities who had earlier been protected by British rule.

The BIA happened to be highly undisciplined; it harassed and behaved very cruelly towards the minorities in the "liberated" areas.[91] When Japan did not immediately declare Burma independent, as it had promised it would in its dealings with Aung San before the invasion, tensions rose to the point at which the Japanese ordered the dissolution of the BIA. Instead of having their own government from the beginning of the new situation, the Burmese got a Japanese military administration. However, Aung San was appointed head of the new and reorganized army – the Burmese Defense Army (BDA) – which was inaugurated on July 27th 1942. This army, recruited from the former BIA and amounting to about 55,000 men in 1943, was trained by the Japanese and kept under their constant surveillance. On September 15th 1943 it was renamed Burma's National Army (BNA).

The decision to grant Burma "independence" was finally taken on September 1st 1943. In 1942, the Japanese had reorganized the political administration of Burma by installing Ba Maw as chairman of the Preparatory Committee on Administrative Control, after he was discovered by the Japanese and released from a prison where he had been detained by the British. With the new "independence" Ba Maw was raised to Adipadi ("führer"), head of State, and leader of the Administrative Council (not a full-fledged, autonomous government). In this position he ruled in a dictatorial fashion after having ousted some of his main opponents within the Thankin party.[92]

In many ways the rule of Ba Maw resembled the puppet dictators with

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Political Impact of the Japanese Occupation of Burma, Yale University. PhD dissertation and her article "The Burma Independence Army: A political Movement in Military Garb" in Silverstein Josef ed. 1966: *Southeast Asia in World War II: Four Essays*, Yale University Southeast Asia Monograph Series no.7.

[91] See Smith, Martin op.cit. 1991 pp. 62-3, where he mentions that 1800 Karens were killed and 400 villages destroyed by the BIA. The Karens were on the other hand very important in the anti-Japanese struggles and claimed 12,500 Japanese soldiers through their participation in the resistance and in the final ousting of the Japanese in 1945 (p. 63).

[92] See Lebra, Joyce C op..cit 1977 pp. 71-72 and Ba Than, Dhammika U. 1962: *The Roots of the Revolution, a brief history of the Defense Services of the Union of Burma and the Ideals for which they stand*, Rangoon, pp. 33-4.

fascist leanings to be found in the territories under Nazi German rule[93]. And just as Hitler denied them full control over internal, political issues, the Japanese did not allow the BNA a free operational role, either within Burma or on the Western front, when they opened the Imphal campaign against India. Their experiences with the BIA in the initial period may have held them back from employing Burmese military formations in the 1944 campaign. Instead they employed the Indian National Army (INA) on the front hoping that it would whip up an enthusiasm among "liberated" Indians similar to that of the Burmese who had greeted the BIA as a "liberating army" in 1942, and with a similar recruitment effect.

The political frustration within Burma over the Japanese administration and the frustration within the BNA at not being called into military action, led to two types of revolt. Firstly, there was the armed revolt by the BNA in Mandalay on March 8th, after Britain and her Allies had started advancing on Burmese territory with great success. Even if this was an isolated BNA mutiny and Ba Maw hoped to employ the BNA along with the Japanese military forces against the British, to prove their military value, the revolt spread. All efforts of cooperation with the Japanese failed due to the reluctance of the Japanese military leaders to put the BNA into action. Then Aung San and most of the BNA officers disappeared. Abandoning further contacts with the Japanese, they joined the rebellious units, ultimately being accepted as partners, and sided with the Allied forces.[94]

On the political side, an anti-Japanese alliance, the Anti-Fascist Organization (AFO), was formed and later amalgamated with several other groups to create the AFPFL (Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League) in 1944. It encompassed people from various political groups, including the

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[93] In *A History of Modern South East Asia. Colonialism, Nationalism and Democracy*, N.J., 1968, John Bastin and Harry J. Benda, however, disagree with the comparison of South-East Asian collaboration and the European puppet governments."In any case, in making common cause with Japan, neither political or religious leaders necessarily betrayed their own ideals and convictions, let alone their countries. Invidious comparisons with collaborators in Nazi-occupied Europe are for this reason altogether misplaced" (p. 133).

[94] See Joyce, Lebra C. op. cit pp. 161-66. After the British returned they were also reluctant to grant independence to Burma, on which occasion Aung San turned away from further cooperation with the British and, in 1945, formed the People's Volunteer Organization from the remnants of the BNA. See also Collis, Maurice 1956: *Last and First in Burma*, London, pp. 224-64.

communists (CPB) and Thakin members who were in opposition to Ba Maw's rule. Due to the strong communist influence in the resistance organizations, the political aspect of the struggle was conceptualized as a fight against fascism. Ba Maw and a small faction of his following, mainly his old Sinyeta party, were considered to have fascist leanings, while Aung San and his followers, who initially believed in the promises of Burmese independence implied by the policy of the 'Japanese Asian Prosperity Sphere', turned away from what could have been currents of fascism.[95]

The extent of the influence of Japanese fascism in the political visions of Ba Maw and other Thakin leaders has been summarized by Mikael Gravers. This influence was probably to be seen in three areas:
"1. in the rule of the 'lord of power'(Anashin Mingyi) Ba Maw with his catchphrase of 'one blood, one voice, one command';
2. in the militant organization of state and society; and
3. in the idea of the corporate state, within which all oppositions between classes and ethnic groups are removed to form one nation".[96]

Aung San, who was to become the new leader in Burma after the war when Ba Maw was tried as collaborator and finally released, also held authoritarian views. He had also been closely involved with the Japanese forces as a collaborator, while at the same time sympathizing with the communist movements in Burma. He emerged as the great leader trying to unify the nationalist and leftist parties after the war, until he was assassinated together with six of his ministers on July 19th 1947.[97]

In conclusion we may say that there were several factors that simulated currents of fascism in Burma: the loss of its former status as nation and its statehood to the British; strong nationalist mobilization from within, able leadership that cooperated willingly and actively with the invading Japanese; elements of racial nationalism which soon resulted in massacres and violence and weak alternative ideologies and movements.

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[95] See Ba Maw's own accounts of the developments in his 1968: *Breakthrough in Burma. Memoirs of a Revolution, 1945-46*, New Haven. It is extremely apologetic.

[96] See Mikael Gravers 1998: *Nationalism as Political Paranoia in Burma. An Essay on the Historical Practice of Power*, Richmond p. 40.

[97] In Kin Oung 1993: *Who killed Aung San?* , Bangkok, the claim that they were fascist collaborators and not real nationalist, is maintained.

c) Malaya and d) the Philippines offered fewer opportunities for fascism for very different reasons:

Malaya/Malaysia was the last of the South-East Asian territories to come under the control of Western imperialists. In 1888 the British declared a protectorate in North Borneo which encompassed Sabah, Sarawak and Brunei, and in 1896 the Malay 'protectorate' was established under British leadership, in which the peninsular sultanates/kingdoms and Singapore were organized into a rather loose political union. Given this highly complex political unity of mixed racial, religious and ethnic allegiances, and with only a minimum of central government in the capital, there was less breeding ground for a unified nationalist mobilization from within. The peninsular states were sparsely populated, with steep mountains and difficult communications, and the long distance to the provinces of Northern Borneo made the political integration of the federation rather difficult.

When the Japanese conquest began in South-East Asia on December 8th 1941, the British forces were quickly overrun, including in Singapore on February 15th 1942. This left the people open to exploitation by the Japanese, but the decentralized structure of the land and the non-homogeneous composition of its population forced the Japanese to administer the occupied territories under direct military rule, and they made few efforts to create domestic organizations.[98] The conquest of Singapore, strategically so important for the control of the Malacca Strait, further illustrated the interests of the occupying forces in keeping all power in their own hands; the city was also home to a large Chinese population, which the invaders tried by every means to maltreat and subdue. When, in October 1943, the Japanese also seceded the four northern sultanates of Malaya (Kelaantan, Trengganu, Kedah and Perlis) to Thailand in order to please Thai nationalism and Phibun's expansionist claims, there was little support for a collaborationist, nationalist mobilization. Malaya was also the only country in South-East Asia which was not offered any prospective "independence" during the final phase of the war.

In 1943 the Japanese started to recruit young Malays to two organizations. One of these was the Giyūgun, which was intended to become

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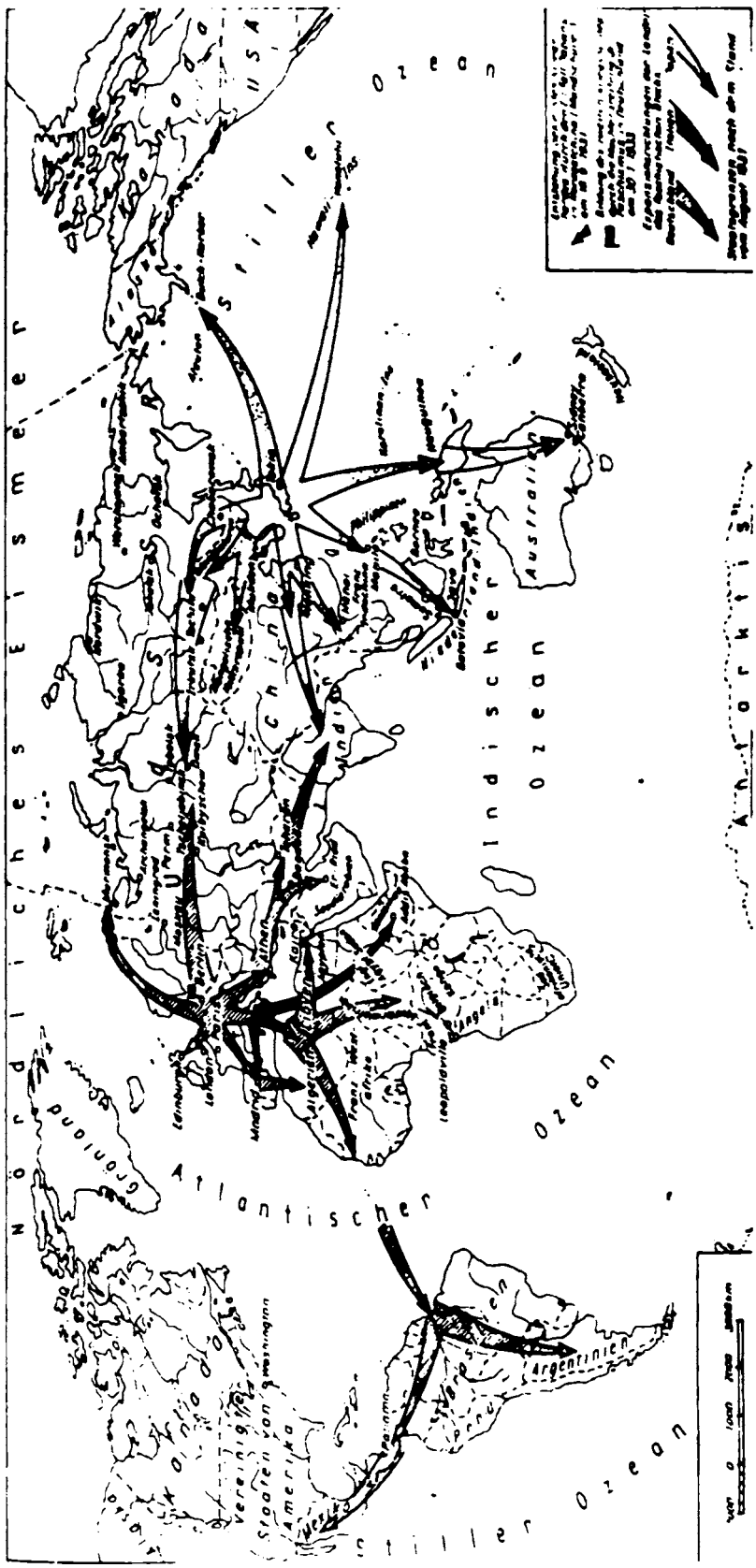
[98] Due to problems of local administration and effective police control the Japanese founded two types of organizations: the Tokkoka ("political police" - including intelligence and informer system) and the Jikeidan system (Self defense corps, which should report and had the responsibility for suspicious affairs in the neighborhood). See McCoy op.cit., pp. 103-4.



This map shows how a DDR-author did imagine the spread of Fascism from Berlin and Tokyo. One may wonder what would have happened if European and Japanese Fascism had met in Soviet Ural, India and in the US as indicated by the arrows? (From ed.: W.G. Truchanowski: *Geschichte der internationalen Beziehungen 1917-1939*, Rütten & Loening, Berlin, 1963

a fighting force particularly for the defense of Singapore. It amounted to around 2000 men by the end of the war and was militarily controlled by the Japanese. They put Ibrahaim Yaacob, a Malay, in command with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He wanted to make the organization resemble the Indonesian PETA, with the possible aim of uniting parts of the Malayan peninsular with Indonesia after the war.[99] During the days of the capitulation he organized a march on Kuala Lumpur in order to demand Malay independence, but to little avail.[100]

The other unit under Japanese surveillance was the Giyūtai volunteer corps which was organized for the purposes of coastal defense and the preservation of public order (super-police units). The organization was extended to cover cities, towns and villages, and the recruits received military drill and lessons about the Japanese seishin spirits.[101] The relative success of the Japanese in recruiting Malays to these volunteer armies was partly due to the threatened alternative of being put into the Heiho organization, which would have meant working as slaves on the Thai-Burma railway.[102]

A relatively strong communist guerilla force (MPAJA, with heavy Chinese recruitment) operated in the mountainous forests. However, unlike the Vietnamese, this force was unable to utilize the political opportunity that arose at the end of the war, when the returning British failed to fill the political power vacuum.

From this brief history the conclusion concerning the extent of fascist inspiration has to be in the negative. There were very few seeds of domestic initiative to be cultivated, and very little from Japanese import. However, a

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[99] During the first months of the occupation the Japanese relied on the Kesatuan Melayu Muda (KMM), led by Ibrahim. This organization aimed at a non-monarchist, nationalist takeover in Malaya, but was abandoned after only five months of the occupation. It was then isolated politically during the war, but was revived during the last phase of the war under the name KRIS (Kesatuan Rakyat Istimewa, or the Union of Special People). See McCoy, Alfred W. 1980: *Southeast Asia under Japanese occupation*, p. 110.

[100] Lebra, Joyce C. op.cit.1977, pp. 120-21.

[101] McCoy, Alfred W. op.cit. 1980, pp. 104-105, describes how the Giyuguns were "taught to admire strength, courage, bravado, and Nippon Seichin (Japanese spirits) ... We, the Malay Giuygun are to be loyal to the Empire of Nippon above all ...display the spirit of the Nippon soldiers .... contribute to ... reconstruction of the Dai Toa (Greater East Asia)", p. 105.

[102] Lebra, Joyce C. op. cit. 1977, pp. 117-118.

powerful Indian contingent was recruited into the political movement and into the forces under Sandara Boses' command. Malaya was a fertile ground for aspirations among the Indians to enter into the Indian National Army, thus relieving them from the otherwise serious threat of being utilized by the Japanese for other forms of slave labor or subjugation.[103]

The Philippines had been a Spanish colony from 1565, but came under American rule after the war with Spain over Cuba and the West Indies in 1899 (the Paris Treaty, December 10th 1898). During the turmoil at the end of the nineteenth century, the nationalist Filipinos revolted and established their First and Second republics within a short space of time: on November 1st 1897 and on January 23rd 1899. The continuing administration of the USA had been marked by a gradual process of accepting claims for political independence, which was finally granted on July 4th 1946 in accordance with the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934. The ten-year transitional period, which started on July 4th 1936, and was to take the country from commonwealth status to final independence, was interrupted by the Japanese occupation on December 8th 1942. However, even with extensive collaboration policies among the Philippine elite, independence was declared and sanctioned by the USA. It was followed by a trade and military agreement which in a sense tied the Philippines to the superpower for several years to come (military bases for 99 years).

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[103] McCoy op.cit. 1980 explains that it was not until the establishment of the Provincial Government of Free India on October 21st 1943 that the Indians got protection against Japanese hardship. The Indian Independence League (ILL) – which enjoyed some political freedom under the Japanese – had not succeeded in preventing the Tamil Indians from being forced to work on the Burma-Thai railway under terrible conditions. 20,000 ex-Indian Army soldiers (formerly under the British), and 30,000 Tamil laborers were recruited into the INA. "Bose, a charismatic personality and persuasive orator, aroused strong national sentiments among the Indians and encouraged them to serve his cause to liberate India from British rule. Indians of all walks of life, both Hindus and Muslims, continued to join the ILL/INA and contribute large amounts of their savings and jewelry. Bose also succeeded in forming a women's unit in the INA, the Rani of Jhansi Regiment, under the command of a woman doctor who had been practicing in Singapore. ... This was a small but important contribution to the political awakening of the Indian women, who took special pride in being trained to fight for Indian freedom. The leadership of most of the ILL and its branches throughout Malay came from the prewar Central Association for Malay (CIAM), and consequently there was continuity of Indian leadership in the IIL". p. 113.

Concerning wartime circumstances in the Philippines, it seems to be generally accepted, that more or less the same elite maintained control throughout the occupation as had ruled before the arrival of the Japanese. Even if the government went into exile (Queson and Osmena) in the US with general MacArthur in 1942, the oligarchic circles kept their grip on economic and political power and did not put up any substantial resistance to the Japanese. It became the most notoriously collaborative elite in South-East Asia during the war, and one which showed no obvious ambition of working towards nationalist emancipation. "In their collaboration with Japan the ranking Filipinos, like Jorge Vargas as chairman of the [executive] Commission, or Benigno Aquino as commissioner for internal affairs, acted more as puppets than did Ba Maw and his colleagues ... with one single exception, Jose Abad Santos, the entire oligarchy opted for active collaboration. Because of their identical social interests and political views, and the near absence of any ambivalence as to their tactical stand, the collaborating politicians in the Philippines displayed, as a group, a greater cohesion than in Burma."[104]

On the other hand, resistance in the Philippines became perhaps the strongest of all the movements in South-East Asia, which, through tight organization and armed with weapons left over by the Americans, prevented the Japanese from ever gaining complete control over Philippine territory. The Huk organization (Hukbalahap, the Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon = People's Army to Fight the Japanese) was the most important among the guerilla forces, which altogether numbered around 250,000 resisters. This force was seen as having considerable potential for reconstruction after the war.

However, with the early liberation of the Philippines by the Americans at the very beginning of 1945, the formerly strong ties between the US and the ruling, collaborationist elites did not lead to a renovation of politics. In the first free election after the war, and the first presidential election of the independent Philippines, it was Manuel Roxa, the person who had drafted the constitution for the Japanese-sponsored Republic of October 1943, who won. In other words, it was a named collaborator who was to head the first independent government and at the same time be responsible for the settlement

[104] Pluvier Jan op. cit. 1974, p. 229.

with the domestic collaborators and war criminals.[105] Accordingly, in 1948 all alleged collaborators were granted amnesty.

Japan's political and military administration of the Philippines differed from that of the other South-East Asian countries in that it involved no particular efforts to create voluntary bodies. The heavy resistance of the guerilla forces and the obvious collaboration of the leading elites set the framework for initiatives on behalf of the occupiers to create new, nationalist movements aimed at supporting cooperation with Japan. In the Philippines, as in many of the other occupied areas, the Japanese introduced the so-called Neighborhood Associations, but they did so sooner in the Philippines than in the other occupied areas. This system, which established collectives of ten to fifteen neighboring families with a responsibility to report on anti-Japanese activities and to preserve law and order, was a cruel instrument for intimidating the population. If the Japanese found a non-reported "bandit" the families were all severely punished; thus the system created an atmosphere of extreme mutual distrust. Even so, it did not seem to achieve its intended, or anticipated, effect on the Philippine population as a whole.

Another typical policy of subjugation involved efforts to bring all kinds of political and social organizations under one national umbrella union which supported the New Order. The Kalibapi (Kapisanan sa Paglilingkod sa Bagong Pilipinas = the Association for the Service of the New Philippines) was established as the new option on December 30th 1942, while all other organizations and parties were forbidden.[106] The Kalibapi was headed by many of the prominent collaborators, and organized great rallies and propaganda initiatives, but it failed to make Japanese policy acceptable to the population.[107]

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[105] Roxas was a close prewar friend of general MacArthur, who defended him and was instrumental in freeing him from the courts. See a brief overview of the Philippine occupational history in Esterline, John H and Mae H. Esterline op.cit. 1986, pp. 334-37.

[106] It has been estimated by David Steinberg in his 1967: *Philippine Collaboration in World War II*, Ann Arbor p. 96, that the Kalibapi had 1,500,000 members in 1944, including those of the Junior Kalibapi and the Women's Auxiliary.

[107] See Pluvier, Jan 1974: *South-East Asia from colonialism to independence*, Kuala Lumpur, pp. 233-34: "Huge crowds were occasionally herded together to take part in a parade or a massive demonstration, but usually only a small group was voluntarily present, the majority consisted of government employees who had to be members of the Kalibapi ... or people who had been bribed into coming with free cigarettes or clothes".

A paramilitary organization was also organized, the Makapili (Kalipunang Makabayan, ng mga Pilipino = the Patriotic League of the Filipinos), which was intended as a counter-force to the guerillas in the countryside. These were landless and poor farmers who were persuaded to enlist with promises of radical land reforms, and 4000 to 6000 were given brief military training. A minor Hoān Giygūn force, of a couple of hundred, was also recruited, but the early arrival of the Americans and the fact that the Japanese had few weapons to spare for these forces, meant that they made no impact in the Philippine war.[108]

The Philippine setting thus offered few fascists impulses. The peaceful transition towards independence, such as it was planned before the war, made it difficult to encourage strong anti-American feelings to serve as a basis for nationalist and anti-imperialist mobilization. In addition, nationalist sentiments were well taken care of by the Huk resistance, even if this was influenced by strong communist sentiments. These conflicting impulses made the postwar settlements of collaboration especially difficult: collaboration for nationalist reasons and resistance on similar motives.

e) **Indonesia** comprises a very large and complex territory in South-East Asia. It is divided into a very large number of often inaccessible islands, separated by sea. These consumed many resources which the Japanese needed for their ongoing war effort. Being completely under Dutch control as a colony, the Indonesian people were severely hampered in their attempts at national mobilization and in their movement for independence. The Dutch government gave the nationalist movements in Indonesia little cause for hope before 1941. Instead they sent clear signals that the status quo should be kept as it was, despite the fact that the Dutch government had signed the Atlantic Charter recognizing "the rights of all people to choose the form of Government under which they will live". When the Volksraad session opened in Jakarta in June 1940 (after the German occupation of the Netherlands), the Dutch Governor General avoided any suggestions that the Indonesians might be accorded greater political influence, insisting instead that there would be no change whatsoever in "the state and society".[109]

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[108] See Lebra, Joyce C. op.cit. 1977, pp.140-45.

[109] See G.S. Kanahele 1967: *The Japanese Occupation of Indonesia: Prelude to Independence*, Cornell University thesis, pp. 16-17. In George McTurnan Kahin 1952/69: *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia*, Ithaca and London, pp. 97-100. This work also

In a sense the Indonesian political arena was therefore open to new political initiatives where national ambitions could be fulfilled. Different ideas of Pan-Asianism, the great admiration felt within Indonesia for the military strength of the Japanese, and the acceleration of their economic modernization, provided fertile ground for efforts to meet their new masters with a kind of sympathy inspired by what they imagined to be new opportunities for future independence.[110] The quick Japanese conquest of the Dutch defense forces also made the war seem less brutal at the beginning of the occupation, than it was experienced elsewhere.

The Japanese occupation meant the replacement of all the Dutch administrative and military personnel with Indonesians (but under Japanese control) and this situation therefore opened for a new form of mobilization from below.[111] Three main political movements were created by the Japanese occupiers which gave the Indonesians opportunities for expressing sentiments and concrete proposals for national aspirations: *The Triple A Movement* (Pergerakan Tiga A: Japan the Light of Asia, Japan protector of Asia and Japan the Leader of Asia), led by Raden Samsudin from March 1942 until March 1943 (and in the last phase by Sukarno), [112] *The Putera* (Pusat Tenaga Rakyat

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underlines the loss of faith in the Dutch willingness to introduce even a limited form of self-government, and the weakly articulated opinions in Indonesia in favor of solidarity with and support for the Dutch fight against "the threat of the Fascist powers" (p. 99).

[110] The legend of the Djojobojo prophecy was developed in Java after Japan's victory in the Sino-Japanese war in 1905. It contained the idea that "the people of a yellow race from the North would one day drive out the white overlords and rule for a short duration – or as long as the season for corn to mature – after which would come the blessed reign of the Ratu Adil (Javanese king)." quoted in Kanahele 1967, pp. 2-3, and commented in footnote 5, p. 244. See also Joyce C. Lebra 1977: *Japanese-Trained Armies in Southeast Asia. Independence and Volunteer Forces in World War II*, New York p. 80, where she refers to how general Imamura Hitoshi was received when he entered a local village after the military landing.

[111] A broad treatment of the development of modern nationalism in Indonesia is given in George McTurnan Kahin 1952/69 op.cit. He deals with the roots of nationalism and how Indonesia was treated by the Japanese during the war. For details on some of the various movements during the occupation see Nugroho Notosusanto 1971: *The PETA-army in Indonesia 1943-1945*, Jakarta.

[112] Shigeru Sato 1994: *War, Nationalism and Peasants. Java under Japanese Occupation 1942-1945*, London, describes how the Triple A Movement tried to copy the efforts to bring about mass mobilization "from above" in Japan, covering a wide range of

– Concentration of People's Energy/Center of Peoples Power), led by Hatta and Sukarno from March 9th 1943 until February 29th 1944, and *Jawa Hokokai* (Java Public Service Association), led by the Japanese office Gunseikan from March 1st 1944 until the end of the war on August 15th 1945.[113] Thus, the first two were led by Indonesian nationalists, but the latter was directly under Japanese leadership[114].

The nationalists seemed to go quite far in accepting collaboration with the Japanese and were able to mobilize a large following.[115] However, having evaluated the mobilization more as a nationalist drive for independence, the occupiers first hindered and finally abandoned them: "The Japanese thought they could use the anti-colonialism of the Indonesian nationalists in conducting mass mobilization campaigns, but the two groups ultimately held different goals and the organization of the campaigns proved unsuitable for Javanese society. These factors led to the rapid demise of the first two campaigns."[116]

In addition to the creation of the mass organizations the Japanese also created the Central Advisory Council and Sanyo Kaigi (Council of Advisors to the Government) in mid-1943, involving many of the nationalist leaders and Sukarno as president. It was envisaged as a council that would give guidance to the Japanese in running the internal administration of Indonesia.[117] They

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social activities. See p. 46 and, on the Triple A Movement in general, pp. 37-50.

[113] On the role of Sukarno and the Putera see Kahin op. cit. 1952/1969, pp. 106-111.

[114] See Kanahele op.cit. p. 143 on how the nationalist elite was "swallowed" by the new organization but now with much less freedom to operate.

[115] See Kanahele op.cit. pp. 94-95 about how the Indonesians were "bewildered" about how far they could go into real and autonomous political mobilization. On the nationalist organizations see also Benedict Anderson R.O.G. 1961: *Some Aspects of Indonesian Politics under the Japanese Occupation 1944-1945*, Itacha, Benda, Harry J. 1958: *The Crescent and the Rising Sun*, The Hague (see also a very critical evaluation of Benda's views in Shigeru Sato op.cit. 1994 p. 231 footnote 1), and Dahm, Bernhard 1969: *Sukarno and the Struggle for Indonesian Independence*, Ithaca.

[116] Quoted from Shigeru Sato 1994, p. 36.

[117] Along with the Putera, one forerunner of the Council may have been the Research Institute established by the Japanese to do "research on old customs and also facilitate transmission of views of the populace to upper levels in administration". See Joyce C. Lebra op.cit. 1977, p. 78.

were also concerned with the development of the Peta, hoping to establish it as an Indonesian Defense Force connected to the nationalist movement.

The Putera became the strongest organization to espouse Indonesian nationalism and to demand the implementation of the four point program, which revolved around the concept of 'Indonesia'. The demands were: to use the word 'Indonesia' in the name of the organization, to use the 'Indonesia Raya' as the song of the organization, to use the 'Red and White' as the flag, and to establish a membership that consisted solely of autochthonous Indonesians. But this was too much of an independence move and the Japanese refused to recognize the organization, since it was not compatible with their own objectives. However, the Putera functioned as an important vehicle for political mobilization, and after the occupation it served as the ultimate foundation for Indonesian nationalist independence.[118] It was also under the aegis of the Putera that the Heiho organization was initiated, a conscripted work force (romushas) of young Indonesians who were used as forced labor and large numbers of whom perished on Japanese construction sites in Indonesia and other South-East Asian countries.

In his conclusion Kanahele writes that especially the Putera seems to have evolved as a concession to the Indonesian nationalists, but "we have seen how the nationalists were thwarted at nearly every turn in attempts to exploit Putera's full potential and how it was turned into a tool of Japanese war propaganda with unwitting and unavoidable cooperation of the nationalist leadership. ... Collaboration was more often than not replaced by forced cooperation since the Japanese dictated their own terms for any working relationships". (Kanahele 1967: 238-39). However, it is clear that the nationalists gained considerably for the future from having the Indonesian language accepted throughout the territory, as they did from the discussion of a joint Indonesian nation-state, even if this didn't lead to independence from the Japanese until August 17th 1945.

Of considerable significance was also the creation of the Peta voluntary

[118] The Japanese also established the Masjumi in November 1943 which was to be a non-political organization of all Muslims (including the Mohammadijah, Nahdatul Ulama and the Miai: Madjelis Sjuro Muslim Indonesia (Council of Indonesian Moslem Associations)). Although these did little to stimulate resistance to the Allies, they succeeded in mobilizing Muslim nationalism, albeit more in support of independence than to the advantage of the Japanese. (Kahin op.cit 1952/69: 110-11)

defense army.[119] When the civil war, or the war against the Dutch forces of reoccupation, started immediately after the Japanese surrender on August 20th 1945, the Indonesian independence movement benefitted from the structure and training of the Peta, as well as from the weapons that had been entrusted to it (Lebra 1977, p.112).[120] The strength of the Peta far overshadowed the various resistance groups in Indonesia.[121] The Peta organization (Sukarela Tentara Pembela Tanah Air – Army Defenders of the Homeland), created by the Japanese intelligence organization called Beppan in October 1943, was headed by an Indonesian nationalist, Gatot Mangkupradja. It dit not get a general staff before close to the end of the war, and Japanese instructors were attached to all major units (daidan). Its strength in Java and Bali amounted to 35,000 trained and armed men. Together with the many other organized units, the Japanese stimulated a very strong nationalist mobilization during the three years of occupation, even if: "Japan's motivation in the creation of Peta was thus more military than political, unlike the INA and the BIA" (Lebra op.cit. 1977, p. 97).

How should we distinguish between Indonesian collaborationism (opportunism), nationalism and fascism? The Indonesian resistance leader Sutan Sjahrir, who was educated in the Netherlands and well acquainted with European fascism from before 1940, equated Japanese expansionism with fascism and joined the resistance as an anti-fascist who cooperated with the

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[119] In Sumatra the Japanese created the Lasjkar Rakjat in November 1943 which in some ways resembled the Peta in Java. It also had no general staff, was generally led by Japanese officers and reached its peak strength in 1945 with approximately 8000 men (Kanahele op.cit. 1967, pp. 128-29).

[120] See also Legge, J.D. 1972: *Sukarno. A Political Biography*, London p. 171: "The nationalist leadership was therefore able, through propaganda and through its influence on the selection of officers, to expound its own ideas within Peta's ranks. Peta was also, in due course, to emerge as the core of the army of the Republic of Indonesia".

[121] In addition to the Peta there were also "numerous para-military groups organized and given some military training by the Japanese. These included the 5-6,000,000 unarmed Sinendan (youth groups), 1,286,813 Kaibōdan (Civilian Defense Corps), 80,000 Shishintai (Pioneer Corps), 50,000 Jibakutai (Suicide Corps), 50,000 Hizbullah (Muslim Youth Corps) and 50,000 Gakutai (Student Corps). It should be noted, however, that these units were armed and trained only with bamboo spears and that the training was at best perfunctory. The goal of training these groups was mutual cooperation and support for the war rather than military participation as fighting units." Joyce C. Lebra op.cit.1977. pp. 97-98.

Allies.[122] In the case of Norway on April 9th 1940 it became very evident that Vidkun Quisling, the leader of the Norwegian fascist party ('Nazi party' in the literature), had to be sentenced to death after the war as collaborator and traitor. This was the case with most of the European Nazi collaborators. But Sukarno's nationalist collaboration, which was never anti-fascist, or pro-Dutch/Allies, was based on motives similar to Quisling's: to create a "buffer" between the enemy and the people in order to create a new, national independent Indonesia. Compared with Quisling's collaboration, which could not easily be defended on grounds of 'independence', Sukarno's motives were from the start less politically risky. Considering Indonesia's status as a colony, and Sukarno's background in the radical PNI, the latter was better placed to defend his close cooperation with the Japanese.[123] The revolt of the Peta in Blitar in 1945, and the quick disarming of Japanese garrisons by the Peta in August 1945, meant that, in retrospect, the Indonesian nationalists gained a better reputation and legacy than many of the other collaborative actions and organizations.

Indonesian nationalism and political mobilization, which happened on a grand scale in many of the organizations described above, was strongly expansionist in character, and it continued to be so in the years after 1945, when Sukarno tried to unite most of the island nations into 'Greater Indonesia'.[124] Inspired by the Japanese, the Indonesian nationalists also concentrated on the anti-imperialist/anti-white sentiments and were able to unite the Indonesian people despite their various religious, ethnic (not including the Chinese) and social allegiances. The success of this nationalist mobilization can also be seen in the sudden closure by the Japanese of both the Triple A Movement and the Putera, since they saw the danger in letting national sentiments develop too far, and in opposition to their own interests.

Were there identifiable currents of fascism in Indonesia during the war? In Europe during the same period we find several examples of nationalist,

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[122] See Legge, J.D. 1988: *Intellectuals and Nationalism in Indonesia. A Study of the Following Recruited by Sutan Sjahrir in Occupation Jakarta*, Cornell Modern Indonesia Project. One typical statement from this work is the following: "It was important to him, first of all, that Indonesia's bid for independence be couched in antifascist terms"(p. 92).

[123] See Legge, J.D. op.cit. 1972, p. 152: "the danger of earning a quisling's reputation".

[124] On the impact of the Japanese in general see Elsbree, W.H. 1953: *Japan's Role in South-East Asian Nationalist Movements*, New York.

fascist 'führers' to whom Sukarno's undisputable leadership of the nationalist mobilization could be compared. These European counterparts were also very restricted in their room for maneuver and in their autonomy from Berlin. The various Waffen-SS formations of nationals were also, like the Peta, often led by German generals, trained by the Germans and hardly able to establish higher military command structures. Training such as that given by the Waffen-SS, and also the political 'Beratung' (counseling) of both the paramilitary formations and the fascist parties/movements in occupied territories, were much the same in Europe as in Indonesia. Alfred W. McCoy describes how the Japanese "manners and style of politics ... military values of the time .... naked display of weaponry ... strict recognition of ranks ... violent treatment of subordinates and all other paraphernalia of Japanese military discipline and efficiency ... the authoritarian and conspirational atmosphere of security institutions", changed the political milieu and affected the population in other ways than the former colonial administration had done.

The gross enrollment especially of young volunteers was based on a training where "great stress was laid on the basic Japanese military ethics and discipline, stoicism and other virtues of the violent *bushido* (warrior) spirit. Added to this, indoctrination sessions given by the BOMPA and Bapen leaders injected strong doses of Indonesian nationalistic consciousness" (McCoy pp. 48-49). "The impact upon the nationalist aspirations of the Indonesians ... was of no small consequence ... appeal to the sense of identity with his homeland - Tanah Air Indonesia ... Rather than being "Nipponization", the effect of Japanese indoctrination was closer to being "Indonesianization". But, unquestionably, wartime propaganda engendered a strongly emotional and militant mood out of which came part of the spirit of the Indonesian Revolution", writes Kanahele (op.cit. 1967, p. 242).[125] The totalitarian efforts initiated by the Japanese at the end of the war to reorganize Indonesian society from the top down through the Djawa Hokakai, the Seinendan (Youth Organization) and the Barisan Pelopor or Suishintai (Pioneer Brigade), gave room for new and unexpected results in the matter of mass mobilization. "Especially important was the rukun tetangga or tonari-gumi (neighborhood association), introduced in 1944 and modeled on similar organizations in Japan. Each rukun tetangga consisted of ten to twenty households, with an elected leader responsible for carrying out government policy as passed down through the hierarchy above it. ... it was a strengthening of organization at the

[125] See Satu Shigeru Sato, op.cit.1994, pp. 20-21 on the Japanese 'hoko spirit' as guiding principle for the Jawa Hokokai.

grass roots. Within the limits of a year's operation, they reinforced the coherence of local groups by giving their members experience of organizational life. ...To recruit for these organizations, the Japanese made use of prominent nationalist figures such as Sukarno", writes Robert Cribb.[126]

For as long as Indonesia was occupied by a fascist Japanese military power, a "full blown" fascist Indonesian regime was unthinkable. It would have been contradictory to the Japanese war aims, as well as to it's overall political, expansionist aims. Compared to the INA, which was linked to the ILL, and the BIA/BNA, linked to the Thakins/AC, the Peta and the other paramilitary organizations in Indonesia had no comparable corollaries in provisional government. This might explain the less unified organization of the radically nationalist Indonesian movements. However, in terms of regime policy, Sukarno's dictatorial powers ("guided democracy") after the revolution (or during the revolutionary phases?) reflected many of the regime policies typical of the bloody and totalitarian fascist regimes in Europe before and during the war: i.e. the slaughtering of the Chinese minorities (for racial reasons), the exterminations of hundreds of thousands of communists (opposition), the monolithic nature of the central state, and the efforts of expansionist homogenization of the outer Indonesian territories. In Indonesia there was therefore no domestic fascist regime before 1945, but there were several manifestations of fascist-like ideology, including mobilizations and organizations parallel to the forces and movements behind the fascist regimes in Europe.

iii) Currents of European fascism within the settler nations of Asia.

When seeking to trace the diffusion of fascism in Asia, one would perhaps expect to find the best breeding grounds for fascism among the various groups of the last émigrés from Europe after the turn of the century. These probably included the 'losers' from World War I: 'white Russians', Germans forced out of lost colonial territories (some interned during the war and many not allowed to return before 1925), and later, people driven away from Europe because of the severe economic difficulties experienced in that region. As Perkins describes (pp. 269-86), Australia also suffered internal disruption as a result of the Great Depression, which in 1931-32 amounted to a national crisis. When

[126] Cribb, Robert 1991: *Gangsters and Revolutionaries. The Jakarta Peoples' Militia and the Indonesian Revolution 1945-1949*, Sydney, pp. 40-41.

the conservative forces came to power after 1932, anti-communist sentiments and political stability were at least sufficient to rebuff the call for extraordinary, political alternatives. For this reason Australia did not experience any significant fascist or Nazi movement.

Two additional factors must also be considered. The many and different fascist options could not avoid competing with one another, and none of them offered a genuine 'Australian fascism': British fascism, Irish fascism, Italian fascism, Russian fascism or German Nazism? Australia (approximate population in 1940: 7 millions), together with New Zealand (1.6 millions), thus offers a picture which is characterized by the sheer multitude of immigrants from very different backgrounds and where no single 'national' impulse could easily be formed from so many separate identities. Neither could anti-British sentiment become strong enough to foster a unified platform for fascism to grow upon.

Australia was a melting pot for many and various immigrant groups. In their chapters, Perkins and Moore elaborate on how these groups were unable (or unwilling?) to merge into a unified movement (p. 257). In his chapter on Australia, Perkins, points out the crucial problems – also present on the European scene – namely the 'ranking' of fascism by making comparisons with Hitler's Nazism and Mussolini's fascism. In Australia the fascists of German origin were more 'genuine' than their Italian counterparts, thus creating an image of heterogeneity and lack of inner coherence within the movements necessary to bring forth a political force. The different settler groups with fascist leanings were also divided on many political issues, such as anti-Semitism and attitudes towards their fellow citizens with Australian or national passports, and the situation in Australia therefore mirrored the situations in the US and Canada and those of many of the larger cities in Latin America.

The difference was in one respect also clear: Australia was a member of the Commonwealth; it was a federal state with large territorial variations and a strong conservative (and rural) British, political tradition, in which there were many obstacles to the recruitment and mobilization of a fascist mass movement or party. Despite the fact that Australia's capitalist economy was also severely affected by the Great Depression, which left many people without work (almost 12% of the workforce was unemployed on the brink of World War II), neither the fascist nor the newly created communist party could profit

from the economic and social unrest prevalent in many of the cities.[127] It was also difficult to mobilize under a strong Australian nationalism, even if the First World War had given Australia a better sense of its own national identity than it had had before fighting alongside the Allies and prior to becoming a full member of the League of Nations in 1923. The strong anti-British feelings, particularly among Irish and German immigrants, were not enough to create a broad and united opposition to the British domination of many aspects of Australian affairs.

The other factor concerns the country's geopolitical situation: due to its proximity to Japan, which was pursuing an obvious policy of colonial expansion, and aware of the experiences of Australian soldiers who fought against Germany in World War I, modern Australia was not well disposed to support fascism on a substantial scale. Collaboration with Japan was also rather unlikely since Japanese expansionism had clear ambitions in the direction of the Australian continent.

In New Zealand, British political traditions were even more closely mirrored. This country had a two party system and was dominated by Labour policies in the mid 1930s, which combated the economic difficulties in ways very similar to those employed in the 'mother country'. In terms of ethnic backgrounds, the settlers were also more uniform and included only minor groups of non-British origin (with the exception of the Maoris). Thus conditions here were as unconducive to fascism as they were in Britain at that time. Being located so far away from Europe and in many ways particularly isolated from all other nations, the political context for fascism was not very favorable, even if scattered fascist groups existed there as in most nations with similar Western characteristics.

The case of **New Guinea** offers an interesting example of how a former German colony (from 1886 to 1920) could become a Nazi 'stronghold' after World War I – if one can rightly call the small mission of Finschhafen on the northern coast of New Guinea a 'strong' point, in terms either of the size of its population or its strategic importance. The territory became an Australian Mandate area after the Treaty of Versailles of 1920, and could perhaps be seen as a possible 'base' for German infiltration in case of a Nazi expansion outside

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[127] Mandle, W.F. 1978: *Going it alone. Australia's National Identity in the Twentieth Century*, London, has compared the 'Depression solution' in 1931 with the British under MacDonald; p. 92.

the European theater of war[128]. By interning the 16 NSDAP members, such as John Perkins describes in his chapter (p. 286), the Australian government acted to prevent collaboration between the Germans at the mission and the Japanese invading forces. The missionaries and their families/followers were found to be ardent Nazis with strong leanings towards the Deutsche Christen movement and with hopes that the Third Reich would repossess the former German colony. This community had digested the Nazi ideology and due to its isolation become even more radical in its attitudes – as they later proved through their readiness to collaborate with the Japanese when they arrived.

However, being isolated within a small community and surrounded by vast uninhabited territories, Nazism could not grow – dependent as it was on an urban, centralized and modern society, where mass mobilization and the hysteria of propaganda could do its work.

D. Conflicting impulses of fascist diffusion in the Middle East and Africa.

i) Italian Fascism and German Nazism competing for influence in the Middle East and North Africa.

In the three chapters by Adanïr, Erlich and Heller, we find three different perspectives on the development of fascism in the Middle East. They point out that the impact of fascism in the Middle East was due to a wide variety of circumstances. The geographic proximity to the main regimes in Europe made the Middle East particularly vulnerable to impulses from directly exported fascism, but also to the imperialist expansionism of Mussolini's regime and to Hitler's eastward plans for 'Lebensraum'. It was these two very different impulses which made the Middle East so different from South-East Asia or indeed the rest of Asia. While fascist Italy controlled Ethiopia, Somalia and Libya, and wanted to expand its North African influence (as well as get a foothold in Albania and Greece), the Third Reich oriented itself towards the Balkans, the southern parts of the Soviet Union including the Caucasus and the resource-rich areas of Iraq, and adjoining parts of the Arab world controlled by the British, including Palestine. In Syria and Lebanon Vichy France was in

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[128] A general account of the New Guinean History is given in the *Encyclopedia of Papua and New Guinea*, 2 vols, Melbourne 1972. For modern times, see L. Epstein, R.S. Parker and Marie Reay eds. 1971: *The Politics of Dependence. Papua New Guinea 1968.* Canberra.

control until it lost out to the Allies in July 1941.

Turkish developments were very much tied to the historical fact that Turkey had been the center of the dissolved Ottoman empire. After the dissolution of the entire empire, the country embarked on a bid for modernization, of which Kemal Ataturk was the leading figure. Ataturk established one party rule with almost unlimited constraints. Turkey was on the losing side in the First World War – but was a winner in the military contest with Greece shortly afterwards – and considering its modernizing phase it would be reasonable to predict that Turkey would become a fascist regime, especially since Kemalism was created from below.

However, in his chapter, Adanïr does not define Turkey – the only centralized and sovereign state in the Middle East – as a fully-fledged fascist regime, although he concludes that Turkey "had in many respects parallel[s] to fascism elsewhere" (p. 359), and the political system "had a strong fascist content, albeit differing in many respects from Italian fascism". He also believes that there is a similarity between "the Fascist single-party rule in Italy and its Kemalist counterpart", which future research may reveal in depth (pp. 360-1).

One obvious difficulty for the development of fascism within Turkey was the presence of Italian fascism, with its many ambitions in Mediterranean waters. To copy Italian fascism ideologically would mean to risk being coopted into a foreign, almost neighboring, model. To challenge it militarily would also be risky when fascist Italy was taking bold initiatives both in Africa and around the Mediterranean. Moreover, Turkey was a Muslim country with links to other Arab nations and religious traditions. Looking from the outside, one might suppose the combination of Muslim fundamentalism and extremist fascist nationalism to be a potentially favorable blend. But these two forms of 'fundamentalism' also collided on several important issues. Fascism was not a 'religion' in the normal sense, but rather the opposite.

Apart from Turkey and Syria/Lebanon (under Vichy France after June 22nd 1940), the Arab world was guarded by British, imperialist forces. Fascist impulses could feed on the typical anti-British and pro-nationalist sentiments found in India and in South-East Asia. Such thinking took root among young intellectuals (students) in several countries, as it did among fascist youth in Europe. But as Erlich shows in his chapter, this fresh mobilization also meant a challenge to the ruling elites, who wanted either to maintain the status quo or to implement political solutions of their own. Within the Arab world there were different individual nationalisms and few strong elements of pan-Arabism from which fascism could grow. A joint political mobilization to

throw the British (and the French) out was therefore unlikely, at least before the fascist armies in the Second World War moved into the Caucasus, the lands of North Africa and the Greek islands. At that stage fascism became an external threat, rather than a source of opportunity.

As has been shown by several scholars, Hitler regarded the Mediterranean area as an Italian priority, and it was not really until the military defeats by Mussolini in North Africa (between September 13th – December 9th 1940) that the Germans moved their military machine into the area (February 6th 1941), and began to look for allies among the native people.[129] But the British presence had always been a challenge to the Germans of the Third Reich, and Nazi intelligence and political maneuvering were trying to find contacts and local collaborators.[130] Two important events illustrate these efforts. The one was the insurrection in Iraq between May 2nd and May 31st 1941, and the other was the attention given to the Grand Mufti in Jerusalem, Palestine. Both were intended to cultivate anti-British sentiments, and did not aim to establish fascism a such. The circumstances surrounding the organization of the Arab Legion also illustrate the problems connected with the operations of the two European fascist regimes within this region.

The insurrection in **Iraq** constituted a failed attempt of the two sides to join forces against the British. Iraq had been formally independent since 1932, but the British still controlled important military points within the country. Between 1933 and 1941 there were six military coups in the country and political instability prevailed. The last coup on April 1st 1941 put Rashid Ali al-Gaylani in charge of the government, and he immediately started to seek contacts with the Axis, mainly Hitler. However, at that point the German führer was absorbed in his plans for what was to become a disastrous war

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[129] Hirszowicz Lukasz 1966: *The Third Reich and the Arab East*, London-Toronto, illuminates the great disappointments which were felt in the Third Reich when Hitler's discussions with Franco at Henday (October 23rd 1940) and with Pétain and Laval at Montoire (October 24th 1940) did not give rise to any cooperation between Franco, Vichy France and Germany for expansion in the Mediterranean areas. Franco refused to approve a German attack on the British colony of Gibraltar and when Pétain dropped Laval it amounted to a signal of disapproval for a German invasion of North Africa.

[130] Hirszowicz, op. cit.1966 p.13, comments on the rise of the Nazi/fascist groups of Misr el-Fatat (Green shirts) of Ahmed Husein in Egypt, Futuwwa in Iraq and the Syrian Nationalist Party of Antun Saadah in Syria and the Lebanon. See also E. Marston 1959: "Fascist Tendencies in Pre-war Arab Politics" in *The Middle East Forum*, Beirut May 1959. For a more comprehensive account see Erlich's chapter in this volume.

against the Soviet Union (beginning on June 22nd 1941), and interest in Iraqi affairs was forced into the background. When on May 2nd the Iraqi 'Four Colonels' attacked the British airbase near Bagdad, they apparently expected much more military help form the Axis than the few planes which were flown in during the very last phase of the operations. Having overcome this ill-planned action and succeeded in other instances against the low morale of the Iraq army, the British established complete military and political control and subsequently moved on from Iraqi territory into Vichy-controlled Syria.[131]

The strong Axis orientation in Iraqi politics was also accompanied by a political mobilization among sections of the country's population. Paramilitary youth groups admiring the 'führer principle' and imbued with strong Arab nationalism were organized, and anti-British sentiments heightened.[132]

The Grand Mufti operation was an effort on Hitler's part to try to establish links to the Arabs in **Palestine.**[133] At the same time this corresponded with the aims of the Mufti (leader) of Jerusalem – al-Hajj Amin al-Husayni – to get support from the Axis (including Mussolini) to stop Jewish emigration (particularly strong after the Machtergreifung in Germany in 1933 and the USA prohibitions against emigration in 1934) and to fight the British administration in Palestine. During the meeting between Hitler and the Mufti in November 1941 they agreed on preparations for a German initiative in Palestine, given the success of the North African war. However, as the fortunes

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[131] A full account of these developments is found in Hirszowicz op.cit. 1966, pp. 95-172.

[132] In Hirszowicz op.cit. 1966, pp. 17-19 and David Pryce-Jones 1989: *The Closed Circle. An Interpretation of the Arabs*, London, pp.199-201. See also Elie Kedouire 1974: *Arabic Political Memoirs*, London, pp. 200-1, Elsa Marston 1959: "Fascist Tendencies in Pre-war Arab Politics", *in Middle East Forum*, no. 35, 1959, pp. 19-22, and Cleveland, William L. 1985: *Islam against the West: Shakib Arslan and the Campaign for Islamic Nationalism*, London.

[133] The reason why the Mufti of Jerusalem acquired the position as leader of all Muslims in the Arabic countries was because al-Hajj Amin was at the same time president of the Supreme Muslim Council (SMC), originally created by the British. About the Mufti and al-Hajj Amin see Tessler, Mark 1994: *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, Bloomington and Indianapolis, pp. 222-8. On a-Hajj Amin; Majid Khadduri 1973: *Arab Contemporaries: The Role of Personalities in Politics*, Baltimore pp. 67-87 and Matter, Philip 1988: *The Mufti of Jerusalem: Al-Hajj Amin al-Husayni and the Palestine National Movement*, New York.

of the Axis declined after the El Alamein defeat (October 23rd 1942), Hitler's interest in Pan-Arabic nationalist cooperation declined, even if the Mufti continued to try to get binding declarations from him. The Mufti's efforts to use fascist contacts thus failed, but were instrumental in building strong feelings of Arab identity and in organizing resistance to British and later Israeli control of Palestine. The prolonged, but largely unsuccessful attempts to create an Arab Legion under German and Italian fascist supervision and training also amounted to very little. This 'legion', initially meant as a task for Mussolini, was to be based on volunteers from among North African prisoners of war, but it was also a matter of concern for the German Sonderstab F, and what they created as the Deutsch-Arabische Lehrabteilung (DAL). Disagreement among the two fascist regimes and among the Arab leaders made this process very difficult and therefore it can only be characterized as a failure.[134]

A very different type of fascist influence can be seen in the development of right-wing extremism among the Jews in pre-war **Palestine.** In his chapter, Joseph Heller analyzes the movements and ideological platforms of the Revisionist party and its related factions. Pressed as the Jewish communities were in Palestine, as elsewhere in Europe, they were searching for models and ideological inspiration which could lead towards a political solution which would provide long term security and identity. Two factors were important for the right-wing, fascist solution: one was the actual situation of threats and fears, and the other was the availability of alternatives. In the 1930s, Europe – particularly before Hitler's rise to power and Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia – was ripe for revolutionary change. The Revisionist Movement in Palestine was also ripe for a reorientation and a model which could present a viable solution to its problems: a strong political leadership, a sound, corporatist economic program and a reliable, international, but non-British ally. In Heller's chapter we can see how this search persuaded some of the most extreme figures ("maximalists") to adopt a Nazi-like leadership, to take up a strong anti-socialist stand, and even to contemplate the "unthinkable", namely to court the anti-Semite Hitler as an ally: a Jewish organization, with Jewish members, took as its model the cruelest antagonist of them all, and the one responsible for the Holocaust!

The general influence of fascism as it spread from Italy to the countries in question depended largely on judgements of Mussolini's success and his changing attitude to the Arab lands. As Haggai Ehrlich explains in his chapter, the **Ethiopian** campaign represented in this respect an outright conquest of an

[134] See Hirszowicz op.cit. 1966 pp. 250-68.

independent nation, but where none of the other imperialist powers in Europe had any direct claims or interests. He demonstrates how the change in acceptance of fascism among the Arabs depended on Mussolini's 'strength' as the campaign's fascist führer, as well as his motives in conquering a nation that bordered on Arab lands. The problem for Mussolini in winning Arab support for his imperialist war was to find 'fascist openings' where he could build on domestic, extremist nationalism and hatred towards the other European colonial rulers. In the 1920s he was constantly being compared with his two major opponents in the area, who were seen as representing similar goals. Ehrlich points to the hanging of 'Umar-al-Mukhtar'(September 1931), leader of the Sanusis movement in **Libya**, as an example of how Mussolini followed in the footsteps of the other imperialists (pp. 372-73). Thus the fascism emanating from Rome did not seem a promising alternative for the nations around the Mediterranean or for those of the Fertile Crescent.

But times changed and fascist Italy's position and prestige grew as Hitler came to power in Germany and the Second World War approached. Ehrlich has analyzed the changes and finds that they rest on two pillars: the demonstration of fascist military strength, and the policies of tactical fascist support for pan-Arabic nationalism and the Muslim religion against the Christian **Ethiopia**. In general the appeal of fascism was strongest among young people in the Middle East. They crystallized the unpleasant feelings of the various nations under the control of either Britain or France and they looked for a radical, or extremist, alternative which would have the vitality to be the mobilizing force behind a movement of liberation (pp. 383-84). While the Abyssinian crisis in the West was regarded as a great setback for the creators of the League of Nations and for peace and democracy, the scene in the Middle East rather gave the Arab nations a vision of renewed strength. Fascism should lead the way and the Italian model gave much inspiration.

Youth groups mushroomed as autonomous organizations, or as youth-branches of the mother party in **Syria**, **Lebanon**, **Iraq**, **Egypt**, and **Palestine**, and they were directed against the imperialist powers of Britain and France. However, factionalization, internal strife and various pacifying measures from the imperial powers calmed the seeds of young revolt (p. 388). There did not seem to be enough internal cohesion within the often artificially created Middle East nations to support a genuine fascist or extremist nationalist mobilization of the masses. They were internally divided on religious, ethnic and historical grounds and their nationalist programs often contained competing integrationalist (and irredentist) claims on each other's territory and people. It was also understood that fascism was a Western ideology not easily

compatible with Arab thinking and mentality. Italy was also seen as an imperialist power, and gradually, as Hitler rose to become the principal fascist leader in Europe, the Italian fascist influence declined. Enthusiasm amongst the young in the Middle East was in some sense similar to the interest in Nazism among extremist right-wing circles in Palestine: the young revolutionary nationalists needed the injection of the discipline and vitality they perceived behind the fascist successes in Europe. The radical Arabs and the radical Jews in Palestine – the most serious antagonists in the same country – looked to the same model for inspiration. And the young revolutionary nationalists in all major centers of the Arab world, looked to an imperialist power for ideological inspiration, when the ambition of that same power was to make further inroads into their neighboring territories! This illustrates the complexity of the appeal of fascism in the area. People were either looking for ways to ensure their security and future lives, or a for platforms from which to fight for their national interests against the imperialist rulers: fascism provided the answer to both. But the cycles of war and history changed the entire scene and many of the individuals concerned rode a wave of tactical opportunism. Some of the would-be fascists of the pre-war period turned out to be the most celebrated leaders of the post-war independence period.

In **Africa** in general the conditions favoring fascism were weak or non-existent. The lack of modernizing institutions that might have fed a mobilization of the masses, or legitimation based on fascist ideology, were simply not there. Africa was certainly a mix of primitive and traditional society, where imperialist rulers had done little to stimulate political movements of domestic origin. The division of the territories by causal boundaries with no clear national basis also hampered the growth of nationalism and effective anti-imperialism. The African political entities had been subdued by the colonial settlements and their institutions and administration gave little room for autonomous political life. This was different in North Africa, where there were long traditions of sultanistic rule, but a rule which was strongly dominated by the neighboring colonial powers of Italy, France and Spain, and in North East Africa, where the emperor of Abyssinia ruled an independent state which became a member of the League of Nations in 1923. The non-existence of fascism in this part of the world also explains how even the modest success of fascism was dependent on the means provided by modern civil society; the ideological force of liberalism, which

demanded autonomous political institutions and structural modernization as a basis for political communication.

ii) 'Inborn fascism' in South Africa – the long legacy of white settlement among an alien race.

However, **South Africa** (estimated population in 1940: 10.4 million) was altogether different. Because of its strategic location, economic potential, and the various waves of settlement by different national (European) groups, the territory became a place of political turmoil where different forces and different ideologies fought a battle for hegemony. Jeff Guy gives a broad overview of the development of Afrikaner nationalism, an ideology and a movement which in terms of certain important traits came to resemble European fascism. The ideology of the Afrikaners initially focused on much the same themes as Asian, domestic nationalism. They were anti-British and anti-imperialist. But they were European in origin and ultimately turned out to be extremely racist. They were settlers in a non-European setting, many of them (the so-called 'Boers') orthodox Christians (Calvinist), and the white South Africans were internally split according to economic class and status. After the British annexation of the independent republics and the military defeats of the Boers, the semi-autonomous South African State was created in 1910 with close relationships to the British Commonwealth.

It was within this setting that the South African form of fascism could develop. When fascism came to Europe, South Africa had established the institutional structure necessary for political mobilization and an arena for ideological propaganda. In the new democracy, therefore, the conditions favorable for fascism were present: there were strong nationalist sentiments which had been 'cultivated' under extreme hardship among the Afrikaners against British oppression, and there was a strong sense of identity among the various ethnic groups. South Africa had developed an intensive capitalist economy, and consequently it was seriously affected by the Great Depression, which resulted in the usual unemployment and closures of businesses. Thus the typical European setting for a 'response to decline' was also apparent in South Africa.

After 1914, the political strategy of the National Party was to create a concept of 'volk' which came to be very similar to the German concept of 'Blut und Boden'. The party grew on the continuing propaganda against British imperialism and the 'destructive forces of Jewish capitalism', and because it offered a means to unite all the discontented elements in South

Africa. In Jeff Guy's chapter we see how the growing strength and willingness for a 'great coalition' promoted the extremist alternatives both inside and outside the parliament (Gesuiwerde Nasionale Party (GNP) and Africaner Brotherbond). When economic and social pressures demanded new political action, cooperation was initiated between the National Party and its former enemy, the South African Party. These two came together in the United Party, which stood for 'purism' of race, 'destiny', nation, 'spirituality', and populism. This is a classic example of how major political moves towards 'the center' stimulate extremism on the wings. However, the internal division concerning the question of 'national unity' versus 'national purity' (i.e. the Afrikaner identity) made it possible for the racist, nationalist and European-modeled fascism/Nazism to mobilize in various forms after Hitler's Machtergreifung in 1933.

The outbreak of war set a new stage for political maneuvering, stimulated by the fact that the majority in the South African parliament decided to side with Britain in the war. The renewed National Party (Herenigde Nasionale of Volksparty), which was based on the former National Party, and the GNP were anti-British and became associated with the new nationalist organization, the Ossewa-Brandwag, an organization greatly inspired by German National Socialism and under direct influence from Berlin. However, the challenge of the extra-parliamentary organizations and the National Party grew weaker after the Battle of Stalingrad in 1943, which signaled the beginning of the end for the Third Reich. From then on the route towards political independence and the 'constitutional apartheid state' was clear. The political extremism of vocal fascist/Nazi groups was brought under control and the post-1945 policy established a broad national platform of white supremacy in an independent South African Republic, but where fascist influences had been assimilated from past experience.

Thus South Africa emerged after the war – and after the adoption of a new constitution in 1948 – as a regime based on strict segregation laws much in line with the anti-Semitic laws of the Nazi regime in Germany, but now rooted in a modern, and – for whites – semi-democratic regime. Many and varied neo-fascist organizations flourished after 1948 and the regime became increasingly isolated from the modern world, until it was transformed into its current non-apartheid form during the 'third democratic wave' after 1989.

In his conclusion (pp. 427-430), Jeff Guy discusses the salient question of how to describe and identify the main political movements of South African as fascist organizations and the political system as a fascist regime. He admits that most of the ideological elements of fascism were present, that the various

extremist movements were both influenced by direct fascist contacts and imitations, and that the regime that grew from the experiences of social and economic depression both in the 1930s and in the immediate post-1945 years, was very fascist-like. However, it could only be understood in the light of the special South African traditions, by which I believe he means the non-European background of South African history during the past 150 years. Otherwise, the 'objective conditions' of the relevant political institutions for mobilization were present, as was the critical element of despair; the impulse and knowledge of fascist/extremist nationalism feeding on national traditions and international diffusion were also there, and the general situation was on 'hold' until Germany's fate was decided. The crucial 'link' between the extremist and extra-parliamentary movements and the nationalist (and often extremist) leading party was, however, not direct enough to allow the 'nationalist camp' to be described as a unified whole determined to transform the regime 'from below' into a führerstaat. The crucial decisions were still in the hands of the party leaders and not in the extra-parliamentary powers. Political control was to a certain extent always exercised from above, and this prevented the relevant forces from 'giving in' to external pressure; to yield to the disloyal opposition as Juan Linz has termed it[135].

Another important factor limiting the opportunity for fascist success is connected to the themes discussed earlier in this chapter, and particularly dealt with by Hagemann in this book: the policies of Nazi Germany towards the German citizens and German Volksdeutsche in South West Africa (Namibia) and in South Africa proper (pp. 87-94). The first of these was governed by South Africa as a C-mandate under the League of Nations, and as a former German colony it became an important breeding ground for Nazism among the German minority. However, the South African government was constantly wary of what might happen if Germany re-entered the area, a possibility which was contrary to its own aim of bringing South West Africa under its own rule. Any efforts, either of the Auslandsorganization to coordinate ('gleich-schalten') the German organizations in both areas, or of the German espionage and diplomatic channels to operate inside the two territories, although not especially active, and to infiltrate political and economic affairs, were banned and met with police actions from the South African government. Internal divisions among first or second generation Germans also made the spread of Nazism difficult. But in terms of the overall success of fascism in South

[135] Juan J. Linz. 1978/84: *Crisis, Breakdown, & Reequilibration*, pp. 27-38, Baltimore and London.

Africa, policies from the outside which aimed to diffuse Nazism proved negative, as I have illustrated in the table on page 736, in the sense that they represented an alien threat to South Africa's nationalist autonomy.

Thus the South African case is very important for the general theory of fascist take-over. In the 1930s and well into the 1940s, South Africa was susceptible to fascism in the sense that it was 'ready' to import more of the features of fascism/Nazism and would have done so if the global situation had developed differently. The 'special traditions' of South Africa were salient enough to create conditions for growth similar to those which spawned the so-called 'generic' fascism in Europe, even if they were not 'European' in terms of not having arisen on European soil. If one were to frame a general theory, one would have to overcome the ever-recurrent argument that every situation is unique. But still the question remains as to why South Africa did not complete the transformation from a competitive system towards a monolithic system so typical for the more conservative fascist regimes as well as for the dynamic and mobilizing regimes.

E. Traditional authoritarianism and emergent fascism in Latin America and Mexico.

The political scene in Latin America differs greatly from the Asian and African in most respects. By the time fascism began to flourish in Europe, all of the Latin American states, with very few exceptions, had achieved political autonomy. This process began at the end of the Napoleonic wars in Europe, and by the time of the inter-war period the states were ruled by some form of presidential, republican governments (after independence Brazil was ruled as an 'empire' until 1889). Before independence Latin America was part of the Spanish colonial empire with Brazil as the only non-Spanish speaking country. Thus the Hispanic link was an important cultural connection between Europe and the Latin American countries. The direct political link was finally broken when in 1898 Spain lost to the United States in the war over Cuba and Puerto Rico. Therefore it was a non-European power which was to be in the position of outside influence towards the Latin American countries in the 20th century. But the European influence was important in several ways, particularly in terms of the connections between the various immigrant communities, or what were often called 'colonies', in the Latin American states. American influence

versus European influence therefore has to be understood as constituting different arenas or functioning on different levels, depending on internal as well as international circumstances.

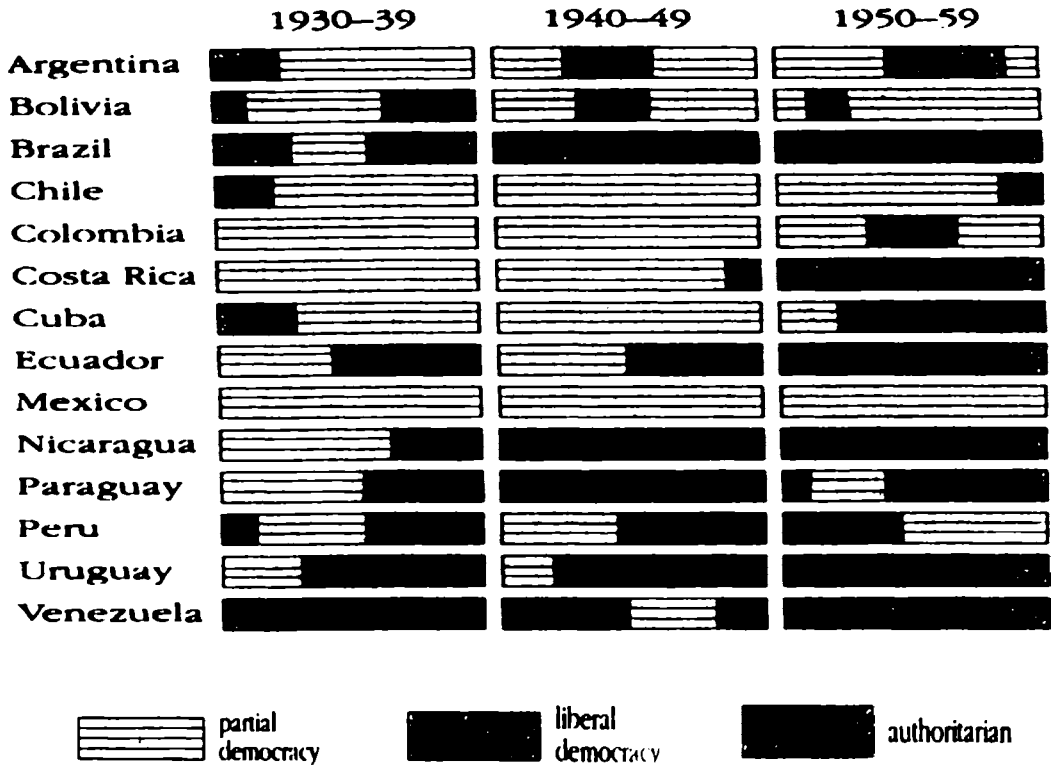
Rannan Rein gives a broad introduction to how attempts were made to diffuse Francoism into Latin America by the setting up of *Falange Exterior*, and how this was modeled on similar German and Italian organizations. However, the Spanish communities abroad were much more oriented towards the republican side during the civil war in Spain, than to Franco's fascist appeal, and there was less interest in an Hispanic revival than in support for the victims and refugees of republican Spain. Franco's stand on the main fascist issues was, however, greeted with support among many of the leading authoritarian elites, who imagined that their own interests would be best preserved on a similar platform. Among the political parties and leading personalities that drew most of their inspiration from Spain, perhaps the Bolivian Falange resembled its role-model most closely, even if it was not so influenced by the dictator in person.

On the diffusion of Salazarism from Portugal to Brazil, Heliosa Paulo comes to much the same conclusion. The seeming resurgence of strength which the Estado Novo gave to Portugal inspired great sympathy and in the first round seemed to revive the Portuguese identity among first and second generation Portuguese living in Brazil. The fact that, after 1937, Vargas introduced political institutions in Brazil similar to those already established in Portugal, did not make him more closely connected to Salazar. In due course considerable tension arose when the Portugese dictator tried to influence sentiments among his fellow countrymen in Brazil; actions which could easily have been understood as undue interference in the policy of a foreign country.

Hagemann, Paulo and Rein show in their chapters in this book how the internal divisions within the communities of Germans, Portuguese and Spaniards in Latin America – particularly in **Argentina**, **Chile** and **Brazil** – were so intense that the spread of European fascism was a very difficult task indeed. One may therefore think that there were fewer chances for the dissemination of ideas and models from Europe than for the development of domestic alternatives by the diffusion of European models. The most important German 'import' was perhaps the small party in **Uruguay** which was directly sponsored by the German embassy in the capital, while Chilean Nazism was also heavily supported among second generation German immigrants.

We are commonly told that Nazism in Germany came about because of the strongly authoritarian tradition within German society at large, a tradition that was also embodied in its political institutions. German fascism, i.e.

Nazism, was therefore an *effect* of an authoritarian culture. Latin-America was also loaded with authoritarian values and was prone to admire führers, but: "Nor can the fascist cult of the superman have much to offer Latin Americans with the macho ways of generations of caudillos behind them" (Hennesy, Alistair 1976 p. 252). Authoritarian traditions may thus function in two ways: by stimulating and emulating deference and subjugation, or by being taken for granted as a 'normal' form of political rule which prevents mobilization, but on the other hand this also reduces the opportunity for the führers to move the systems in 'totalitarian' or some form of collectivist direction.



* Adapted and re-drawn after the model of David Potter, David Goldblatt, Margaret Kiloh and Paul Lewis 1997: *Democratization*, Cambridge, p158.

This point is clearly illustrated in the figure above – adapted from David Potter et al. 1997. I have used only a part of the original figure, which shows how the political space in Latin America was closed to newcomers by the strong presence of authoritarian governments during the 1930s and 1940s. The impulse of fascism was thus absorbed 'from above' or prevented from rising 'from below'. Since Latin-America was not directly involved in the Second World War – as were Europe, Africa and Asia – the peculiar system of power balance between civil society and the ruling elite was not broken.

According to this perspective different authors have given various general explanations of why fascism did not succeed, or only nearly succeeded in Latin America. Alistair Hennessy lists six: 1) The absence of 'total war' and therefore no military veteran or military cult traditions comparable to those of some countries in Europe, 2) the Catholic culture in Latin America 'softened' any appeal of secular fascism, 3) the absence of a strong Left to polarize the systems, 4) influenced by the Mexican revolution of 1912, the cultural crisis after the First World War took a different turn in Latin America towards nativism (original identity) and towards Catholic corporatism, social ideas which were anti-état in spirit, and hence different from European fascism, 5) the missing appeal of autarchism due to the dependency among the Latin American countries on the world market, and 6) a different development of the student movements: "In Latin-America, where the students have a tradition of political involvement, their loyalties were already pre-empted by the University Reform movement dating from 1918 with its nationalist, Pan-Latin American and radical ideology" (p. 255)[136].

Radical populism absorbed the emerging fascism among the lower middle classes and lower strata, while elite clientelism and corporate-religious rightism absorbed the appeal among the upper classes and the military. In Stanley Payne's most recent overview he adds the factors of the low rate of mobilizing opportunities in Latin America, the multiracial character of most Latin American states, and the absence of an imperialist threat (the strength of US imperialism was not yet felt so strongly in the 1930s)[137].

The main impulse for change and development in Latin America came from the World Depression, beginning in 1929. In contrast to most of the Asian colonial territories, or Middle Eastern countries, the economic structures of

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[136] Alistair Hennessy 1980: "Fascism and Populism in Latin America", in Walter Laquer (ed.): *Fascism: a Readers Guide*, London, Penguin Books, pp. 248-299.

[137] Stanley Payne 1995 op.cit. pp. 340-49.

many of the Latin America countries were characterized by an industrialization in the making and a different modernization process. Thus the crisis caused by the decline in the world economy gave a shock to the political regimes which either broke down the established democratic systems or strengthened the conservative semi-presidential dictatorships. The many growing populist movements were not able to enter the political arena with full strength, either because they were subdued through state violence and prevented from attaining parliamentary power because of fixed elections, or because their movements were channeled towards support of traditional caudilloism or conservative elitism.

The Latin American experiences of fascism can also be analyzed in terms of alternative models, as is done by Gino Germani. He discusses h-ow the lag in modernization in Latin America channeled the similar elements of political protest and mobilization into "fascist attempts" before 1930 and into "functional substitutes of fascism" after that date, depending on the rate of modernization. The last alternative was "a military regime with civilian support and often technocratic components."[138]

According to these authors, the Latin American movements and regimes were therefore not similar to the two 'classical' cases in Europe, but contained several elements of the same kind. The contextual conditions were different, the necessary 'link' between the movement from below and the resulting regime was not established and thus the Latin American cases were comparable to several other European movements, but not to those of Germany and Italy.

The four chapters in this volume by Trindade, Spektorowski, Sznajder and Cárdenas/Tenorio highlight the four most important cases. In all of them movements were formed which closely resembled or were even directly imitative of European fascism, and all four of them absorbed these elements of fascism into the regime either by crushing, outlawing or incorporating them by means of "rightist switch" (p. 619).

Brazil provides the example of how a very close diffusion of European fascism was born and developed within the national traditions (short lived traditions of an empire cult?) of Brazil, a movement which was also instrumental in laying the foundations for Geutilo Vargas, but which was tamed by the dictator when they finally revolted in 1938 after Saldago had been offered a governmental position with Vargas (p. 479). Trindade also gives a

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[138] See Gino Germani 1978: *Authoritarianism, Fascism and National Populism*, New Jersey pp. 103-106, and the summary of the Argentine development according to the model on pp. 132-35.

comprehensive outline of a very well developed organization and the ideological program of a fascist movement (AIB) which shows how well fascism had been adopted within a non-European setting.

Argentina developed into a fascist regime under Peron, beginning under the dictatorship of 1943 and blossoming after the Second World War when the dictator started to 'mobilize from below', and created the one party system 'from above'. The country was a clearly modernizing regime with a rapidly growing immigrant population, all of which set the scene for conflicts and unrest of the type which tended to benefit fascism. The disagreements over whether or not Peronism and the Peronist regime should be characterized as fascist has aroused considerable discussion in the literature. In his chapter, Spektorowski detects fascism both before and during the Peronist regime. He is somewhat reluctant to state that Argentine fascism was identical to its European counterparts but Argentina's development contained an "integralist, mobilizing fascist ideology ...", and the Argentinian case thus confirmed that "the fascist phenomenon was universal rather than merely European" (p. 530).

Chile also experienced fascism under strong influence directly from Europe, and again the movement was crushed following an abortive uprising, while parts of its ideology and the general 'call' to the Chilean society was incorporated in the regime. Sznajder contends that "Chilean Nazism stood somewhere between fascism and the radical right" (p. 590). He also draws an interesting comparison with fascism in Finland and France, where fascism was resisted and tamed by the combined political and popular forces that mobilized against it.

Mexico represents a comparative case where again Catholic corporatism and strong societal mobilization led to incorporation of fascist political tendencies. The UNS was a blend of Italian fascism and Spanish falangism (p. 616), but the sinarquistas adopted what has been called "the rare violence of non-violence" (p. 620), i.e. effective and radical mobilization 'from below', while remaining reluctant to use the political power obtained for concrete political involvement. Therefore the potential for a fascist takeover in Mexico could fairly easily be incorporated without regime violence by the one-party state. Cárdenas and Tenorio state that "in order to characterize Mexican *sinarquismo* as fascist we must accommodate two intrinsic features, pacifism and anti-party structure" (p. 623). Thus Mexico provides an example of how fascism did not succeed through efficient, large scale 'mobilization from below', but coopted within a dictatorial regime without being crushed by violent means.

F. Populist extremism and fascism in North America and Canada.

In the late Donald Warren's chapter on the United States and Canada the reader will find a broad presentation of the most significant personalities and groups which display what may be termed 'native' fascism. Of the possible 120 groups (p. 640) labeled as 'Brown scare' only a few emerged to become of national importance in either of the two countries. He emphasizes two forces important in the public support for fascism in these two cases: 'nativism' ("distaste of foreigners and a xenophobic view of immigration beyond 'old stock'" – p. 636 note 2) and 'populism' (... in which social institutions in general – but especially the political – are seen to lack legitimacy ... removed from the problems of the and realities of everyday life: the rule of experts who lacked authentic 'grass roots knowledge" p. 674). These forces were ingrained elements of both societies, but varied in strength from region to region and among classes.

The most important 'strong' personalities in the USA were Huey P. Long (Share the Wealth Movement) and Father Charles Coughlin (National Union for Social Justice), while most prominent in Canada were William Aberhart (Social Credit party) and Adrien Arcand (National Socialist Christian Party). All of these won fame as the leaders of charismatic führer cults, but they behaved very differently. Within these two complex multi-national, multi-religious and multi-ethnic societies the new media made an important impact in attracting large groups of people as listeners and supporters, techniques which also in Europe had been cleverly utilized by Hitler and Mussolini.

Besides the national figures of native fascism there were also various organizations that adopted models with typical fascist traits; Christian motivated people, veteran groups, racist groups, socially degraded people and immigrants who wanted to serve as 'imported, true fascist'. Warren explains how, similar to the situation in Australia, the political market conditions prevented most of them from ever achieving much support.

Warren tends to regard the common cause of fascism as lying within the modernization tradition. In both Europe and North America modernization had led to 'anomie' and 'alienation'. In Europe this longing for a lost, 'close community' meant a strong loyalty to the 'nation' above class and thus facilitated a tendency to support leaders who demanded such unconditional loyalty. In the North Americas the call for loyalty was conducive to support both from the 'lunatic' fringes and from broad, cross-country, populist mobilization against the government and democracy at large. There was no

'nation' in the European sense in which fascism could mobilize on a broad scale.

In outlining the main reasons for why fascism did not succeed in the North Americas, Warren lists the following (pp. 683-7): a) 'the multiplicity of targets of hostility present in highly diverse societies' (no single goal to unite against for the various groups), b) the Depression did not hit hard enough to produce widespread dislocation, c) strong media exposure which 'fooled' native and European fascism, d) governmental restraint in banning and seeking out native fascists, and e) in the approach to World War II most Americans and Canadians regarded all natives as fascist, and particularly those with links to Germany or Italy, and hence as their own enemies.

Within a broad formula, he does ask about the conditions that would have been necessary for the American type of populism to become similar to and to achieve the same success as European fascism. These conditions, he contends, have to do with the concept of the 'majoritarian displacement' i.e. the perception, "that the dominant culture is at risk because the gap which has apparently opened up between the formal institutions of society – largely political ones – and the economic or cultural situation of the ethnic, religious, or racial group which has traditionally shaped the dominant culture" (pp. 691-2). This gap was not wide enough in the inter-war period in the North Americas and thus fascism, as well as populism, had to yield to democracy.

As an interesting piece of information, Warren also reports on two different surveys done in the USA before the war on people's preferences between fascism and communism (pp. 637-8, 695-8). In overall terms, both ranked about equal in American public opinion, but according to class, fascism scored best among the better off, i.e. the middle and upper classes. Similar data is not found elsewhere in the world.

G. On the understanding of global forms of fascism

At the beginning of this chapter I suggested a theoretical formula which points to two forces as the cause fascism – liberalism and structural modernization – and how the uneven or fragile equilibrium between them could bring fascism to power. Under conditions of political stability, even a strong and uneven balance, would keep fascism under control, or prevent it from developing at all. Internal or external shocks could, however, suddenly provide political space and bring fascism to power (as a latecomer) either from below or from above.

In tune with 'transition theory', we do know that such an acute political

transformation would not take place without actors; individuals were needed to utilize the 'golden moment', to trigger mobilization and give meaning to the perceived or unconscious 'beliefs' of the masses. These actors – or führers in fascist terminology – came from very different backgrounds, but behaved in ways that conformed to an ideological recipe for 20th century fascism: 'strong', 'charismatic', personification of the 'nativistic need', with a 'vision' of the 'future', and with the open-ended appeal of being the only 'true' representative of the 'people' and 'nation'. A full understanding of fascism therefore has to combine structural and voluntarist (actor) factors in its explanation: the confining context – produced by modernization and liberalization – provided the potential for the actors to trigger the fascist's rise to power.[139]

This is not the place to develop at full length the theory hereby suggested, but I will simplify the argument by presenting the figure below:

		MODERNIZATION	
		LOW	HIGH
LIBERA-LISM	LOW	Modernization and liberalization abundant: Most of China, underdeveloped Africa, parts of Asia, parts of the Middle East, and parts of Latin America. *Fascist success not probable*	Modernizing but weakly liberalized: Germany, Austria, Japan, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Turkey, Indonesia, parts of the Middle East, South Africa, Eastern- and South Eastern Europe, etc. *Fascist success probable*
	HIGH	Liberalized but weakly modernized: Italy, Spain, Portugal, Burma, Philippines, Thailand, India. *Fascist success probable*	Modernized and liberalized: USA, Canada, Western- and Northern Europe, Australia, New Zealand. *Fascist success not probable and did not happen*

[139] I have developed this theoretical combined – or rather integrative – perspective in the chapter "Challenges of theories on democracy" in ed. Larsen, Stein Ugelvik 2000: *The Challenges of Theories on Democracy. Elaborations over New Trends in Transitology.* New York, pp.447-83. The idea is to systematize the structural conditions within the so called 'funnel of causality' approach, which aims to bring order into the way in which structural variables impose 'vector loadings' on the political games the actors play during important transformations (transitions) in their societies – at the stem of the funnel.

Any country, or colonial region could experience strong fascist mobilization and even fascist take-over – from above or below – depending on context and voluntarist impact. However, the most likely candidates for strong fascist movements, or fascist regimes, will be in the upper right and the lower left cells of the table. These are the cases of an imbalanced combination of liberalism and modernization.

Why did modernization both prevent and stimulate fascism? There exists an extensive discussion on the 'modernization thesis' and fascism, which concentrates on the 'catch up' point, i.e. the need for the so-called 'authoritarian reflex'. The fascist dictator should raise the nation from relative backwardness to a place it 'deserved' among the higher ranking nations in the world.[140] If modernization was not sufficient, as something that provided wealth, infrastructure and a departure from traditional values, fascism as a 'modern' movement could not take place, or was not comprehended as a political call. Increasing modernization stimulated the appetite for more extensive growth, but left behind dislocated groups and frustrated regions which could not keep up with rapid growth elsewhere in their nation. 'Full modernization' could afford redistribution and lay the foundation for an open, competitive society.

Why did liberalization stimulate the growth of fascism and prevent it from happening? Liberalism's core ideas center on the individual; her and his freedom and equal value. Individuality and liberty to all, is also the fundamental ideology of democracy; a political system based on institutions which grant openness for political competition to all kind of movements and

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[140] Payne offers in his 1995 book op.cit. one chapter on "Fascism and modernization" (pp. 471-86), in which he both discusses how 'modern' fascism was as a movement and regime and how fascist success was dependent on a certain stage of modernization in general. The most developed thesis of fascism as a movement based on stages of modernization is offered by A.F.K. Organski 1965: *Stages of political development*, New York. See the strong critique of his thesis in A. James Gregor 1974: *Interpretations of fascism*, Morristown, pp. 182-202. Henry A. Turner discussed the same theme in his 1975: "Fascism and modernization" (pp. 117-139) and in his Henry A. Turner jr. 1975: *Reappraisals of Fascism*, New York, where he discusses the apparent paradox of how the fascists could have an anti-modernist ideology, while their regime policies functioned as modernizing processes. See also comments on this discussion in Francis L. Carsten 1976: "Interpretations of fascism" in ed. Walter Laquer 1975: *Fascism: A reader's guide. Analyses, interpretations, bibliography*, London, pp. 480-81. For a more recent contribution see Keshaw, Ian and Moshe Lewin eds. 1997: *Stalinism and Nazism. Dictatorships in Comparison*, Cambridge, pp. 344-50.

ideas. It is within this arenas of free speech and organizational autonomy that also the most efficient anti-democratic movements find opportunities to campaign and attract support. Liberalization is thus an important prerequisite for the fascist option to gain a foothold and to establish itself politically. However, the lack of political space and the weight of heavy paternalistic forces and authoritarian structures – the contradiction to political liberalism – was also important in combatting liberalization and "freeing" people from the burden of "anarchy" and "disorder". Thus the opportunities offered by liberal institutions, which created space for fascism, were used to curb those institutions by the fascist movements themselves, as they were by regimes which became fascist while subduing most elements of democratic politics and the liberal order. By being "freed from liberalism", man would thus be set "free". Liberalism allowed fascism to develop from 'below', and anti-liberalism was forced by fascist rulers from 'above'.

Extensive liberalization would absorb most forms of fundamentalism and produce a critical open mind, while underdeveloped liberalism would create suspicion and often lead to uncompromising and segmented societies. With no liberalization, traditional authority would rule unchallenged. Limited, but increasing liberalization could lead to expectations beyond the reach of the present society and create situations which we find in the new democracies today, such that distrust in democracy and political rights is the result wherever liberal institutions fail to bring material welfare with them. In general it was therefore not the 'amount' of liberalism that mattered – liberal parties were in decline in most democratic countries in the inter-war period and the low level of liberal opportunities and belief imported e.g. to colonial territories by European powers was always very limited – but the very fact that it existed in relation to the ruling power.

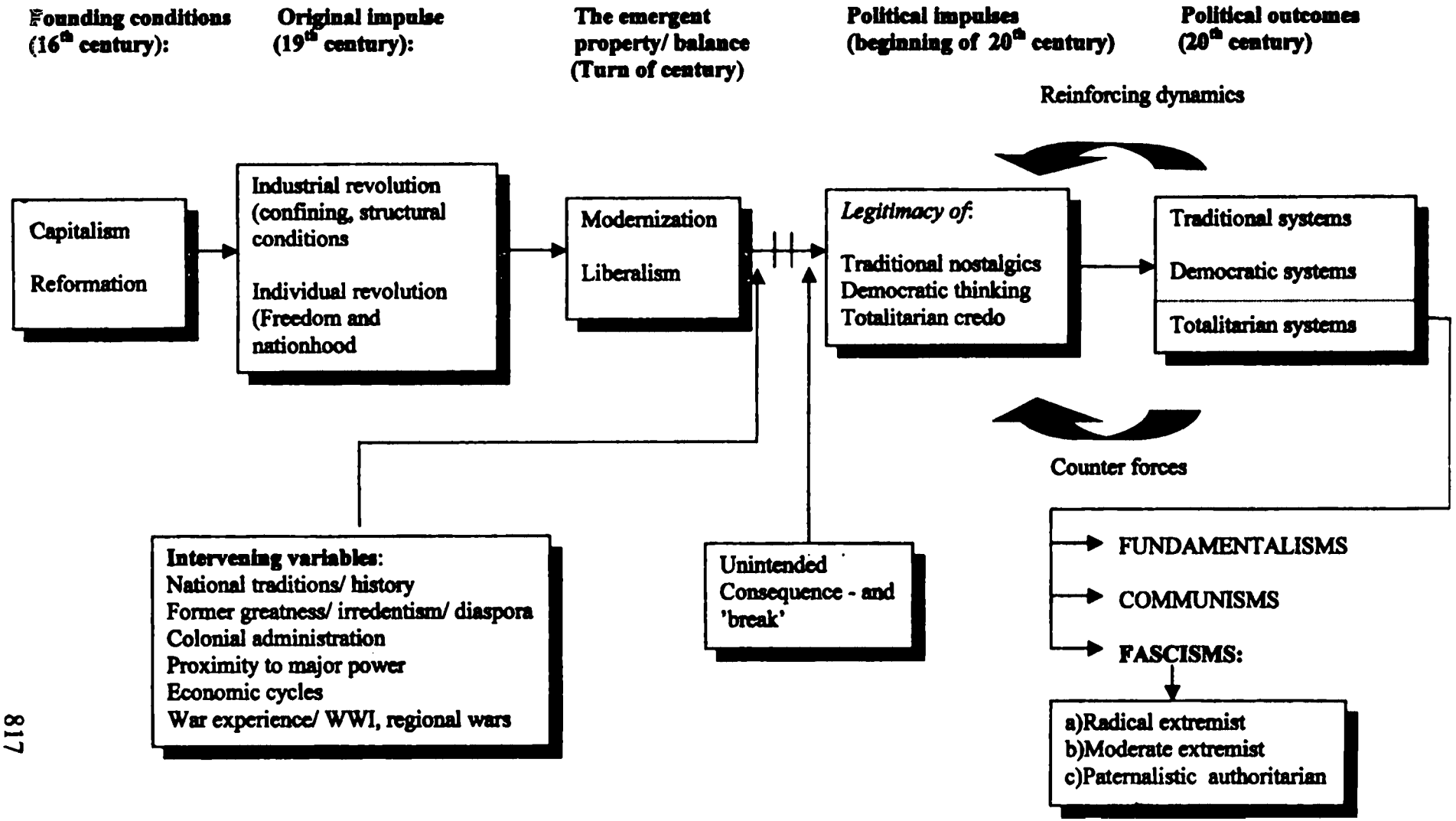
As argued earlier, however, it is not the degree of either liberalization or modernization on its own, but the balance between the two, which created opportunities for fascism inside and outside Europe. Liberalization and modernization could also differ in kind and extent from one country to the other, and from one time period to the other. There were also additional variables that either intensified or moderated the impact of this important blend. Macro-structural conditions such as the type of colonial rule, strength of nationalism/irredentism, historical position on the world development scale, economic cycles, ethnic-religious distinctions, and historical trauma/ 'greatness' – are also important in explaining how certain types of fascism of various strengths could develop in the individual countries.

The success of various types of fascism outside Europe, and their

strength on the fascist scale, cannot be explained in terms of the direct diffusion of European fascism. As described in the four chapters by Hagemann, Gentile, Rein and Paulo the often half-hearted and conflict-ridden efforts to export fascism gave very limited results. On the other hand, Europe had for long been instrumental in spreading many other impulses – often with unintended consequences – and this fact was important in the growth of fascism outside Europe. The sad history of several hundred years of imperialism had sown the seeds of local nationalisms directed against the Europeans, waiting to be unleashed by Japanese imperialism and directed against the "white race". This awakening of nationalism could also be utilized by communism in the same areas after fascism had been crushed by war. European capitalism and industrial technology were also necessary for the pursuit of modernity in most parts of the world. A type of development favorable to many, but which more often brought misery to large sections of the population and created breeding grounds for hatred and anti-European sentiments. And finally, Europeans did bring seeds of liberalism, as part of their message, when trying to rule nations as divergent as India and South Africa. This provided scope for the founding of political movements and trained people in the game of organized politics, a game which was later turned against the Europeans. In this game it was common to adapt European models of fascism, although this was not decisive within the separate national contexts.

Fascism inside and outside Europe was rooted in the same emergent property which began to make itself felt by the turn of the century. This 'hidden variable' has not been given a particular label, but contained the mix of liberalism and modernization as its main ingredients. It was the dependent variable which 'caused' – i.e. gave varying opportunities for – the native fascisms to be harbored and to develop. If we measure the various types of fascism – regimes and movements – on a 'fascist scale', there will be broad agreement that German Nazism should be placed much further towards the end of the scale than, say, Portugese Salazarism. However, German Nazism held different positions on this scale before and after 1933, as it did before and after 1942 (the year of the Endlösung decision at Wannsee). Likewise, the Italian fascism of the early 1920s differed greatly from the fascism of the brief Republic of Salo, meaning that these would also have to be placed at different positions on the scale. If Chilean Nazism and Bose's Indian National Army had been able to establish autonomous regimes they may have "moved up the scale" and been "more fascist" than they appeared to be under the restricted conditions of the Chilean context and under the Japanese occupiers. In order to develop the 'fascist scale' and test it out on the global sample of cases, we therefore ha-

THE MACRO HISTORICAL PARADIGM FOR THE SPREAD OF GLOBAL FASCISM



ve to analyze the regimes and movements at different points in time and lay heavy emphasis on what they did (practice), rather than on what they said (program/speeches). Like all political movements and regimes, the fascists changed according to circumstances. In Norway the fascist potential of the pre-war fascist party and its leader Quisling – hitherto an object of widespread ridicule – was first seen when they were brought to power by German Nazism. Even when strongly circumscribed by the Germans in terms of power, they imposed fascist practices which were hard to imagine before they happened ('Gleichschaltung', hostage-killings, deportation of the Jews etc.). "The program is not changed", claimed fascist leaders, although they often acted as if it did not give any guidance at all. These are some of the many difficulties research into fascism has to solve and which will be the challenge once a fully operational scale of fascism has been developed at some time in the future.

To sum up: in this chapter I have tried to develop a perspective on the analysis of global fascism which aims not at precision, but at generality, in that it covers most of the different manifestations of fascism from around the world in the period from 1918 to the 1940s. I have also explored at some length the content and importance of the many and different fascist movements in South-East Asia which in the literature have been described as simply collaborationist groups. By introducing the 'fascist scale' as a heuristic conceptual tool I have introduced a way of organizing the development of fascism between countries, within a single country, or within a single movement/regime, along a continuum; fascism would change according to many 'intervening' variables. Fascism thus becomes a phenomenon of many shades which are sometimes not easy to distinguish from other political phenomena; perhaps some movements and regimes were fascist at one point in time, but for specific reasons chose another direction.

I have dealt, on the one hand, with the political problems involved in continuing to recognize the peculiarly cruel character of German Nazism while comparing it with minor cases in non-European contexts, and on the other, with the logical traps implied by the 'concept of fascism approach' and the 'generic theory' approach. The main point in my theoretical focus has been to illuminate how we can understand the rise of fascism as an unintended consequence of elements which were contradictory to fascism's main ideological content and practice. Using the concept of the equilibrium of liberalism and modernization as the explanatory cause for fascist success, I have thus aimed to inspire our readers to rethink some of the more 'comfortable' one-variable, straightforward notions which have aimed to explain how fascism could become such a threatening impulse and a dreadful regime on the global scene.

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Publications: *The Stern 'Gang' 1940-49: Ideology Politics, Terror*, London, 1995. "The National-liberation Ideology of Avraham Stern" in: R. Wistrich & D. Ohana, eds., *The Shaping of Israel: Memory, Myth and National Identity*, London, 1995.

"The End of Myth: Historians and the Yishuv 1918-1948", in: *Studies on Contemporary Jewry, vol. 10*, ed. J. Frankel N.Y., 1995.

Present research interests: Four Roads to a Jewish State 1945-1949. The Linkage between Internal and External. Zionist Politics.

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Publications: *The Conscription Society: Administered Mass Organizations*, New Haven, 1995, *State and the Mass Media in Japan, 1918-1945*, Stanford 1988, "War and Comparative Politics," *Comparative Politics* 29,1, April 1996.

Present research interests: A book on "Japan in Comparative Politics." A cross-national study of "war's effects on domestic politics.

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Publications: co.ed. with James Chin Shih and Man-houng Lin, *State and Economy in Republican China: A Handbook for Scholars*, Harvard, co author with Charles S. Maier, *The World Transformed: A Global History of the Twentieth Century*, New York, *Germany and Republican China*, Stanford, 1994, "Chinese-American Relations in Comparative Perspective, 1900-1949", in Warren Cohen and Akire Irive, eds., *America and East Asia: Research Agendas for the 21st Century*, New York 1999, "Traditions of Centrality, Authority, and Management in Modern Chinas's Foreign Relations," in David Shambaugh and Thomas Robinson. eds., *Ideas and Interpretations in Chinese Foreign Policy*, New York, 1994

Present research interests: China's Mid-Century Transitions: From Nationalist to Communist Rule. Chinese "Technocracy" in PRC and Taiwan.

Larsen, Stein Ugelvik, born 1938, Associate professor, Department of Comparative Politics, University of Bergen, Norway

Publications: eds. with B. Hagtvet and J.P.Myklebust, *Who were the fascists? Social roots of European fascism*, Oslo 1980, ed. with B. Sandberg, *Fascism and European Literature*, Bern, 1991, ed. *Modern Europe after fascism 1943-1980s*, 2. Vols. N.Y. 1998.

Present research interests: General theory of global fascism. Theoretical models on transition and consolidation of democracy. Long time effects of WWII on victims of the war and on the children of the enemy.

Moore, Dr. Andrew, born 1953, Senior Lecturer in Australian History, Department of Humanities, University of Western Sydney, Macarthur, Campbelltown, 2560, NSW, Australia.

Publications: *The Secret Army and the Premier, Conservative Paramilitary Organizations in New South Wales, 1930-32*, Kensington, 1989, *The Right Road: A History of Right Wing in Australia*, Melbourne, 1995, "Policing Enemies of the State: The New South Wales Police and the New Guard 1931-32" in Mark Finnane ed., *Policing in Australia, Historical Prospectives*, Kensington, 1987, "Sir Phillip Game's

'Other Life' the making of the 1936 Public Order Act in Britain", *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 36, 1. 1990 article.

Present research interests: Australian labour biography. The Right in Australia and a social history of the Rugby league in New South Wales.

Paulo, Heloisa Helena de Jesus, born 1957, Teacher at Universidade Católica, Polo de Viseu, Estrada da Circunvalação 3500, Viesu, Portugal.

Publications: *Estado Novo e Propaganda em Portugal e no Brazil. O SPN e o DIP*. Coimbra, 1994; "Ao lado dos pracinhas: a colónia portuguesa no Brasilem guerra", Vértice, Lisboa, Jan./Fev. 1996; "Os insubmissos na colónia: a recusa da imagem oficial do regime pela oposição no Brasil, 1028. 1945" Penelópe, Lisboa, 1995.

Present research interests: Contemporary history and mainly in terms of communication history and the emigration history.

Perkins, John, born 1942, Associate Professor, University of New South Wales, Sydney, NSW, Australia, 2025.

Publications: "The Swastika Down Under: Nazi Activities in Australia 1933-39", *Journal of Contemporary History*, XXV, 1, 1991; "Coins for Conflict: Nickel and the Axis, 1933-1945", *The Historian*, LV, 1, 1992; "'Sharing the White Man's Burden': nazi Colonial Revisionism and Australia's New-Guinea Mandate", *Journal of Pacific History*, XXIV, 1, 1989; "'ermany Calling: Nazi Shortwave Broadcasting to Australia in the 1930s", *Journal of Australian Studies*, 42, 1994; "Fascism and the Russian Community in Interwar Queensland" *Journal of the Royal Queensland Historical Society*, XV, 1994.

Present research interests: Fascism among non-Anglo-Celtic immigrant groups in Australia in the interwar era, in particular as a focus for sustaining ethnic identification, and various aspects of German-Australian relations in the 20th century.

Rein, Raanan, born 1960, Lecturer, Department of History, Tel Aviv University, Israel.

Publications: *In the Shadow of the Holocaust and the Inquision: Israel's Relations with Francoist Spain, (in* Hebrew), Tel Aviv,1995, *The Franco-Péron Alliance: Relations between Spain and Argentina, 1946-1955*, Pittsburgh 1993, "Hispanidad y oportunismo politico: el caro peronista", *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe*, Vol. 2, No. 2 1991, "El antifranquismo durante el régimen peronista", *Cuadernos Americanos, No. 37*, 1993.

Present Research Interests: Peronist Argentina. Francoist Spain and Israeli foreign policy.

Spektorowski, Alberto, born 1952, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Tel Aviv University, Israel

Publications: "The ideological origins of Right and Left: Nationalism in Argentina" *Journal of Contemporary History*, January 1994; "Leopoldo Lupones: From Revolutionary Left to Radical Nationalism: The Making of an Argentine Fascist", in *History of Political Thought*, Thesis

Present research interests: The political ideology and cultural strategy of France's New Right.

Sznajder, Mario, born 1948, Lecturer - Department of Political Science - Research Fellow - The Harry S. Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace - both at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Publications: *The Birth of Fascist Ideology*, co-author, Princeton, N.J., 1994; "Limited Democracy in South America," *Democratization* 2,3, 1995; "A Case of Non-European Fascism: Chilean National Socialism," *Journal of Contemporary History* 28, 2, 1993; Impacto del mito movilizador: del racismo verbal al genocidio," Carlos Escude ed. *El genocidio frente a la historia y la naturaleza humana*, Buenos Aires, GEL, 1994; "The Antisemitic Myth and National Socialism in Chile," *Yahadut Zmaneinu* 7, 1992, Hebrew.

Present research interests: Research on the relationship between authoritarianism and democracy in contemporary Latin America and specially in Chile. Within this framework I am carrying out a project on the impact of the heritage of human right violations in redemocratized Chile, Argentina and Uruguay; I am looking into the ideological development of neo-fascism in Italy from the Movimento Sociale Italiano - MSI into the Alleanza Nazionale - An

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Publications: *Crafting a Modern Nation: Mexico at World's Fairs*, the University of California Press, 1996.

Present research interests: Political discourse and cultural history of Mexico and the U.S.

Trindade, Helgio, born 1939, Professeur Titulaire de Sciences Politiques - Université Fédérale de Rio Grande do Sul - Brésil/Av. Paulo Gama 110, Porto Alegre RS BRÉSIL 90046-900.

Publications: *Integralismo: o fascismo brasileiro da década dos 30*, 1979; *La tentation fasciste au Brésil dans les années trente*, Paris, 1988; "The background of democracy state building in Brasil and Argentina", in Hermet, G. and Trindade, H. eds., *The paradoxes of democracy*, New Dehli, 1988; "État National, logique libérale et représentation politique au Brésil", in Pécaut D. et Sorj B. *Métamorphose de la Représentation politique au Brésil et en Europe*, Paris, 1991; "O Radicalismo militar em 64 e a nova tentação fascista", in Soares, G e D'Araujo M. eds. *21 anos de regime militar*, Rio de Janeiro, 1994.

Present research interests: Comparative politics in Latin America. Party politics in Brazil and in Latin America. Democracy and political representation in Brazil and in Latin America.

Warren, Donald I, born 1935, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Oakland University, Rochester, Michigan USA.

Publications: "The Politics of the Displaced Majority," *Telos*, Spring 1993, number 95 , "White Middle Americans as an Ethnic Minority," *Telos*, Summer 1995, number 101. *The Radical Center: Middle Americans and the Politics of Alienation*, 1976.

Present research interests: Two book projects: The Politics of the Displaced Majority in Europe and America. A Political Biography of Father Charles Coughlin, The Radio Priest. Research on the "Institutionalization of Populist Politics in Austria".

INDEX

Names of geographical places, organizations and individuals. Due to different Arabic- and Asian traditions, family names and first names may appear in non-consequent alphabetic ordering. The reader should therefore cross check for the same individual

2nd battalion 758
3rd Company 758
3rd of October Club 480
950th regiment 754

A

AA (Auswärtiges Amt – Department of Foreign Affairs) 754
Aaron, Daniel 608, 699
Abascal, Salvador 620-1, 623
Abbas Mahmud al-'Aqqad 418-23
Abd al-Rahman Shahbandar 405
Abdallah 'Inan 418-21
Abdulhamid II 318
Abe, Hirozumi 187, 216, 224
Aberhart, William 590, 602, 667-8, 679, 681, 693, 811
Abramski-Blay, Irit 417
Abramson, Pierre Luc 613, 627
Abu Sa'ud 417
Abwehr 754
Abyssinia 358, 801
Açao Imperial Patrionovista Brasileira 490
Açao Integralista Brasileira (AIB) 475-6, 479, 498-04, 506, 508, 510-13, 519-20, 523-4, 526-7, 580-1, 729
Ação Social Brasileira 487
Acción Católica 144, 147
Acción Española 122-3
Accion Mexicanista Revolucionaria 626
Accion Nacionalista Argentina 543
Achimeir, Abba 364-5, 375-78, 380-4, 386, 390
ACJM 607, 611
Action Française 20, 264, 516, 530
Activist faction 365
Activist- Revisionist Front 383
Adam, R. 462
Adams, Nina 767
Adamson, Walter L 39, 41
Adanır, Fikret 313, 324, 343, 354, 795-6
Addis Ababa 395, 413
Adelaide 85
Adham, Ali 420
Adorno, Theodor W 41, 514
Adwa 393
Afet (İnan) 345
AFPFL (Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League) 777
African National Congress 53, 456
Africaner Brotherbond 803
Afrikaner Bond 432
Afrikaner Broederbond 438-43, 458
Afrikaner Nationalist Party 436
Afrikaner Party 450, 457
Afrikaner Resistance Movement 52
Afrikaner Weerstands-beweging 52
Afrikanerbond van Mynwekers 443
Ağaoğlu, Ahmet 340, 357
Aguilar Camin, Hector 627
Aguilar, Ruben 600
Ahmad, Feroz 315, 340, 358
Akashi, Yoji 755
Akçura, Yusuf 322-5, 327
Akural 337, 348
Akyüz, Kenan 323
Al Alamein 799
Alamán, Lucás 604, 614
Al-'Aqqad, Mahmud 419-23
Alba, Manuel Romo de 617
Alba, Victor. 132,
Al-Bahri, Yunis 412
Albania 101, 795
Albayrak, Mustafa 339
Alberdi 535
Albert, L. 628
Alberta 608, 665-7, 678, 699
Aldunate, Emilio 562
Alessandri 566, 583, 588
Alexander, R.J. 132
Alexandrette 351
Alexishafen 308
Al-Fatah 63
Al-Gayani, Rashid Ali 797
Algazy, Joseph 59, 67
Algeria 393
Al-Hakim, Tawfiq 419
Al-hizb al-watani 410
Al-Husayni, (al-Haij) Amin 405, 798
Ali İhsan (İloğlu) Bey 328
Ali, Rashid 384, 412
Alianza de la Juventud Nacionalista 548-50
Alianza Popular Libertadora 581
Al-Istiqlal 407
Alkan, A. Turan 332

Al-Kata'ib 411
Al-Kaylani, Zabiyan Tayyasir 406-7, 414
Allardyce, Gilbert 67, 265
Allen, Louis 771
Almazán, Juan Andrew, General 608, 624, 627
Almeida, J. C., Mendes de 523-4
Al-Miqdqdi, Darwich 410
Almog, Shmuel 373
Al-Mukhtar, Umar 398, 400, 407
Al-Muthanna Club 410
Al-Nahhas, Mustafa 411
Al-Najada 411
Alonso, Dámaso 130
Alp, Tekin 325, 339
Al-Rahman, Arb Shahbandar 405
Altamira, Rafael 117
Altenburg 258
Alvarez, Enrique 133
Alvarez, Luis E. 128
Alvarez, Pablo Serrano 601, 615, 632
Al-Zayyat, Ahmad Hasan 418
Alzuria, Gonzalo Pasamar 142
Amadeo, Mario 133
Amaral, Azevedo 477, 485
Amazona 482
America (See USA)
American Destiny Party 660
American First Committee 597, 688
American Legion 99, 646
American Liberty League 678
American Nazi Party (American National Socialist Party) 55, 59
American Revolutionary Army 55
American White National Party 55
Amin, Ahmad 418
Amselem, Alberto J. Lleonart y 145
Anacleto Gonzáles Flores 611
Anatolia 101, 313, 325-7, 330-2, 337
Andaman 755
Anderson, Benedict R.. O.g. 231, 787
Angkorean 765
Anglo-Afrikaner Bond 52
Angol 564
Angoulême, Mansle 754
Ankara 313, 327-8, 330-1, 334, 339, 340, 344, 346, 349, 354, 358
Ankerson, Dudley 603, 628
ANL 478, 512
Annam 769-70
Ansón, Luis Maria 122
Anti-Fascist Organization (AFO) 777
Anton Sa'ada 401, 410
Antonio, Hermenegildo 160
Antunes, Livravia H. 167
Auslandsorganization (AO)/(Landesgruppen) 77-78, 81-8, 93, 126, 594, 685, 735, 737, 804
APRA 577
Aquarone, Alberto 581
Aquino, Benigno 783
Arab League 146
Arab Legion 797, 799
Arab Socialist Union 231
Arai, Madami 323
Arakan 757, 774
Aranha, Alfredo Egydio de Souza 492, 494
Aranha, Antônio Francisco 163
Aranha, Oswaldo 178
Araújo, Correira 161
Araújo, Julio de 177
Arcand, Adrien 811
Arce, José 148
Areilza, José M. De 137,
Arendt, Hannah 41, 264
Argentina 22, 50, 59, 61, 71, 82-85, 88-89, 93, 95, 97, 101, 103, 121, 125-7, 131-135, 141, 143-4, 148-50, 469-72, 511, 529-30, 533-9, 541-4, 546-9, 551, 556-9, 561, 578, 580, 593, 725, 752, 774, 806, 810, 813
Argentine labor-union confederation 132
Arie Rona 398
Arkand (Arcand), Adrien 364, 602, 669-2, 678, 693, 811
Arlington 59
Arlosoroff, Chaim 365, 370, 380
Armenia 318
Armentières 174
Army School of Infantry 581
Arregui, J.J. Hernandez 534
Arrow Cross 30, 32, 99
Arsan, Nimet 328, 335
Arslan, Shakib 398, 402, 405, 407, 414, 798
Artajo, Martín Alberto 147
Aryan Liberty Net 56
Aryan Nations 54-5, 56
Aryan Resistance Movement 56
Aryata 752
Asaf (Belge), Burhan 356
ASB 487
Asherri, Maia 68, 530, 595, 631
Asociacion Católica de la Juventud Mexicana 607
Assemblees Publique Fascistes 670
Association for the Cultural Construction of China 250, 252
Association of Reich's Citizens 84
Association of Reserve Officers 342
Association of 'Young Egypt' 401
Atatürk, Kemal 234, 245, 313, 315, 325-30, 332-42, 347-52, 354, 365, 418, 796
Atl (Gerardo Murillo), Dr. 603, 628
Australia 53, 60-63, 71, 82, 85-87, 89, 105, 153, 267, 269, 271-75, 277, 280-86, 188, 290,

294, 297, 302, 305-309, 737, 759, 792-4, 737, 759, 795, 804, 811, 813
Australian People's Congress 54, 64
Australian Populist Movement 54
Austria 59, 76, 84, 101, 128, 224, 736, 813
Avalos, Colonels 551
Avantguardisti 351, 509
Avineri 362
Avniel, Mordechai 369
AWB 52-3, 55, 62
Ayacucho 541
Ayalon, A. 416, 419
Aybars, Ergun 332
Ayçoberry, Pierre 41
Aydemir, Sevket Süreyya 332, 354-8
Aykut, Mehmet Seref 349
Azad, Hind Fauj 756
Azevedo, Flamínio de 163
Azores 171

B

B.E.F. ('Bonus Expeditionary Army') 645
B.U.F. (see British Union of Fascists)
Ba Than, Dhammika U 776
Başgöz, İlhan 328, 336, 346-7, 353
Backal, Alicia Gojman de 603
Bacqué-Grammont, J. L. 318, 323
Bade 300
Badoglio, General 400, 406
Baghdad 409-10, 798
Bahia 158
Bailey, David D. 599, 613, 628
Bailey, Diffie W. 139
Baily, S. 559
Baily, Samuel 132
Baja California 623
Bajío 619, 624
Bak, Janos M. 332
Balbo, Italo 97
Bali 37, 789
Balikesir 336
Balkan 52, 320, 358
Ballila 351, 371, 410
Balmaceda, José Manuel 571
Balthazar, John Vorster 452
Bangkok 755-6
Bapen 791
Baranowski 301
Barbie, Klaus 51
Bardèche, Maurice 31, 757
Bari 402
Barisian Pepor 791
Barkai, A 22, 41
Barker, E. 594, 628
Barker, W. E. 462
Barkey, Karen 316
Bar-Kochba 382
Barmen 289, 291
Barrès, Maurice 577
Barroso, Gustavo 503, 505, 522
Base 615
Base Movement 607
Base' of OCA 618-9, 620, 623
Basque country 125
Basra 63
Bastianini, Giovanni 96, 98-101, 103-6, 108-10, 112
Bastin, John 775, 777
BASU 775
Battambang 767
Bauer, Ernst 240
Bauer, Gerard 169
Bauer, Max, Colonel 240, 256
Baumann, Gino 127
Bavaria 289, 296
Bayor, Ronald H. 592, 607, 683, 698
Beşikçi, İsmail 314, 333, 342, 345, 352
Beamish, Henry H. 670
Becka, Jan 775
Becker, Johannes 302
Beetham, David 22, 41
Begin, Menachem 363, 383, 388, 391
Behar, Büşrâ Ersanlî 343-4
Behrens 251, 260
Beiras 167, 172
Beirut 387, 401
Bekennende Kirche 300-1
Belgian Rexism 511
Belgium 101, 191, 199, 203, 729
Belgrano, de 533
Bell, Daniel 607-8, 636, 698, 700
Bell, Jeffrey 607, 674, 691, 698
Bell, Leland V. 607, 698
Bellamy, Edward 653
Belloc, Hilaire 637, 278
Belorussia 364
Ben-Ami, Shillony 37, 196
Ben-Ami, Shlomo 41, 121
Ben-Avi, A. 375
Ben-Avi, Itamar 374
Benda, Harry J. 777-8, 787
Bendersky, Joseph W 32, 41
Bendix, Reinhard 724
Benecke, Gerhard 332
Ben-Gurion, David 373, 389, 391
Ben-Horin, E. 369
Ben-Hur, R. Bielski 362
Bennett, David H. 596, 598-9, 607, 636, 687-90
Benoist, Alain de 31, 35
Benoit, Kurt 602
Bentely, Marianne 473, 595, 630

Benamoya, Rudolfo 146
Ben-Yehuda, Eliezer 375
Berenblum, Ruben 544
Berkes, Fay Kirby 350
Berkes, Niyazi 321
Berktay, Halil 345
Berlin 73, 81-2, 84, 88, 94, 136-7, 140, 234, 240, 247, 250, 257-8, 275, 277, 318, 373, 448, 754, 756, 758, 791, 803
Berlin, Rabbi M. 374
Bermann, Gregorio 132
Berna 101
Bernadotte, Count 389
Bernales, Juan 570
Bernstein 536
Berstein 509
Berth, Edouard 530
Betar 364, 367, 369-73, 376, 381, 383-4, 391
Betar brownshirts' 371
Betar naval shcool 371
Betar youth movement 362
Betcherman, Lita-Rose. 592, 607, 683, 698
Betel, Leslie 130
Bey, Enver 326
Bicheno, Hugh E. 591
Bickle, Max 602
Biddle, Francis 663
Bilal, Ahmad 411
Birkenhead, Lord 369
Bischoff, Norbert von 339
Bismarck 294, 300, 379
Black Legions 595, 608, 650-2, 678, 686, 699
Black Shirts 371, 410
Blackbourn, David 19, 41
Blackburn, Alan 644
Blanche, Bartolome Espejo 563
Blanche, Eugene Terre 53
Blanco, Luis Carrero 146
Blinkhorn, Martin 228
Blitar 790
Blue Division 136
Blue Nile 414
Blue Shirt Society 243, 244, 747
Blue Shirts 244-52, 258-9, 262-3, 266-7, 278, 410-12, 416
Blum, John Morton 607, 698
Boana 307
Bobruisk 364
Boca, Angelo Del 395
Boer Republic 53
Bogota 149
Bohl 82
Bohle, Ernst W. 76-78, 81, 83-84, 594, 685
Bolivia 50, 59, 149, 469, 555
Bolivian Falange 806
Bollo, Max 62
Bolloten, Burnett 132
BOMPA 791
Bonfil, Olivera de 599, 630
Bonner, P. 461
Bono, De 400, 406
Boorman, Howard L. 244, 261
Boratav, Korkut 340
Bordeaux 754
Borejaza, J.W. 101
Bormann, Martin 75
Borneo 779
Borón, Atilio Alberto 604, 628
Bose Subhas Chandda/Netaij/Sandara 754-8, 782, 816
Bose, Rash Behari 754-5
Bosporus 345
Botafogo 176
Botha, Louis 434-6
Bottai, Giuseppe 98
Bowers, Claude 131, 139
Boy Scouts of Mustafa Kemal 351
Boyacïoğlu, Levent 349
Bozdağ, İsmet 330
Bozkurt, Mahmut Esat 329, 346
Bracher, Karl Dietrich 217, 580
Bradeu 470
Brading, Brading 629
Brading, David 603, 614
Brahmaputra 752
Brailey, Nigel J. 773
Branco, Camilo C. 178
Brandwag (see Ossebrandwag)
Brasillach 519
Brazil 50, 81, 84, 88, 116, 125, 149, 154, 156-165, 167-71, 173--180, 205, 469, 471-6, 478-9, 481-88, 490-97, 500, 503, 508, 511-4, 521-2, 533-4, 536, 550, 554, 579, 594, 729, 805-6, 809, 813
Brazilian Estado Novo 171
Brazilian Integralist Action 484, 492, 498-9, 729
Brazilian Integralist Action group (AIB) 475, 479
Brazilian Patrionovist Imperialist Action 490
Brazilian Social Action 487-8
Brazilian Workers Party 471
Breckenridge, Keith 461
Brinkley, Alan 592, 596, 607, 642, 644, 647, 649, 660, 663, 683, 687, 699
Brinkman, Rudolf 210
Bristol, W.B. 138-139
Brit, Habiryonim 365
Britain (See United Kingdom)
British Commonwealth 802
British East India Company 749
British Expeditionary Force 645

British National Party 54
British Union of Fascists (B.U.F.) 50, 65, 99, 272, 280, 390, 750
Broederbond 448-50, 452, 457
Brooker 26
Brookes, E. 462
Broszat, Martin 221
Brown 767
Brown, Thomas M. 608, 699
Bruck, Moeller van der 389
Bruinessen, Martin van 331
Brunabun 293
Brunei 779
Brustein, William 21, 40, 41
Bryan, William Jennings 600, 691
Brüning 194
Brzezinski, Zbigniew 23, 41, 264
Buchanan, Patrick 57, 599, 690
Buchrucker, Christian 140, 133, 534, 554
Buenos Aires 83-85, 103, 121, 129-30, 133, 141, 149, 545, 550, 737
Buin battalion 581
Bulgaria 101, 225
Bund, Deutscher Mädel 87, 594, 685
Bunting, Brian 445, 447, 452, 461, 462
Buqtur, Amir 420
Burger, T., 728
Burgos 123, 126, 134
Burma 229-33, 753, 755, 759, 764, 772, 774-8, 783, 813
Burma Defence Army (BDA) 776
Burma Independent Army (BIA) 775-9, 789, 792
Burma National Army (BNA) 756, 758, 776-7
Burma-Thai Railway 782
Burns, Catherine 461
Burrin, Philippe 28, 41
Bush, George 600, 691
Busu 307
Butler, Richard 56, 593
Butler, Smedley 646, 678, 684

C

C. C. 243, 252
C. C. Clique/faction 249-51, 263, 747
C.G.T. 2 558
Cabinet Planning Board 214, 218
Cabral, José M. Da Rocha 158
Caetani 107-10
Cairo 395, 401, 405, 409-10, 413, 419, 747
Calage, Fernando 497
Calderón, Francisco G. 118
Caldwell, Malcolm 768
California 61
Callage, F. 494
Calleja, Eduardo G. 123, 126
Calleja, Gonzalez 140
Calles, President Plutarco Elías 607, 609, 612-3, 616-7, 626, 628
Callincos, A. 462
Callincos, B. 462
Camacho, Manuel Avila 607-8, 619-20, 623, 627
Cambodia 52, 759, 764-5, 767-9, 772-3
Cameroon 87, 141
Camín, Héctor Aguilar 614
Camino, Aurelio Garzón del 600
Camões 158
Camp David 391
Camp of National Unity 226, 230
Campbell, Hugh Gerald 528, 597, 599, 621, 624, 628
Campo, Carlos Ibáñez del 563, 581
Campos, Francisco 477, 480
Campos, Joaquim 163
Canada 53-5, 61, 65, 101, 590-3, 602-3, 607, 609, 635-6, 639-641, 644, 647, 654-6, 665-6, 668-75, 679, 681-5, 693-4, 700, 731, 793, 811, 813
Canadian Union 671
Canadian Union of Fascists 669, 678,
Cândido, Oliveira. 159
Çankaya 349
Cannistraro, P.V. 101
Canovan, Margaret 27, 41
Canton 243
Cantú, Gastón García 610
Canaanite' movement 382
Cape 429, 431-2, 437-8, 447-8, 452
Cape Province 52, 93
Cape Town 77, 446
Caplan, J. 462
Cárdenas, Lázaro 124, 128-129, 597, 607-8, 617, 619, 620, 626
Cárdenas, Nicolás 127-8, 130, 593, 597, 602, 607, 609, 612, 623, 627-8, 809-10
Carl the Great 380
Carlists 194
Carlson, John Roy 593, 608, 637, 640, 660, 670, 684, 699
Carmona 138, 159, 163, 165, 179
Carocci, G. 111
Carol II, King 227, 229
Carpenter, Humphrey 636
Carpi, Leone 368, 371
Carr, Barry 618, 628
Carranza, Venustiano 606
Carretto, Giacomo E. 353
Carsten, Francis L. 814
Carter, G.M. 462
Carulla, Juan 541-4

Casa de España 130, 141
Casa do Minho 157
Casanova, Pablo González 593
Cassidy, John 661
Castells, Andreu 132
Castiella, Fernando M. 137
Castilhos, Júlio de 477
Castillo, Ramon 550-1
Castro, Fidel 24, 266
Catalonia 125
Catholic Action 147
Catholic Association of the Mexican Youth 611
Catholic Center 390
Catholic Labor Confederation 611
Caucasus 795, 797
CAUR 734
Cavazza, Stefano 171
Çavdar, Tevfik 351
CBS 648
CCT 611-2
Ceará 498
Ceará Legion of Work 488
Ceballos Ramírez, Manuel 628
CEDA 123, 194
CEDADE 59, 61
Cedillo, Saturnino 603, 628
Cemil, Hasan 345
Cemiyeti, Türk Tarihi Tetkik 344, 346
Centenaires of Portugal 179
Center of Catholic Workers of Guadalajara 611
Central Advisory Council 787
Central Association for Malay (CIAM) 782
Central Highlands 293, 294
Central Planalto 482
Central Valley 586
Centro 177
Centro de Obreros Católicos de Guadalajara 611
Centro Lusitano D. Nuno Álvares Pereira 176
Cerda, Pedro Aguirre 124, 581, 583-4
Cerdeira, Omar 544
Cerejeira, Cardinal 169, 178-179
Cerulli, E. 395
Cerutti, M. 101
Cervantes, Angel 131
Cevdet, Abdullah 319, 336
Ceylon 759
CGT 132, 552, 557
Chamber of Forty 502-3, 509
Chandler, David 765
Chang Chi 259
Chang Chia-ao 253
Chang Ch'i-yün 259
Chang Ch'ung 251
Chang Hsueh-liang 239, 259
Chang Mu-lin 247
Chang Pi-hai 251
Chang Su-min 254
Chang Wei-pin 242-3
Chang, Carsun 260
Chang, Maria Hsia 234
Chaplin, Charlie 596, 687
Chaplin, W.W., 734
Chase, Allan 139
Ch'en Chih-mai 241
Ch'en Chi-t'ang 261
Ch'en Ch'iu-yün 264
Ch'en Kuo-fu 243
Ch'en Li-fu 243, 251, 266
Ch'en P'u 248, 259
Ch'en Shao-hsiao 243, 249, 251
Ch'eng Shih-kan 235, 252-3
Ch'eng T'ien-fang 239, 251
Cheng Tu-pu 253-4
Cherry Blossom Society 197
Chesterton, G. K. 278, 637
Chhoeun, Pach 767
Chiang Kai-shek 235-6, 238-41, 243-5, 250-2, 254, 258-62, 267, 746-8
Chiang Shao-yen 252
Chiang T'ing-fu 242, 253, 259
Chicago 662
Ch'ien Shih-fu 262
Ch'ien Tuan-sheng 241-2
Chih Ch'ing 250
Chile 38, 50, 125-7, 141, 203, 469-70, 528, 561-4, 566-72, 574-82, 584-6, 588, 590-2, 806, 810, 813
Chillán 564, 586
Chin 774
China 24, 46, 128, 183-4, 188, 210, 221, 233-9, 241-3, 245-51, 253-6, 258, 259-64, 266-7, 345, 356, 625-6, 645, 729, 739-40, 742, 746-51, 759, 765, 769-71, 813
China Cultural Association 251
Chinese Culture Study Society 250
Christian Faith 654
Christian Front 592, 599, 602, 659-62, 678, 683, 690, 693
Christian Identity 55
Christian Maronites 411
Christian Mobilizers 659, 662
Christian Social Union in Bavaria 62
Christian Vikings of America 56
Christus Rex 199
Chu Chia-hua 251
Chu Shih-k'ang 252
Chueca, Ricardo. 140,
Chung-kuo wen-hua hsueh-hui 250-1
Church of Jesus Christ Christian 56
CIA 768
Círculo de Acción Española 141
Ciria, Alberto 130

Cisneros, Agustín del Río 145
Civitavecchia 367, 371
Cizre-Sakallïoğlu, Ümit 315
Clapham, Christopher 38, 41
Cleveland, William L. 798
Close, David 228
CNCT 607
Cochinchina 769
Codovilla 132-133
Cohen, Moise 325, 399, 401-2
Cohen, Stephen P. 758
Çoker, Fahri 344
Colago, Jorge 174
Colegio de México 130
Collier, David 533
Collins, Seward 637, 677
Collis, Maurice 777
Colombia 127, 141, 151, 669
Columbus 291, 645
Column 18 64, 88
Comité Directivo de la Campaña Antichina de la Cámara de Diputados 626
Comité Pro-Raza 607, 627
Committee for the Consolidation of Hebrew Youth 382
Committee of One Million 663-4, 678
Committee of the House of Representatives' Anti-Chinese Campaign in 1923 626
Committee of Union and Progress 319
Communist Party 52, 129, 132, 478, 551, 556, 637, 685
Communist Party of Chile 577
Communist Party of Turkey 326
Compton, James V. 608, 641, 656-7, 699
Comte, Auguste 318, 477
Concepción 564, 586
Confederación Católica del Trabajo 611
Confederación de la Clase Media 607
Confederación General del Trabajo 132, 552
Confederactión de Trabajadores de México 129
Confederactión Española de Derechas Autónomas 123
Confessing Church 300
Confucius 244
Congress Party 750-1
Connor, Walker. 119
Consejo de Hispanidad 137-138, 141, 148
Consejo de las Indias 138
Consejo Nacista 580
Conservative Party 52, 671
Consiglio Centrale Fascista 656
Constable Saint Nuno Álvares Pereira 171
Contrearas, Ariel José 624, 628
Cooper, Donald F. 772
Cordoba 545
Corner, Paul 20, 41
Corradini, Enrico 26
Correia, Araújo 161
Cortada, James W. 128, 146
Cortés, Lía 562, 564, 583-4
Costa, Afonso 165
Costa, Joaquin 117,
Costa, Robustino Patron 550
Costa-Gavras 56
Coughlin, Father Charles E. 590-3, 595-602, 607, 609-10, 639, 642, 644-5, 647-50, 659-65, 667-8, 678-80, 681-9, 690-3, 698-701, 811
Council of Indonesian Moslem Associations 788
Council of the Indies 138
Court of Sigma 502, 503
Cox, Javier 589, 590, 592
Cox, M. 57, 67
CPB 778
Cradock 452
Cram, Hans 602
Crassweller, Robert D. 559
Crate, C. B.
Crescianni, Gianfranco 101, 105, 153
Crete 31
Cribb, Robert 792
Crisóstomo Cruz 159, 163-4
Cristero movements 616
Cristero Rebellion 629
Cristeros 612, 614-6
Croce, Benedetto 593, 596
Croix de Feu 646
Crone, G. 457
Cronje, G. 441, 459
Cruz, Albino de Souza 160, 177-178
Cruzada, D. Nuno Alvares 177
CTM 129
Cuba 24, 117, 125-7, 139, 150, 232, 782, 805
CUF 671, 672
Cumberland, Charles 599, 628
CUP 319-20, 324-9, 333
Curry, Richard O. 608, 699
Curses of Catholic Culture 542
Cursos de Cultura Catolica 542
Cyrenaica 393
Czechoslovakia 92, 736
Caarstens, Francis L. 814

D

d'Aguiar, Armando 167-8
Dahl, Hans Fredrik 734
Dahm, Bernhard 787
Dai, Bao 769-70
Dallin, Alexander 733
Dalton 674
Damascus 406
Damiani, C. 102, 109

Dann, U. 393, 395, 416
D'Annunzio, Gabriele 39, 366
Dantas, Santiago 486-7, 494, 498
Dardanelles 326
Dario, Ruben. 118
Darwich al-Miqdqdi 410
Darwin 348
Davison, Roderic H. 317
Dawes, A. 308
Dayananda, Swami 752
de Backal, Alicia Gojman 630
De Gaulle 769
De Tella, Guido 141
de Villiers, R. 462
Déak, Istvan 21, 41
Déat, Marcel 28, 31, 38
Debs, Eugene 600, 691
Defenders of Gerald Winrod 678
Defense of Rights 325
Degrelle 729, 758
Deist, W. 72
Del Vayo, Julio Alvarez 131
Delgado, Lorenzo 135, 138
Delius, P. 461
Dellepiane, Luis 547
Demirel, Ahmet 330
Democratic Renewal 57
Denmark 203
Dennis, Lawrence 594, 637, 645, 677
Deny, Jean 347
Depression 812
Dergelle 758
Deringil, Selim 359
Derneýi, Türk 323
Detroit 594, 647, 651, 657, 660, 662, 685
Deutsce Arbeitsfront 86
Deutsch, Sandra Mcgee 133, 534
Deutsch-Arabische Lehrabteilung (DLA) 799
Deutsche Alternative 63
Deutsche Christen 795
Deutsche Volksbund 83-84
Deutsche Volksunion 61, 63
Deutschnationale Volkspartei 390
Devereux, Robert 321, 337
Diamond, Sander A. 608, 657
Dias, Carlos Malheiro 160, 174
Dias, Souza 165
Diaz, Araujo, E. 551
Díaz, José 133, 601, 628
Díaz, Pascual 612
Díaz, Porfirio 606, 610
Diaz-Canedo, Enrique 130
Dickstein, Samuel 593, 659, 684
Die Amerika Deutscher Volksbund 657
Die, Bao 771
Diederichs, N. 441-3, 448, 459
Dienstelle Ribbentrop 74, 76, 92
Dies, Martin 640
Dietrick, A. 602
Diffie, Baily W. 139
Diggins, John P. 153, 599, 608, 656, 690, 699
Dijon 754
Dimitrov, Georgi 184
Dinale, Ottavio 103
Diyarbakîr 332
Djawa Hokokai 791
DNSAP 734
Dobama Asiayone (We Burmans Association) 774
Dobb, Maurice 596
Doboma Asiayone (Kodaw Hmaing Faction) 775
Dodd, Clement H. 315
Dolhi 364
Dolkart, R. H. 130, 133
Domes, Jürgen 250
Domingo, Marcelino 128
Donghi, Tulio Halperin 535
Donoso, Ricardo 566, 581-2, 584
Dooley, Francis Patrick 599, 628
Doradas, Camisas 594
Douglas, Allen 41, 665-9
Douglas, Clifford Hugh 665, 679
Douglasites 665
Doumer, Paul 378
Doussinague, José Maria 146
Drake, Paul W. 588
Dresden 756
Druze family 398
Du Pont 640, 646
Du Toit, A. 462, 463
Dubow, Saul 461
Duke, David 57, 598-9, 655, 689-90
Dumont, Paul 318, 323, 326-7
Duplessis, Maurice 671
Dura, J. 151
Durand, Jorge 612, 628
Durban 94, 453
Durkheim, Emile 320
Durkheim, Karlfried von 92
Durounian, Arthur 640
Dutt, R. Palme 184
Duus, Peter 184
Döscher, H-J. 73

E

Eastern Rumelia 318
Eastern Transvaal 52
Eastern Way Society 195, 199
Eastman, Lloyd 241, 243-6, 249

Eatwell, Roger 27, 29, 41-2, 48, 61-2, 65-7, 69, 535, 589
Ëaylan 328, 329
Ebel, A. 71
Echevarria 535
Economic Institute 444
Ecuador 59
Edwards, Alberto 575
Effimiadis, Yorgaki 340
Egypt 46, 52, 75, 101, 229-30, 232, 345, 385, 395-8, 402, 407-9, 412-8, 421-2, 797, 800
Ehrlich, Haggai 799-800
Eiras, Armindo 174
Eisenhower, Dwight 645
Ekonomiese Instituut 444
El Alamein 799
El Salvador 50, 125, 145
Eley, Geoff 19, 41, 42
Elliot, David R. 665
Ellwood, Sheelagh 603, 628
Elphick, R. 461, 462, 463
Elsbree, Williard H. 772, 790
Encina, Francisco 575
England (See United Kingdom)
Enstitüleri, Köy 350
Entente de Fascism Universel 734
Entre Rios 541
Epstein, L. 795
Eretz Israel 371, 386
Ergin, Osman 348
Erichsen, Regine 350
Eritrea 393, 394, 395, 400, 402, 406, 414
Erlich//Ehrlich, Haggai 393, 395, 397, 399-400, 403, 406, 408-9, 411, 795-7, 799
Escamilla Torres, Rogelio 628
Escobar, Adrián C. 144
Escudé, Carlos 141
Espinoza, Carlos Dávila 563
Estado Novo 154-156, 158-159, 161-163, 170-171, 173, 175, 179-180, 471, 472, 476, 484, 503, 806
Estate, Reich Food 221
Esterline John E./H. 769-70, 774
Esterline, Mac H. 769-70, 774
Estonia 2054 228-9
Ethiopia 87, 128, 367, 369, 379, 393-5, 400-7, 413-4, 656, 795, 799-80
Etienne, J. -M. 511
Etzioni, Amitai 675
Euphrates 387
Everett, Brenda Huff 595
Evi, Halk 347

F

F.I. 505
Fabiano, D. 96, 100
Fabrino, J. 487
Facist Group 580
Facius, Antonio Rius 599, 631
Faction of Accusation and Belief 381
Fagen, Patricia 130, 604, 628
Faisceaux Nationalistes Européen 32, 59
FAK 441, 443-4
Falange 126, 138-141, 146, 521-3, 573, 614, 621, 623-5, 631
Falange Exterior 806
Falangism 517
Falangismo 619
Falangista 604
Falcoff, Mark 124, 127, 129-134
Falih Rifkï (Atay) 313, 353-4
Falkenhausen von, General 238
Falter, Jürgen 21, 42
Farah, Caesar E. 316
Faria, Otávio de 486-7
Farias, Victor 28, 42
Farinacci, Roberto 103-4
Farrell, Edelmiro J. 555
Fasci italiani all'estero (Fasci abroad) 95-106, 108-114, 126, 737
Fascist Central Council 656
Fascist Internationale 734
Fascist League of North America 656
Fascist party 95-9, 103-5, 110-11
Father Divine 678
Fauj, Azad Hind 756
Faysal, King 397, 401
FBI 601
FDR 601, 649-50, 662-3, 675, 679, 692
Feder, Gottfried 238
Federacáo das Associacões Portugesas do Brazil 156, 158, 159-2, 167-9, 175, 177-8
Federacion Obrera Nacionalista 544
Federal Share the Wealth Corporation 642
Federasie van Afrikaanse Kulturverenigings 441
Federation of Afrikaner Cultural Organizations 441
Federation of Labor 389
Federation of the Covenant of the People 52
Federici 674
Federico 600
Fehmi, Ismail 323
Felice, Renzo de 15, 17-20, 39, 41, 47, 67, 69, 153, 367, 400, 474, 527, 595-6, 630
Ferguson, M. Vaughan 67
Feridun Fazïl Tülbentçi 330
Ferkiss, Victor C. 608, 699
Ferrari, G. 535
Ferraz de Souza, Abel 168
Ferri, Enrico 366
Ferro, António 179

Fest, Joachim C. 462, 598, 600, 608, 674, 679, 689, 691, 699
Fiancés of Death 51
Fichte 238
Figallo, Beatriz J. 121, 131, 149
Fighters Party 389
Figuerola, Jose 559
Filho, Candido Motta 485, 487, 492, 497
Filho, Olympio Mourão 504-5
Finer, Samuel E. 22, 38, 42
Finkel, Alvin 608, 666, 668, 699
Finland 128, 225, 592, 731, 810
Finschafen 298, 301-306, 308-309, 794
Firkasl, Halk 330
Firmian, Bishop 295
Fischer, Conan 21, 42
Fishman, Joshua A. 346
Fitz-Henry, Fernando Guarello 564
Fiume 366
Flecther, William Miles 207-15
Fleitas, Juan B. 543
Flemming, S. 146
Flierl 300
Florence 369, 385
Flores, Leopoldo Ruiz y 612
Flynn, K. 56, 68
FNI 59
FONA 544
Fontes, Lourival 498
Ford I, Henry 640, 657, 664
Ford, Glyn 60, 68, 657
FORJA 547, 552
Formosa 740, 742, 748, 751, 754, 756
Fouillée, Alfred 320
France 20, 51, 61, 101, 128, 130, 132-133, 135-137, 140, 142-151, 203, 208, 212, 368, 394, 396, 397, 399, 402, 405, 407, 409, 412, 429, 449, 494, 516, 530, 538, 541, 577, 592, 595, 694, 731, 754, 759, 764-6, 768, 770-2, 796, 801, 810
Francfort, D. 101
Franco 36-38, 117, 121-123, 125-126, 129, 139, 156, 261, 533, 603, 628, 650, 679, 728, 733, 746, 797, 806
Frank, Gunther 531
Franke, Helmut 234
Frauengemeinschaft 87
Free India Provisional Government 755
Free Republican Party 340-1
Free State 451-2, 435, 439
Free State Boers 432
Freeden, M. 42
Freedom Block 775
Freemason Lodges of Turkey 342
Free-Thai 772
Freitas, Madeira de 486, 498, 503
Frente Nacional Socialista Argentino 50
Fresco, Manuel 133
Fresco, Mauricio 130
Frey, Gerhard 63
Friedman-Yellin, Natan (Mor) 383, 388-1
Friedrich, Carl J. 41, 264
Friends of New Germany 657
Fromm, Erich 596
Front noir international 59
Front of National Rebirth 228
Frye, Alton 608, 641, 656-7, 699
Fuad (Cebesoy), Ali 331
Fuentes, Jordi 562-4, 583, 584
Fuerza de Orientacion Radical de la Joven Argentina 547, 550
Fu-hsing she 249
Fujiwara, Akira/Iwaichi ('Kikkan' 158, 754
Fumimaro, Konoe 207
Fundación Española 141
Funke, M. 72
Furlong, Patrick J. 461
Furtado, Celso 532
Furth, Charlotte 241, 244
Futuwwa/Futuwa Iraqi 410-11, 797
Förster, Bernhardt 52

G

G.O.U. 553
Gabinete Português de Leitura do Rio de Janeiro 158-159, 164, 169, 178, 179
Gaddhafi 64
Gaissinowitch 364
Gakutai (Stueden Corps) 789
Galeano, Eduardo 557
Galibert, Ana Maria 544
Galip, Reşit 341, 345
Gallagher, Tom 228
Gallo, E. 536
Gallo, Max 137
Galon Army 775
Galotti, Antonio 486, 487
Gálvez, Manuel 536-7, 546-8
Gandhi, Mathma 620, 750, 753, 756-7
Gann, L. M. 300
Gaos, José 130
Garcia Cantu, Gaston 629
Garcia, Earl Dias 177
Garibaldi 366, 368, 370, 373
Garza, René Capistrán 612
Garzia, Nuria T. 127
Gasparini, J. 395, 396
Gaspirinsky, Ismail Bey 322
Gay, Peter 217
Geertz, Clifford 37-8, 42
Gellner, Ernest 22, 25, 42

General Economic Confederation 558
General Federation of the Hebrew Workers in Palestine 366
General Motors 28
General Workers' Confederation 555
General Zionists B 370, 374
Geneva 398
Genta, Bruno 554
Gentile Protection League 446
Gentile, Emilio 21, 39, 42, 95, 97, 101, 103, 497, 581, 656, 816
Gentile, Giovanni 28
Georgeon, François 322-3, 338
Gerassi, Marisa N. 133
Geray, Cevat 337
Gerhardt, G. 56, 68
German American Bund 594, 597, 607, 657, 659-70, 678, 698
German Boy Scouts 89
German Labor Front 220-1
German League 28
German Sonderstab F 799
German Women's Enterprise 220
German-American Bund 657
German-Australian Chamer of Commerce 87
Germani, Gino 22, 42, 471, 605, 629, 809
Germany 19, 21-2, 24-6, 28, 32, 35, 40, 58-9, 61-3, 65, 72, 74, 78, 82-86, 89, 92, 94, 131, 135-138, 140, 145, 150, 177, 184, 186, 188-9, 191-2, 194, 197-201, 205, 210-13, 215-23, 226,- 7, 230, 233-6, 238, 247-8, 251-61, 263-4, 266-7, 271, 273-5, 280-2, 284-5, 288-91, 295, 297-9, 301-3, 306, 308, 351, 360, 367, 379, 381-2, 385, 387, 391, 402, 408, 411-12, 414-15, 417, 419, 441, 444-6, 448-50, 452, 459, 471, 482, 489, 496, 511, 517, 557, 573, 575, 580, 598, 601-2, 638, 650, 652, 654-6, 658-9, 662, 664, 672-3, 679, 685, 587, 689, 692-3, 699, 700, 725-6, 730-1, 736, 740-6, 752-6, 758, 797, 800, 803-4, 806, 809, 812-13
Gershoni, Israel 416, 417
Gesuiwerde Nasionale Party (GNP) 438, 450, 803
Ghana 46, 87
Ghosh/Gosh, K.K. 754, 756-8
Giap, Vo Nguyen 770
Gibraltar 137, 797
Gigyun 779, 781
Gil, Enrique 124
Gil, Federico G. 563
Gil, Portes 613
Giliomee, Herman 461-3
Gilje, Nils 724
Gill, Mario 600, 629
Gilmore, W.R. 151
Giuriati, Giovanni 100, 108
Giygutai 770
Giygutai volunteer corps 770, 781
Glazer, Nathan 636
Glickson, M. 374
GNP 438-9, 442, 447-50, 803
Goad J. C. 307
Godley, Michael R. 234
Godment, Francois 745
Godse, Nathuram 753
Goebbels, Joseph 452, 593, 597, 649-50, 661, 688
Gojman de Backal, Alicia 629
Goldar, Ernesto 132, 134
Goldblatt, David 807
Golden Shirts 594, 626-7
Golkar 231
Golwalkar, Madhan Sadashiv 752
Gómez Izquierdo, José J. 626, 629
Gómez-Escalonilla, L. D. 126, 142
Goncalves, Nuno 166
Gonzáles Casanova, Pablo 629
Gonzáles, Robert V. 129
Gonzalez, Enrique P. 551, 555
Gonzalez, Joaquín 133
González, Rodrigo Alliende 562, 582, 591
Gordon, Andrew 184
Gosh, K.K., 754, 756, 758
Gosthall, Rufus Elwood 599, 629
GOU 551
Goulart 472, 505
Government of India 774
Goyeneche, Juan Carlos 133
Graciela Etchevest 544, 547
Graciotti, Mario 497
Gramsci, Antonio 23, 42
Grand, Alexander J. de 360
Grandi, Dino 97, 111, 112, 399
Gravers, Mikael 778
Graziani, General 400, 406-7
Great Britain (See United Kingdom)
Great Hindu Association, 752
Great Japan Agricultural 221
Great Japan Industrial Patriotic Society 220
Great Japan Production Party 195, 197, 205
Great Japan Women's 220
Great Japan Youth League 221
Great Japan Youth Party 195, 198-9
Great Trek 431
Greece 226-7, 229, 316, 365, 744, 795, 796
Green Patrols 626
Green Shirts 410-12, 416, 619, 625
Greenberg, Uri Zvi 365, 375-6, 379-81 390
Greenstein, Frederic 43
Gregor, Alexander James 68, 189, 265-6, 319, 360, 747, 759
Grey Shirts 30, 93-94

Greyshirts 446-7
Griffin, Roger 27, 40, 42, 46, 48-9, 58, 63, 66, 68, 360, 380, 386, 390, 533, 589-90, 600, 608, 691, 699, 728
Grossardi, Antonio 105
Grossman, Meir 370
Grossman's faction 371
Group of the Defense of Rights 330
Grove, Marmaduke 562, 588
Grugel, Jean 587
Grunebaum, Gustave E. von 314
Grupo de Oficiales Unidos 551
Grupo Nacista Universitario 580
Gruzenberg, Oskar 364
Guadalajara 613, 617
Guanajuato 607, 611, 619
Guardias verdes 625
Guariglia, Raffaele 367
Guatemala 125, 150
Guérin, Daniel 22, 42
Guerra Cristera 607
Guerra, François-Xavier 616, 629
Guggenheim 576
Guidi, I. 395
Guimarães, António 166, 168
Guinea 742
Gunter, John 139
Gunther, Frank 531
Gustloff, Willhelm 77
Guttman, Allen 124
Guy, Jeff J. 427, 802-3
Guyot, Dorothy 775
Gülalp, Haldun 354
Güneş, İhsan 328
Gökalp, Ziya 319-21, 323, 325, 327, 336-7, 348
Göring, Hermann 83, 448, 452

H

Haber, Stephen 606, 629
Habiryonim, Brit 365
Hacia, Ruben Aguilar 600, 632
Hadley, Eleanor M. 221
Haganah 364, 374, 387
Hagemann, Albrecht 71, 88-89, 92-94, 657, 735, 804, 806, 816
Hagtvet, Bernt 21, 43, 47, 68, 202, 587-8, 595, 630, 699
Haifa 385
Halperin, Ernst 593
Halperín, Tulio 593, 629
Hamburg 89
Hamdi Başar, Ahmet 341
Hamilton Fish Jr. 21, 593, 624, 647, 684
Hamilton, Alastair 42
Hamilton, Nora 608, 629
Hamilton, Richard 42
Hamilton, Thomas 139
Hamizrachi movement 370, 374-5
Hammer, Ellen J. 772
Hanadiv, Yad 116
Hancock, W.K. 463
Hani, Chris 62
Hanioğlu, M. Şükrü 319, 337
Hanoi 769
Harney, R.F. 101
Harris, Sheldon H. 741
Hartmann, Richard 321
Harvey, Edwin 120
Hasan, al-Zayyat Ahmad 418
Hashikawa 207
Hashimoto, Kingorō 198, 205
Hata, Ikuhiko 185
Hatipoglu, Sevket Rasit 340
Hatta 787
Havemariu, Chris 446
Hawthofer, Karl 75
Hayashi, Gen. Senjūrō 206
Hayes, Carlton 22, 171
Hayes, Paul 42
Haykal, Muhammad Husayn 418
Hearst, William Randolph 640
Hebrew State Party 371
Hedgewar, Keshav Baliram 752
Hegel, 725
Hegerdon, Walter 602
Heidegger, Martin 27, 28
Heiho 788
Heiho organization 781
Heilperin (Ratosh), Uriel 382-4, 391
Heinonen, Reijo H. 592
Heldsbach 308
Hell, Jügen 601
Hellenthal 302-303
Heller, Joseph 362, 372, 383, 385, 795, 799
Hellesund, Dag 469
Helphand, Alexander 324
Hennessy, Alistair 47, 267, 473-4, 533, 573, 807, 808
Henriques, Afonso 174
Henriques, Dr. Jordão M. 174
Hentig, Otto Werner von 387
Hepple, Alexander 461- 463
Herenigde Nasionale of Volksparty 449- 450
Herod 599
Herrero, Pedro P. 118, 127, 142
Herstigte (or Purified) Nasionale Party 52
Herstigte National Party 63
Hertzog, Albert 441, 443, 445, 449-450, 453, 457
Hertzog, J.B.M 435-9, 442
Herut movement 388, 391

Herzstein, Robert E. 592-3, 597, 608, 652-3, 656-7, 659, 663, 683-4, 688, 699
Hess, R. L. 75, 77, 81, 399
Hever, H. 381
Heyd, Uriel 321, 339, 346-7
Hideki, Tôjô 740
Hiden, John W. 221
Higham, Charles 608, 699
Hill, Ray 61-2, 64, 68
Himalaya, 752
Himalayas 752
Himmler 77
Hindenburg 194
Hindu Mahasabha (= Great Hindu Association) 751,752,753
Hinkler, Paul 240
Hiranuma, Baron Kiichirô 193-4
Hirohashi, Tadamitsu 218
Hirsch, Ernst E. 346
Hirszowicz 798, 799
Hitler Youth 220, 222
Hitler, Adolf 39, 60, 64, 71-73, 75-78, 86-88, 92, 136, 140, 170, 186, 197-8, 204, 210, 212, 217-9, 221, 234, 238-40, 245-7, 249, 253, 255-7, 262, 266, 270, 273-9, 281-3, 288-90, 295, 297-8, 301-2, 304-6, 352, 367, 379-82, 391, 394, 401, 416, 418-9, 444, 447, 452, 455, 591, 595, 596, 598-9, 601, 637, 641, 643-4, 649, 650, 652, 656-8, 660, 664, 669-71, 686-7, 689, 682, 690, 692, 699, 725, 727-9, 733, 744, 752, 758, 777, 793, 797-8, 800-1, 803, 811
Hitlerjugend 87, 89, 351, 411
Hitoshi, Imamura 786
Hizbullah (Muslim Youth Corps) 789
HNP 62
Ho Chi Minh 766, 769
Ho Chung-han, General 249
Ho Ying-ch'in 244
Hougn Giyugun 785
Hoare, Q. 463
Hockenos, Paul 62, 68
Hoernle, R.F.A. 463
Hofstadter, Richard 596, 601, 608, 687, 692, 699
Hoggenheimer 437, 445-6
Hoke, Henry 608, 699
Holland 81, 439, 441, 448, 459
Hollywood 652
Hong Kong 302, 306, 771
Honneger, Hans 234
Hoover, Herbert 645, 648
Hoover, J. Edgar 661
Hopoi 308
Horn of Africa 395
Horowitz, Joel 132
Horrell, M. 463
Hoston, Germaine A. 185
Houghton, D. Hobart 463
Houminer, Ehud 347
Hsin To-mo 238
Hsi-sheng Ch'i 243
Hsueh-liang, Chang 747, 748
Hsü Ssu-pang 247
Hu Han-min 239, 244
Hu Shih 242,
Hubner, Karl 592
Hue 769, 770
Huff, Robert P. 145,
Hugenberg, Alfred 29, 390
Hughes, E. C. 669, 670
Hughes, H. Stuart 575
Hugo, T.J. 439
Huk 785
Huk organization 783
Hukbalahap, the Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon 783
Hull, Cordell 555
Hungary 21, 62, 81, 204, 225, 365, 531
Hung-mao Tien 243-5, 250
Huntington, Samuel P. 119, 228, 352
Husayn, Ahmad 401, 408, 410
Husayn, Taha 419
Husein, Ahmed 797
Hussein, Saddam 23, 52
Hyam, R. 463
Hübner, Frank 62
Hynd, Alan 608, 699
Hüsrev (Tökin), İsmail 356-8
Haarding, harry 233

I

I Jen 246
Ibáñez 582-4
Ibarguren, C. 546
Ibarguren, F. 546
Ide, Yoshinori 206
IG Farben 35
Iglesias, Eduardo 618
IKL 592
İlkin, Selim 328, 354
ILL 755, 756, 757
Illinois 652
Imai, Seiichi 185
Imperial Rule Assistance Association 185, 217
Imperial Rule Assistance Movement 221, 226, 227, 230, 743
Imperial Way faction 30, 194
Imperial Wizard of the Knights 57
Imphal 755, 757
İnalcık, Halil 316, 330
Inan, Muhammad 'Abdallah 418

Independence Party 401, 409
Independent Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) 770
India 345, 356, 393, 621, 739, 742, 749, 751, 753, 756, 757-9, 796, 813, 816
India Independence League (IIL) 754, 782
Indian Army 758
Indian Legion 753, 754, 756, 758
Indian National Army (INA) 753-8, 777, 782, 789, 792, 816
Indochina 759, 764, 770, 771, 772
Indonesia 46, 229, 231-2, 764, 785-92, 813
Indonesia Raya 788
Indus 752
Industrial Patriotic Society 222
Infante of Sagres 174
Infante, Fernando Castillo 562
Infante, Pranisco 562
İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü 346
Institute for Historical Review 61
Institute of the History of the Turkish Revolution 346
Instituto de Cultural Hispanica 148
Integralism 479
Integralismo 473
Integralismo movement 180, 470
Integralist Action 484, 487, 493, 495, 510
Integralist Action Party 486
Integralista movement 476
International Union for the Defence of the West 61
İnönü, İsmet 332, 346, 352-3, 357
Ioneacu, Ghita 22, 42
IR 950 758
Iran 37
Iraq 23, 384, 397, 401-2, 407, 410-2, 414, 795, 797, 800
Iraqi Four Colonels 798
Irazusta, Rodolfo y Julio 538-9, 541, 543, 548
Ireland 86, 101
Irgun Zva'i Leumki (IZL) 362
Iron Guard 30
Iron Shirts 411-2
Iron Wolf movement 365
Irving, David 61-2
Irving, John A. 608, 666-7, 699
IRAA 218
Ishida, Takeshi 184-6, 198, 203
Ishikawa, Junkichi 219
Ishiwara, Gen. Kanji 206, 740
Israel 60, 63, 146, 363, 380, 385-7, 389-1
Israeli Communist Party 389
Istanbul 320, 345-6, 348
Italian Fascist Party 108
Italian League for the protection of national
Italy 19, 22, 24, 26, 28, 32, 39-40, 96, 98, 101, 103, 107-10, 126, 128, 131, 135, 145, 186, 188-9, 191, 200, 211-2, 215, 219, 221, 223-4, 226-7, 230, 234, 239-40, 251, 259, 261, 263-4, 275, 346, 351, 353, 359-60, 365, 367-9, 371-2, 379, 382, 384-5, 393, 397-8, 400-02, 405, 407-08, 410-11, 413-5, 418-9, 446, 471, 476, 494, 509, 511, 517, 530, 557, 580, 595, 647, 672-3, 679, 687, 723, 725-6, 731, 741, 744, 746, 795, 800-1, 809, 812-3
Ito, Takashi 185-6, 189-90, 218, 231
Iturbide, Augustin de 614
IZL, National Military Organization 362-3, 364, 372-34, 383-5, 387-8, 391
Izmir 333
Izquierdo, José J. Gómez 624-5

J

J.O.N.S 139
Jabotinsky, Vladimir (Ze'ev) 362-6, 368, 371-86, 390-1
Jackson, Robert 38, 42
Jacobi, S. 366
Jacobsen, H-A. 71, 73-76, 78, 81-83, 88, 92-93
Jacovella, Bruno 556
Jaffrelot, Christophe 752, 753
Jaghbub 395, 397
Jaguaribe, Helio 23, 43
Jakarta 785, 790
Jakarta Peoples' Militia 792
Jalisco 607, 611, 618
Jankowski, James 399, 411, 414
Janos, Andrew C. 352
Janowitz, Morris 592, 608, 651, 652, 683, 699
Japan 24, 26, 30, 37, 48-9, 87, 128, 183-94, 196-7, 199-203, 205-8, 210, 212-27, 229-31, 235, 240, 255, 284, 314, 732, 734, 738-46, 748, 754-5, 758-60, 764-5, 771-3, 783-4, 786, 791, 794, 813
Japan-Manchuria Financial and Economic Research Association 207
Jauretche, Arturo 542, 547, 552, 558
Java 231, 786, 789
Jawa Hokokai (Java Public Service Association) 787
Jayavarman VII [1181-1220] 765
Jeansonne, Glen 598, 608, 663-4, 699
Jefferson 609, 637, 700
Jerusalem 376, 385, 797, 798
Jesetri, Rodolfo 503
Jewish Agency 266, 267, 372, 383, 410-12, 416
Jewish Agency Executive 373
Jewish Liberation Movement 388
Jikeidan system (Self defense corps) 779
Jiménez, Orozco y 613, 618

JNS 580
João Carlos Fairbanks 490
João Leães Sobrinho 497
Johannesburg 61, 452
John Birch Society 57, 664
Johnson, Chalmers 220
Johnson, George 608, 645, 699
Johnson, John 534
Johnson, Philip 644
Johnstone, F.A. 463
Jones, Gus T. 601, 629
Jong, De 641
Jordan River 364, 366
Jordan, Colin 59, 64
Jordan, David 534
Josephs, Ray 139
Jowitt, Kenneth 352
Joyce, Lebra C. 777
Joyce, William 750
Jubakutai (Suicide Corps) 789
Jum'a, Muhammad Lutfi 405, 420
Junior Kalibapi 784
Justi 366
Justo, Agustin 545, 542
Justo, J.B. 536
Juta, C.J. 463
Juvera, Julián Malo 618
Jünger, Ernst 31
Jäschke, Gotthard 313, 338, 351
Jaarsveld, F.A. von 465

K

K'ung, H.H. 239
Kadro movement 357
Kahan, Yaacov 377-8
Kahin 774, 787, 788
Kahin, George McTurnan 785, 786
Kahn, Albert E. 608-9, 641, 699, 700
Kaib u dan (Civilian Defense Groups) 789
Kalai, Hanoch 386
Kalibapi (Kapisanan sa Paglilingkod sa Bagong Pilipinas) 784
Kalifath movements 751
Kampuchea 772
Kanahele, G. .S. 785, 786, 787, 788, 791
Kanji, Ishiwara 740
Kankōkai, Yokusan Undō Shi 185, 211
Kannapin, Klaus 601
Kansas 655
Kaplan, Marcos 532
Karabatak, Halûk 351
Karabekir, Kâzîm 326, 330-1
Karachi 64
Karadjeordje 373, 383
Karis, T. 462
Karpat, Kemal H. 347
Karpf, Ernst 324
Katashima, Norio 218
Kater, Michael 21, 43
Katz, Friedrich 23, 601, 629
Katz, S. 363
Kaza, Gregory J. 49, 68-9, 183, 204, 213, 221, 230, 236-7, 739, 743-5
Kazancïgil, Ali 340
Kedah 779
Kedouire, Elie 798
Keihōkyoku, Naimushō 196-7, 199
Kelantaan 779
Kelikian, Alice A. 20, 43
Keller, Carlos 562, 565, 568-71, 573-7, 586-7, 591
Kempeitai 767
Kenkyūjo, Ōhara Shakai Mondai 220
Kenkyūkai, Kikakuin 188, 198, 208, 211-4,
Kenya 87
Kershaw, Ian, 40, 43, 217, 728, 733, 814
Kesatuan Melayu Muda (KMM) 781
Keyder, Çaýlar 314-5, 353
Keysser, Christian 290, 298-300
Khadduri, Majid 798
Khaki Shirts 644-5, 678
Khmer Issarak (Free Cambodia) 767
Khmer Seri movement 768
Khoikhoi 430-1
Khomeini, Ayatollah 64
Khun, Phok 767
Kienzle, D.W. 463
Kiichiru Hiranuama's National Foundation Society 193-4
Kikakuin Kenkyukai 212
Kili, Suna 349
Kiloh, Margaret 807
King D. Carlos 158, 174
King Sisavang Vong 766
Kipphan 641
Kirby, William C. 191, 233, 235-6, 739, 746, 747, 748
Kïrïmlï, Hakan 322
Kishi, Nobusuke 206
Kita, Ikki 197
Kitchen, Martin 16, 43, 234
Klan 651, 652, 655
Klan Radical 546
Klein, Herbert L. 157
Kleinfeld, Gerald R. 136
Klerk, W.A. de 52, 438, 440, 448, 461
Klinov, Y. 364
KMT [Kuomintang] 740
Knight, Alan 596-7, 606-7, 614, 616, 629
Knoll A.J. 300
Know Nothing Party 635

Koc, Colonel Adam 226
Koçak, Cemil 352
Koch, H.W. 222
Koehl, Matt 59
Koehler, R. 302
Kohn, Hans 357
Kolesnikov, A. A. 347
Kolinsky, M. 399, 401-2
Konoe, Prince Fumimaro 192, 207, 218
Konya 341
Koon, Tracy H. 222
Korea 740, 741, 751, 771
Kornhauser, William 17, 43
Kossovo 373
Kraus, Robert 304
Krause, C. Azen 603, 630
Krause, Frederich 540, 542
Krauze, Enrique 530, 599, 616, 621, 630
Kreissler, Francoise 239
Kriebel, Colonel Hermann 240, 250
KRIS (Kesatuan Rakyat Istimewa) 781
Kruger, D.W. 463
Ku Klux Klan 55, 56-7, 62, 64, 99, 647, 650, 657, 665, 669, 673
Kuala Lumpur 781
Kuhn, Fritz. 594, 657-9, 685
Kulitz, Zvi 369
Kuomintang 234, 237-9, 241-6, 249-50, 747, 748
Kuriya, Kentarō 185
Kurumu, Türk Tarih 344
Kutay, Cemal 340
Kuyper, Abraham 439-40
Kyōkai, Nihon Tōkei 216
Küster, Fritz 83
Köymen, Oya 340

L

l'Ação Integralista 475
La Florida 582
La Guardia 662
La Nation Européenne 63
La Nueva Republica 542, 546
La Plata 84, 557
Labor movement 370, 380
Laboreiro, Simão de 160
Labor-Farmer Faction 185
Labour Front 87
Labour Party 436, 443, 456
Labour Service 572
Labriola, Antonio 366
Lacombe, Américo 486-7
L'Action Francaise 541-2
L'Action intégraliste brésilienne 490, 528
Lae 307
Laferrere, Roberto de 543
Lago Maggiore 367
LaGuardia, Fiorello 658
Lal, Shiv 752
Lamant, Pierre 768
Lamas, Carlos Saavedra 131
Lamounier, B. 476
Landau, Jacob M. 325, 346
Landauer, Carl 234
Landesgruppe Argentina 83
Landon, Alf 655
Lang, M. 376
Langhorst, Frederic 118
Lao Issra movement 766
Laos 759, 764, 765, 766, 767, 769, 772, 773
Lapua movement 592
Lapuente, Manuel Rodríguez 600, 609, 616, 631
Laqueur, Walter 68, 463, 473-4, 530, 532, 566, 595, 630, 808, 814
Larsen, Stein Ugelvik 21, 41, 43, 47, 68, 202, 587-8, 592, 595, 630, 673, 699, 724, 813
Las Camisas Doradas 602
Lasjkar Rakjat 789
Laso, Felipe 562
Latin America 25, 38, 47, 50, 51, 81, 84, 108, 116-117, 119-127, 130, 134-135, 138-142, 144-152, 160, 180, 469-71, 473, 475-6, 482, 522, 526, 528, 531-2, 534, 536, 575, 578-9, 482, 593-4, 601, 604, 606, 644
Leferrere, Roberto de 541
Latorre, Orlando 582
Latvia 204
Lauck, Gerhard 59, 62
Lausanne 330, 358
Laval 797
Lazzerini, Edward J. 322
League 615
League of National Action 401, 409, 411-2, 422
League of Nations 740, 800, 801, 804
League of Sicarii 365
Lebanon 407, 411-412, 796-7, 800
LeBon, Gustave 319-20, 336, 578
Lebra, Joyce C. 755, 771, 776, 781, 785, 787, 789
Ledeen, Michael 68, 265, 276
Lega Fascista del Nord America 153
Lega Italiana per gli interessi nazionali all'estero 100
Legassick, M. 463
Legge, J.D. 789, 790
Legião Cearense do Trabalho 488
Legião Portuguêsa 28 de Maio 162, 176
Légion Boliviana Nacional Socialista 50
Legion Civica Argentina 543-6, 549
Legion de Mayo 543
Legions 609, 615, 617-8, 671

Legions Base Movement 607
Legions Movement 607
Legoretta, Omar M. 128
Lehi 383-89
Lehi Central Committee 382
Leibrandt, Robey 452-3
Leite, Everaldo 503
Lenin 46, 364, 376, 596
León, Angeles Egido 123
Leopradi 366
Lesotho 432
Lessing, Ernest 602
Leumi, Irgun Zva'i 362
Levant 402
Levi, Avner 351
Levy, Maria S.F. 156
Lewin, Moshe 733, 814
Lewinson, Richard 171
Lewis, Bernard 314
Lewis, Paul 558, 807
Lewis, Sinclair 599, 602, 608, 635, 638-9, 690, 693, 699
Ley, Robert 221
Liand Yuan-tung 246
Liang Ing-wen 240
Liberal Constitutionalist Party 609
Liberal Democratic Party of Russia 63
Liberati, L. Bruti 101
Liberia 87
Liberty Lobby 57, 61
Libya 393, 395, 397, 398, 400, 403, 406-7, 413-4, 795, 800
Liceu Literário Português 159
Lichtheim, R. 378
Liebenzell 301, 303
Liebold, Ernest 664
Lifton, Robert 40
Liga dos Combatentes da Grande Guerra 164
Liga Nacional de la Defensa de la Libertad de la Religión 607
Liga Republicana 543, 544
Lights Pass 306
Ligue du Credit Social de la Province de Quebec 669
Likud 363, 392
Lima 125, 541
Lina Ordena G. 603, 631
Lincoln 59, 62
Lindbergh, Charles 597, 664, 688
Lindemann, Fritz Geerral 249
Linz, Juan J. 267, 473, 474, 476, 526, 532, 566, 587-9, 605, 683, 687-8, 699, 700, 804
Lipset, Seymour Martin 43, 471, 511, 532, 534-5, 635-6, 642, 662, 679, 669
Lipton, M. 463
Lira, Diego 574
Lisbon 129, 162, 167, 176-177, 180
List, Friedrich 325
Lithuania 224, 228-9
Littlejohn, David 754
Littunen, V. 532
Liu Chien-chün 244-5
Liu Ping-li 248
Liwerant, Judit Bokser de 603
Llano, G. Gareía Queipo 136
Locke, John 39
Lodge, T. 463
Loewenberg, Peter 43
London 99, 120-121, 145, 279, 373, 377-8, 667
Long, Gia 769
Long, Huey P. 590, 596, 599, 602, 607, 639, 642-7, 649, 663, 678, 681, 687, 690, 693, 699, 811
Lopes, José Gomes 177
López, Alfonso 124
Lorchz, Werner 75
Los Camisas Doradas 626
Los Novios de la Muerte 51
Louisiana 57, 642-4, 655, 663
Louisiana National Guard 678
Louw, Eric 447
Low Countries, 731
Lowe, L. 399
Lower Burma 774, 775
Lowry, Heath W. 338
Luang Prabang 765, 766
Lubenchik, Naftali 387
Luca, Anthony R. de 359
Ludecke, Kurt 657, 670
Ludendorff, Erich 212
Ludlow, Leonor 624, 630
Lugones, Leopoldo 541, 553
Luk Seua 773
Lukasz, Hirszowicz 797
Lumbabo 171
Luthin, Reinhard H. 609, 642, 700
Lu-yin, Liu 747
Lvov 381
Lyttelton, Adrian 20, 43
Laas, J.C. 451

M

Ma Hsing-yeh 248
MacArthur, Douglas 645, 783, 784
MacDonald, C.A. 402
Macdonald, N. P. 601, 630
Macedonia 318
Madagascar 388
Madero, Francisco I. 606
Madrid 63, 121, 125, 134, 136-139, 147-149, 151

Maeztu, Ramiro de 121-123, 537
Magil, A. B. 609, 638, 641, 700
Magubane, B.M. 464
Mahasabha, Hindu, 751, 753
Mainz 354
Majer, Hans Georg 325
Makapili (Kalipunang Makabyan, ng mga Pilipino) 785
Malacca Strait 779
Malan, Dr. 437-9, 447, 450, 452-4
Malay 782
Malay protectorate 779
Malaya, 753, 755, 759, 779
Malaysia 741, 764, 773, 779
Malherbe, E.G. 464
Malmö 59
Malta, Eduardo 165
Man, Henri de 28, 31, 38, 369
Manchi, Paterno di 396-7
Manchukuo (Manchuria) 183, 197, 206, 241, 259, 740-2, 751, 756
Mandalay 774, 777
Mandel, R. 52, 362
Mandela 52
Mandle, W.F. 794
Mangkupradja, Gatot 789
Manipur 757
Manitoba 665, 671
Mannheim, Karl 237
Manoilescu, Mihail 352, 476-7
Mansle 754
Manta, Abel 158
Mañueco, Gabriel 143
Mao 24, 46, 729, 741, 748, 759
Mapam 389
Mardin, Serif 318-9
Mare, G. 464
Mareca, Jorge González von 562, 564-7, 569-70, 573-5, 578-84, 589, 591
Marger, M. 674
Margón, Flores 608
Maria Hsia Chang 243, 245
Maria, Arcache 461
María, Gustavo Ross Santa 581, 583
María, Ross Santa 584
Marinetti 366
Marks, S. 464
Marques, Lourenco 453
Marrero, Vincente 123
Marston, Elsa 797-8
Martí, José 118
Martin, Marie Alexandrine 767
Martinez, Luis María 608
Martins, A.A. de Barros 159
Maruyama, Masao 184, 187, 197, 200
Marx, Gary T. 496, 530, 609, 725
Marzari, E. 399
Marzio, Cornelio di 112-113
Masada 373
Masao, Maruyama 743
Masjumi 788
Massa, F. 757
Massolos, Jim 751
Matos, L.N. de 156
Matte, Eugenio 588
Matter, Philip 798
Maurras, Charles 122, 541-2
Maw, Ba 777, 778, 783
Maximalist Faction 368, 377-80, 384
Maximalists 127, 365, 379, 381-2, 384
Maximilian St. George 594, 614
Mazlcf, Nursen 345
Mazo, Gabriel del 540
Mazzini 366
McCarthy, Joseph 598, 664, 689
McCarthy, Justin 338
McCoy, Alfred W. 755, 767, 781, 782, 791
McElvaine, Robert S. 609, 700
McGovern, William 19, 43
McHale, Donald M. 595, 609, 686, 700
McKale, D.M. 71, 74, 82-83, 85
McKenna, George 600, 602, 609, 674, 691, 700
McLuhan, Marshall 65
McWilliams, Joe 659-60
Medeiros, J. 476
Medin, Tzvi 116, 128
Medina 132
Mediterranea 393, 395-6, 400, 402
Mehmed VI, Sultan 329
Meinecke, Friedreich 596
Mejía 614
Melbourne 85
Mello, Martinho N. De 161, 175
Mello, Olbiano de 486, 488-9, 498
Mena, Mauricio Mena 562, 564, 581
Mendoza, Alfredo Galindo 600, 629
Menèndez, Enrique Campos 578
Menezes, S.L. 755
Mentz, Brígida von 601, 602, 621, 627, 629, 631
Mercante, Colonel 557
Merton, Robert, 724
Merwe, N.J. van der 439
Messerschmidt, M. 72
Metaxas, John 226-7
Mexican Communist Party 608, 627
Mexican Social Secretariat 611
Mexicanist Revolutionary Action 607
Mexico 30, 50, 125-126, 128-129, 138, 145, 150, 469, 528, 593-4, 596-606, 608-9, 611-4, 616, 619-22, 624-6, 628-30, 677, 810, 813
Mexico City 602, 618, 626

Meyer, Jean 528, 598-600, 608, 613, 615-6, 619-20, 622-5, 630-1
Meyer, Lorenzo 605
Meyer, P.J. 441, 443, 448, 459
Meza, Luis 51
Miai: Madjelis Sjuro Muslum Indonesia 788
Michaelis, Meir 401-2
Michalka, W. 72
Michel, Raymond V. 600, 631
Michels, Robert 28
Michigan 647, 650-2, 657, 664, 667
Michigan Relief Association 651
Michoacán 607
Middle Class Confederation 607, 626-7
Middle East 394-400, 402-3, 406, 408-9, 413-4, 423-4
Midway 760
Migone, G.G. 102, 106
Miguel, D. 158
Miguel, Guadalupe Zárate 603
Miki, Kiyoshi 206, 214
Milano 97, 101, 103, 557
Milicia Republicana 564
Millan, Robert P. 129
Miller, Iris 665
Milza, Pierre 101, 473, 509, 595, 630
Minami Kikan 775
Minas Gerais 478-9, 498
Minh, Ho Chi 770
Minnesota 663
Minobe, Tatsukichi 204
Minobe, Yōji 206
Miramón 614
Miranda, Chermond de 487
Miranda, José 130
Mishima, Yusio 49
Misr al-fatat 407
Mitchael, Albert L. 600, 608, 630
Miyamoto, Yoshio 208
MNS 561-3, 564-8, 569-77, 579-92
Mobilizers 660
Mobutu 38
Mocidade Portuguesa 177, 227
Mohammadijah 788
Mohler, Armin 31, 43
Moirang 757
Molina, Fernando Garcia 544
Molinare, Gustavo Vargas 562, 564
Molotov-Ribbentrop, 732
Moltke, Johannes Strauss von 446-7
Mommsen, H. 72
Monfort, Ricardo Pérez 601-3, 621, 624, 626-7, 631
Monte, Rafael Camara 142
Monteiro, Goes 504
Montenegro, Lautaro 544
Montero, Juan Esteban 563
Montevideo 141
Montoire 797
Montreal 670, 672
Montreux 358-9
Montserrat, Marcelo 535
Montt, Manuel 571
Montt, Puerto 586
Moodie, T. Dunbar 438-40, 442, 447-9, 453, 461, 464
Mooney, Edward J. 663
Moore, Barrington Jr. 24, 43, 462, 725, 746-7, 749, 793
Moore, Andrew 86
Moore, Clement H. 228, 315, 352
Moraes, Vinicius de 487
Morais, Américo 174
Moral Majority 57, 598, 689
Moreira, Thiers Martins 487
Moreira, Vitorino 176
Morelli, A. 101
Moreno, M. Mario 395
Morente, Manuel G. 148
Morgan, J. P. 646
Morley, James William 199
Morobe 302
Morocco 122, 393, 398
Morodo, Raúl 122
Morris, M. 464
Moscow 354
Mosely, George Van Horn 38, 50, 379, 390, 593, 670, 684
Mosley, Lady 590, 681
Mosley, Oswald 31, 33, 272, 277, 378, 390, 464, 667, 671-2
Mosse, George L. 19, 21, 43, 47, 68, 263, 575
Motto, Jehovah 503
Mouvement Social Européen 59
Movement for the Liberation and Protection of White South Africa 52
Movimiento cristero 601, 628
Movimiento Nacional Socialista 576
Movimiento Nacional Socialista de Chile 561-3, 567, 572
Movimiento Nacional Socialista del Perú 51
Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario 555
Movimiento Nacional-Revolucionario Hispanoamericano 50-1
Movimiento sinarquista 601, 632
Movimiento sinarquista en el Bajío 615
Mowdok 757
Moynihan, Daniel P. 636
Mozambique 87, 453
MPAJA 781
Mrossko, K-D. 299
Mudde, Cas 15

Mufti, Grand 405, 417, 797-9
Muhammad Prophet 404-5, 417
Muller, C.F.J. 464
Mumeng 306
Muriá, José María 618, 630
Murray, Patricia 207
Musa, Salama 415-6, 418
Muslim Brethren 416
Muslim league 751
Mussert 758
Mussolini, Benito 39-40, 46, 61, 86, 97, 99-102, 104, 106, 108-113, 137, 153, 170, 191, 200-1, 210-3, 215, 233-4, 245-9, 255, 270, 273, 275, 278, 287, 352-3, 363, 365, 368, 371, 371, 375-6, 379, 381, 385, 393-408, 410-11, 413-16, 418-20, 476, 480, 493, 514, 517, 521-2, 557, 590, 612, 636-7, 644-7, 650, 655-6, 664, 672, 682, 685, 687, 699-700, 728, 733-4, 741, 773, 793, 795, 797-8, 800, 811
Mutô, Gen. Akira 207
Mühlberger, D. 21, 43
Myklebust, Jan Petter 21, 43, 47, 68, 202, 587-8, 595, 630, 699
Müller, Alfred 85

N

Nacist Group 580
Nacist Troops of Assault 564, 579
Nacist University Group 580
Nacist Youth 580
Nagata, Gen. Tetsuzan 206
Nagpur 752
Nahdatul Ulama 788
Nair, A.M. 755, 756
Najada 412
Najita, Tetsuo 199
Nakano, Seigô 198-9, 204-5, 217
Namibia 804
Nanjing 741
Nankin 239, 244, 249
Napoleon 370, 395
Nasjonal Samling, 729
Nassa 304
Nasser 24, 46, 52, 229-30
Nat. Soc. Christ. Party
Nat. Union For Soc. Justice
Natal 479
Nathan, Andrew 243
Nation of Islam 57
Nationa Union for Social Justice 811
National Action 54, 491
National Action Party 609, 623-4
National Alliance 57, 60
National Association for the Advancement of White People 57
National Association of Manufacturers 641
National Bloc 397, 411-2
National Catholic Labor Confederation 607, 611
National Congress 756
National Congress Party 749
National Cooperativist Party 609
National Fascist Party 97, 487
National Forum 52
National Foundation Society 193-4
National Front 54, 61, 63-5
National League for the Defence of Religious Freedom 607, 609, 611-4, 617
National Liberating Alliance 478, 512
National of White South Africa 52
National Party 51, 53, 62, 435-7, 446, 450, 453-60, 644, 802-3
National Party (Herenigde Nasionale of Volksparty) 803
National Policy Research 207
National Policy Research Association 208
National Religious Party 392
National Revolutionary Party 626
National Sinarquista Union 600, 607
National Social Christian Party 602
National Socialist Alliance 54
National Socialist Christian Party 669-70, 678, 693, 811
National Socialist Movement 60
National Socialist Party 54, 259, 748
National Socialist Party of America 55
National Socialist Union 657
National Socialist White People's Party 54
National Socialist White Workers Movement 55
National syndicalism, 728
National Syndicalist Party 488-9, 498
National Union 650, 728
National Union for Social Justice 600, 609, 647-9, 661, 667, 678, 691, 700
National Unity Party 671
National Vanguard 54, 64
National Workers Federation 366
National Youth 411
Nationale Raad van Trustees 443
Nationalist Party 51
Nationalist Worker's Party 54
Nationalist Workers Union 544
Native Sons of Canada 670
Natonal Board of Trustees 443
Navarro, Moisés González 624, 629
Nazi Party 58, 216-7, 250, 657
Nazi Storm Troop 302
Nazism Ä 50
Ndebele 431
Neatly, H. Blair 609, 700
Nebraska 59, 62
Nechritz, P. 302

Negrete, María Emilia Martínez de 599, 628
Nehru 753, 758
Neighborhood Association 784
Neimann, William 602
Nello, P. 111
Nelson 306-7
Neolaia 227
Netherlands 203, 785, 789
Neuendettelsau 297-302, 305, 307
Neulen, Hans Werner, 752, 754, 756, 758
Neumann, Franz 464
Neumark, Fritz 345
Neurat, von 81, 301
Nevado, Fredes L. 123, 140
New Aye Club 667
New European Order 62
New Guinea 297-309, 794, 795
New Order 184, 205, 211-12, 214, 217, 219-20, 231, 453-4
New order in Europe 387
New Party 390
New state 476, 478-83
New Towns and Industrial Communities 230
New York 97, 102, 109, 364, 592-3, 607, 645, 657-62, 664, 667, 670, 683-4, 698
New Zealand 53-5, 60, 759, 793, 794, 813
New Zionist Organization 382, 384
Newton, Craig 609, 700
Newton, R.C. 101
Nicaragua 125, 145
Nicobar 755
Nicolaus, George 601-2
Niekisch, Ernst 389
Nietzsche 52
Nigeria 87
Nile 386, 395, 400, 414
Nippon 781
Nixon, Richard 598, 689
Nkrumah 46
NO, 453-4
Nogales 625
Nogueira, Ataliba 490, 497
Nol, Lon 769
Nolte, Ernst 20, 30, 43, 47, 69, 264, 313, 319, 728
Normandie 771
North Africa 137
North Carolina 654
Norway 203, 790, 818
Notosusanto, Nugroho 786
Nouvelle Droite 60, 63
NP 450-55, 458
NRT 443
NSCP 670
NSDAP 60, 75-77, 81, 83-89, 93, 238, 240, 248, 301-301, 306, 352, 727-9, 735-6, 743, 753, 795
NSDAP-AO 59, 62, 71, 74, 76, 580, 591
Nuclei Armati Rivoluzionari 64
Núcleo Nacista 580
Nueva Acción Publica 588
Nueva Germania 52
Numnoda, Thamsook 773
Nunes, Alfredo Rebelo 177
Nunes, Ilido 160, 177
Ñuñoa 562
Nuremberg 238-9, 306
Nuriootpa 306
NUSJ 648, 678
Nuwe Order 453
Nyerere, Julius 38
NZO 382, 384

O

Ó Maoláin, C. 57, 63, 68
O'Meara, Dan 448, 455, 461, 464
OB 444, 450, 452-5, 459
Ocağı, Türk 323
Odaları, Halk 347
Oddone, J. 536
Odessa 363
O'Dogherty, Laura 600, 630
O'Donnell, Guillermo 533, 605
Ogaden 406
Ohio 291, 650, 652
Oka, Yoshitake 208
Okamoto, Shumpei 208
Ōkawa, Shūmei 197
Okimoto, Daniel I. 184
Oklahoma 59, 65
Okumura, Kiwao 206- 9, 211-15
Okyar, Fethi 340
Old Age pension organization 649
Oleaga, Marisa González 141
Oliveira, António Corrêa de 169
Olivier, N.J.J. 464
Olsen, M. 674
Olson, Robert W. 331
Ontario 647, 670, 671
Orange Free State 431, 438-9
Orange Rivers 431
Orange Workers' Union 52
Orania 52, 56
Ordás, Felix G. 129
Ordem Nova 59
Orden Nuevo 50
Order of the Sons of Italy 107
Organización Ibáñista 581
Organization Clique 243, 250

Organization, Cooperation, Action 618
Organski, A.F.K. 24, 43, 725, 814
Orlando, Vittorio Emanuele 100
Orlow, Dietrich 216
Orona, Juan 542
Ortiz, Scalabrini 548
Ortoll, Servando 613, 618-19, 630
Osés, Enrique 558
Osmena 783
Ossewa- Brandwag 53, 444, 448, 451, 457, 465, 803
Osorio, Angel 134, 139
Ost Africa 300
O'Sullivan, Noel 43, 315, 594, 596, 598, 630
Otoni, Teofoli 488
Ott, Hugo 28, 43
Ottoman empire 313, 315, 317, 320, 322, 325, 334, 337, 751, 796
Ottoman state 316, 319, 322
Oung, Kin 778
Oved, Yaacov 537
Owen, Roger 314
Ox- Wagon Sentinel 444, 451

P

Pacelli 649
Pacheco, Carneiro 177
Padilha, Raimundo 498, 503
Pagano, Sebastião 486, 490
Paím Vieira 490
Pakistan 751, 753
Palacio, Ernesto 538, 541-2, 548, 555
Palacio, Irazusta 541, 551
Palacios, Nicolás 578
Palav Islands 303
Palestine 362-7, 369, 372, 375-7, 380, 382-5, 387, 398, 401, 407, 409, 412, 414, 729, 795, 797-801
Palestinian Independence Party 407
Palma, Arturo Alessandri 563, 581
Pamyat 63
PAN 623
Pan German League 29
Panama 101, 145
Papen, von 390
Papua 795
Parada, César 582
Paraguay 141, 149
Paraíba 478
Pardo 134-135
Pareto 576
Parini, Piero 96, 113
Paris 120, 121, 511, 364, 378
Paris Treaty 782
Parker, R.S. 795
Parla, Taha 319-21, 323, 325, 327, 334, 348
Parti Populaire Syrien 401, 408, 410
Parti Républicain Riograndense 477
Parti Répulicain Paulista 487
Partido Acción Nacional 600, 609
Partido Comunista 132, 588
Partido Coperatista Nacional 609
Partido Liberal Constitucionalista 609
Partido Municipalista 491
Partido Nacional Sindicalista 488
Partido Nacional Socialista Obrero Chileno 50
Partido Obrero Revolucionario 588
Partito Nazionale Fascista 270, 352
Parvus 324
Pash, Robert 64
Pasha, Enver 326
Pasha, İsmet 338, 357
Pasha, Muhammad Ali 414
Patagonia 85
Patagüillas 582
Patel, Sardar 753
Patrionovista movement 486
Patriotic League of the Filipinos 785
Patriotic Party 410
Paulist Republican Party 491
Paulo, Heliosa 153, 171, 806, 816
Pavelic 758
Paxon, Robert, 724
Payne, Stanley G. 44, 47-8, 52, 69, 122-123 193-6, 199-200, 214, 223, 225, 232, 363, 389-1, 474, 573, 590, 603, 631, 723, 743, 808, 814
Pearl Harbor 137, 233, 307
Pearson, Drew 638
Peel, Lord 367, 383
Peker, Recep 341-3, 346, 349
Pellens, Karl 343
Pelley, W. B. 590, 596, 652-4, 670, 687
Pellizzi, Camillo 99
People`s Movement 446
People's Volunteer Organization 777
People's Councils 230-1
People's Houses 347-9, 353
People's lobby 600, 691
People's Party 330-1, 333, 336
People's Patriotic Movement 592
People's Rooms 347
Peoples Study Clique 244
People's Watch 52
Pereira, Cruzada D. Nuno Álvares 178
Pereira, Enrique 132
Pereira, Juan C. 121, 131, 177
Pérez, R. Garzia
Perkins, John 71, 85-6, 742, 792, 793, 795
Perlis 779
Pernambuco 158

Peron, Juan Domingo 15, 22, 144, 148, 470-3, 530, 533-5, 536, 548-9, 553-9, 593, 643, 725, 810
Perot, Ross 599, 600, 690-1
Perrin, Eva 149, 150, 151
Persia 365
Peru 50, 120, 127, 141, 150, 230-1, 233, 541
PETA 756, 781, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792
PETA-army 786
Pétain 797
Peterson, R.W. 464
Petricioli, Marta 353
Phalanges 411-2
Phalanx 54
Phanomyong, Pridi 772
Phetsarath 766
Phibun 768, 773
Philadelphia 645, 662
Philippines 739, 759, 764, 779, 782-5, 813
Phillips, Arturo Valdés 562
Phillips, Kevin 600, 609
Phnom Penh 767
Picavea, Richardo M. 117
Picchia, Menotti del 487, 492
Pico, César 133, 541
Pidal, Ramon Menédez 130
Pienaar, S. 464
Pierce, William 56, 59, 65
Pietscher, António 169
Pike, F. B. 117, 124, 127, 129, 131, 136, 603, 631
Pilhofer, Georg 305
Piller, E.A. 594, 609. 685, 700
Pilsudski 227, 365, 373, 390
Pimentel, Sarmento 177
Pinard, Maurice 609, 669, 700
Pinkney, Robert 38, 44
Pinochet, General 38
Pinto, Antonio Costa 19, 41, 44, 116
Pio XI 613
Pirow, Oswald 453-4
Pittau, Joseph 189
Pius XII 649
Placilla 571
Plessis, L.J. du 439
Plinianos 509
PLO 63
Pluvier, Jan 783
PNF 97-100, 102-3, 105, 580-1, 734, 743, 753
PNI 790
PNR 127, 129
PNS 489
Poitiers 754
Pol Pot 52, 729
Poland 81, 225-7, 230-1, 324, 369, 383-4, 449, 744
Polsby, N. 43
Pombal 170
Pomper, G. M. 675
Popper-Linkeus, Josef 369
Poppino, Rollie 133
Popular Front 581, 583-4, 591
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine 63
Popular Union 607, 611-2
Porfirian 624
Port Blair 755
Portalean 589
Portales, Diego 571, 575, 588, 590
Portero, Florentino 148
Portugal 49, 131, 153, 155, 158, 162, 164, 166-167, 170-171, 173-175, 177-180, 203-4, 224, 227, 229, 728, 743, 744, 806, 813
Posel, Deborah 461
Potash, Roger A. 551
Potashnik, Michael 528, 591
Potchefstroom 439
Potosí, San Luis 603
Potsdam 145
Potter, David 807, 808
Poulantzas, Nicos 22, 44, 462, 464
Pound, Ezra 609, 636, 677
Pousada, António 170
Powell, T.G. 129
Prager, Kenneth 600, 631
Preparatory Committee on Administrave Control 776
Press Association of Turkey 342
Prestes, Julío 492
Prestes, Luiz Carlos 478-9
Preston, Paul 19, 44, 136, 140
Pretoria 88, 89, 439, 443
PRI 626
Price, R.M. 464
Price, W. 301
Prieto, Luís Correa 563
Primo de Rivero 37
Prince Phetsarath 766
Privincial Government of Free India 782
Prodhoun 779
Progressive Republican 331
Progressive Republican Party 332-3
Pro-Race Committee 607, 626
Protection Troops 505
Provisional Government of India 756
PRP 487, 491-2
PRR 477
Pryce-Jones, David 798
Puerto Rico 117, 139, 805
Pumarejo, Alfonso López 124
Purified- National Party 438
Putera 788, 790
Päts, Konstantin 228-9

Q

Quandt, Siegfried 343
Quataert, Donald 338
Quebec 603, 665, 669-71, 694
Queralto 548
Querétaro 618-9
Queson 783
Quijada, Mónica, 131, 144, 149
Quintanilla, Laura 601-2
Quintanilla, Teresa 601-2
Quisling, Vidkun, 448, 734, 758, 790, 818

R

Rōyama, Masamichi 206, 209, 214
Rabaul 302-304
Raby, David 617, 631
Radical Force of Young Argentina 547
Radical party 130-132, 534, 541, 540-1, 543, 545, 550
Radkau, Verena 632, 602, 621, 627, 630-1
Radwan, Fathi 401, 416
Railway Workers' Union 552
Rakyat – Concentration of People's Energy/Center of Peoples Power 787
Ramadan, Hafiz 410
Ramirez, Emilio 551-2, 555
Ramírez, Manuel Ceballos 599, 611
Ramirez, Pedro Pablo 551
Ramos, Jorge Abelardo 534
Ramos, Maciel 503
Rancagua 565
Rand 452
Rangoon 755, 774
Rani of Jhansi 756
Rani of Jhansi Regiment 782
Raphaeli, Alexander 370
Rapport, Mario 141
Ratu Adil 786
Rauf, (Orbay) Hüseyin 331
Rauschning, Hermann 44
Rawson, General 529
Raziel, David 384
Reagan, Ronald 39
Real e Benemérita Sociedade Portuguesa de Beneficiência 157
Reale, Miguel 477, 503, 522-4
Reay, Maria 795
Recife 158
Recker, M. L. 72
Red Fort 758
Red Fort Trials 757, 758
Red Sea 393, 395-6, 400, 414
Reddingsdaadbond 444
Refet (Bele) 331
Reife 479
Reilly, Charles A. 613, 630
Rein, Raanan 116, 144, 146, 149, 806, 816
Reiner, H 299
Reinhardt, Marie 304
Rensburg, J.F.(Hans) van 451, 453-4, 465
Renton, David, 726
Reorganization Clique 244
Republic of Natalia 431
Republic of Salo 816
Republican Party 488, 493, 655
Republican People's Party 314, 327, 333, 343, 347
Republikaner 63
Research Institute 787
Revisionist 366, 368, 370, 371
Revisionist Activists 364
Revisionist Maximalists 364, 376
Revisionist Movement 364, 369, 372-3, 376-7, 381-2, 384, 389, 799
Revisionist Party 375, 799
Revival Society 249
Revolutionary Legion of São Paulo 487, 493
Revolutionary Legions 480, 493
Rex, Christus 521, 729
Reyes, Alfonso 129
Reyes, Cayetano 599, 630
Reyna, José Luis 605, 631
Rhineland 250
Rhoodie, N.J. 464
Ribbentrop, Joachim von 76-77, 81, 92
Ribuffo, Leo 592, 596, 598, 609, 636, 639-40, 663, 683, 687, 689, 700
Rica, Antonio Bermejo de la 137
Rich, P. 464
Rida, Shaykh Rashid 405
Riefenstahl, Leni 238
Riga 364
Riis-Knudsen 59
Rio de Janeiro 84, 141, 149, 158-159, 161, 163-164, 156, 172, 174-176, 178-179, 479, 486-7, 498
Rio Grande do Sul 477, 478, 628
Rios, Entre 544
Risolo, M. 97
Rivera, Jose Antonio Primo de 37, 120-121, 123, 126, 151, 531, 573, 559, 604
Riza, Ahmed 319
Roberts, Michael 451, 454-55, 461, 464
Robertson, Eric, 734
Robertson, Erwin 565, 575, 592
Robin, Martin 592, 609, 669-71, 683, 700
Roca 539
Rocco, Alfredo 209, 369, 497
Rochet, Charles 765

Rock, David 130, 133, 534
Rockmore, Tom 28, 44
Rockwell, Lincoln 59
Rodkau, Verena 603, 631
Rodó, José Enrique 118
Rodrigues, Amélia Borges 164
Rodrigues, Nicolás 626
Rodríguez, Antonio Niño 118
Rodríguez, Hernan Cortes 118
Rodríguez, Jaime 597
Rodríguez, Ramón 601, 628
Rogge 656
Rojas, Ricardo 133, 536-37
Rokkan, Stein 532
Roma 46, 96-8, 101, 103-4, 106, 108, 113-4, 200, 273, 275, 300, 354, 365, 395-6, 400-01, 591, 613, 618, 645, 656, 682
Romania 101, 191, 204, 227, 229, 353, 531, 744
Romania, Rona, Aire 398
Ronart, Stephan 339
Roosevelt, Franklin 85, 592, 593, 598, 608, 642, 646-50, 659, 662, 683, 684, 689, 699
Rooy, J.C. van 439
Rosa, Martín de la 613
Rosa, Virginio Santa 486
Rosas, Juan Manuel de 533, 544, 550, 554-6
Rosberg, C.G. 464
Rosenberg, Alfred 76, 78
Ross, Stanley, 734
Rossi, Ettero 347, 353
Rossini, C. Conti 395
Rothschild, Joseph 228
Rothstein, Moshe 369, 385
Rouquie, Alain 547, 554, 557-60
Rousseau 370
Roux, E. 464
Roxa, Manuel 783
Roxas 784
Roy, M.N., 747
RPP 333-4, 338, 341-3, 346-7, 349-50, 352
RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh = Association of National Volunteers) 752, 753
Rubio 131
Ruhl, K. J.
Rumania (See Romania)
Rumi, G. 103
Rumänien (See Romania)
Russia 22, 26, 46, 63, 322, 326, 364, 733, 740
Russian Social-Democratic party 376
Rustow, Dankwart A. 314
Ryū, Shintarō 206, 210, 214
Ryan, P. 307
Rydz, Edvard Smigly 225-6, 229
Raab, Earl 592, 608, 636, 642, 683, 700

S

S.A. 371
Sa'ada, Antun/Anton 401, 410, 797
Sabah 779
SABRA 465
Sachs, E.B. 445, 465
Said, Shaikh 332
Saint-Maur 523
Sait, Sheik 331
SAJBD 462
Sakamoto, Kazuto 189
Sakurakai 197
Salamava 307
Salazar, António Oliveira 156-159, 161-173, 175-178, 180, 227, 352, 728, 733, 806
Salgado, Plínio 50, 477, 479, 484-5, 487, 491-501, 503-5, 517, 520-3, 729, 809
Salò 19, 23
Salonika 326
Salotti, Guglielmo 20, 44
Salvador 158
Salvemini, Gaetano 101-2, 104-5, 609, 656, 700
Samaj, Arya 752
Sampson, A. 464
Samson 373
San Francisco 145
San, Aung 775, 776, 777, 778
San, Syan (Hsaya) 775
SANF 63
Santacruz, Antonio 618
Santamarina, Jorge 552
Santarelli, E. 96
Santiago 141, 562-5, 580, 581-2, 586
Santos, Arlindo Veiga dos 490
Santos, Jose Abad 783
Santos, Júlio A. B. dos 156
Santos, Montserrat H. 142
Santos, W. G. 476
Sanusis movement 800
Sanusiyya movement 393, 397-9
Sanussi Brotherhood 395, 398
Sanyo Kaigi (Council of Advisors to the Government) 787
Sanz, Rosa M.P. 125
São Paulo 156, 162-163, 166, 170-171, 174, 177, 478-9, 486-7, 492, 494, 498-9
Sarawak 779
Sareen, T.R. 754, 757
Sarmiento 535
Sarobe, J.J. 542, 545
Sarti, Roland 22, 44
Sartori, Giovanni 24, 32, 44, 585
Saskatchewan 669
Sato, Satu Shigeru 786-7, 791
Satyagraha 750

Sa'ud, Hasan Abu 417
Saudi Arabia 64
Saunders, Alan 384
Savarak, Vinayak Damodar, 752, 753
Saw, U 775
Sayan Sen 775
Sayers, Michael 609, 700
Şaylan, Gencay 322, 336, 343
Sbacchi, A. 406
Scharf, Claus 340, 354, 358
Schechtman, J.B. 363-4, 370, 372
Scheib-Eldad, Israel 385, 388-89, 391
Schilcher, Linda Schatkowski 340, 354, 358
Schlenther, Ursula 601
Schlesinger, Arthur E. Jr. 598, 609, 636, 644, 652, 675, 689, 700
Schlinker, Kurt 602
Schmidt, Augusto Frederico 498
Schmidt, M. 61, 68
Schmitt, Carl 28, 31
Schmitter, Philippe C. 352, 605
Schmitz, D.S. 109
Schneider, Carl 304
Schonbach, Morris 595, 609, 636, 653-5, 658, 660, 678, 686, 700
Schooner, Thomas 128
Schopen, Edmund 339
Schor, R. 101
Schüddekopf, Otto-Ernst 68
Schönhuber, Franz 63
Sciaki, Isaaco 369
Scobie, James 534
Scotland 665
Sebastião Pagano 486
Second cristiada 613
Second Temple 365, 382
Secours noir international 59
Secretariado Social Mexicano 611
Seekt, Hans von. General 238
Segre, Claudio G. 393, 400
Seidel, Gill 60, 68
Seigō Nakano's Eastern Way Society 198
Seinendan (Youth Organization) 791
Seldes, George 609, 637, 641, 646, 700, 701
Sellasie I, Haile 400, 406, 413
Sen, Sun Yat 747
Sencer, Muzaffer 341
Sentinals of the Republic 646
SEP 490, 493, 495, 497-8
Serfontein, J.E.P. 448, 465
Sermoneta, Gelasio Caetani di 106
Sernekos, L. A. 675
Serpins 163
Serrano 136, 617-9, 620-3, 631
Setzer, Hugo 602
Seville 120
Shōwa Emperor 196
Shōwa Research Association 207-8, 210, 213-4
Shamir, Yitzhak 388-89, 391
Shanghai 236
Shannon, William V. 609, 701
Shapiro, Y. 362
Share the Wealth 678
Share the Wealth Clubs 642, 644, 649
Share the Wealth movement 663, 811
Share the Wealth Society 642, 678
Shavit, Y. 362, 373, 390
Shawkat, Sami 410
She-hui hsin-wen 247
Sheldon, Marcus 609, 649, 660, 663, 700
Shen Min-chiu 250
Shenton, James P. 610, 701
Shillony, Ben Amin 196, 200
Shishintai (Pioneer Corps) 789
Shoa 394
Shoshani, R. 362
Shrentzel, Israel 416, 418, 420-1
Shrine of the Little Flower 667
Siam 773, 726
Sicarii 382
Sidney, 737
Sidqi, Bakr 409
Siedel, B. 264
Siegrunen 55
Siem Reap 767
Siemer, H. 303
Sigma, Côrtes do 502
Sih Kwong-chin 235
Sihanouk, Norodom 767
Silent Brotherhood 56
Silva, Oscar da 160
Silveira, Enzo 171
Silver Shirts 30, 272, 652-4, 678,
Silverstein, Josef 232, 776
Silvert, K.Kalman 534
Silvia, H. 494
Simons, E. 465
Simson, Howard 448, 461
Sinaloa 625
Sinarquismo 619, 620-4, 632
Sinarquista movement 621
Sinendan (youth groups) 789
Singapore 741, 754, 755, 759, 764, 773, 779, 781, 782
Singh, Mohan 754, 757
Sinyeta party 778
Sinyetha (Poor man's Party) 775
Sirkis, D. 375
Sisophon 767
Sjahrir, Sutan 789, 790
Skidelsky, Robert 31, 44
Skirius, John 609, 631

INDEX

Slesinger Jr. 637, 642
Slovakia 76
Small Italians 509
Smelansky, M. 374
Smelser, Ronald 23, 44, 221
Smethurst, Richard J. 221-2
Smetona, Antanas 228-9
Śmigly-Rydz, Marshal Edward 226
Smith, Anthony 119, 752
Smith, Art J. 645, 678
Smith, D.E. 753
Smith, G. L. K. 593,
Smith, Geoffrey S. 590, 592, 596, 598, 610, 636, 663, 639-40, 646, 649, 653, 657, 659, 664-5, 683, 684, 687, 689, 701
Smith, Gerald Lyman Kenneth 595, 602, 608, 639, 649, 663, 678, 686, 693, 699
Smith, James E. 677
Smith, Lois E. 128
Smith, Mack D. 399
Smith, Martin 775, 776
Smith, Peter 614, 631
Smith, W.D. 300
Smuts, J.C. 434-7, 449, 455, 463
Smyth, Denis 136
SNI 59
Snowden, Frank M. 20, 44
Sobrinho, J. Leires 523, 524
Social Credit 278, 280, 283, 595, 608, 666-9, 678, 686, 699
Social Credit Movement 279, 665, 679
Social Credit Party 666, 669, 811
Social Masses Party 195
Social Nationalist Aryan People's Party 55
Socialist Party 132, 536, 541, 543, 588
Sociedad Rural 543
Sociedade de Estudos Políticos 497
Society for Political Studies 487
Society for Research on the Turkish Language 346
Society for Research on Turkish History 344
Society for the Study of Politics 490
Society for the Study of Turkish History 345
Society Mercury 247
Society of Political Studies 493, 495, 497
Society of Turkish Strength 351
Soggram, Pibun 772
Sokol 372
Somalia 393, 406, 795
Sombra, Severino 488
Sonderkommando B 754
Sonora 616, 624-6
Sons of Italy 656
Soong, T.W. 239, 244
Sorel, Georges 530-31, 538, 576
Sorondo, Marcelo Sanchez 133, 529, 551
Sorondo, Matias 133
Sotomayor, Rafael 562
Soucy, Robert 44
South Africa 25, 30, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 77, 81, 88, 92-94, 427-438, 442-447, 449-453, 455-464, 466, 802-5, 813, 816
South African Communist Party 62
South African Conservative Party 62
South African Fascists 446
South African Gentile (Christian) National Socialist Movement 446
South African Jewish Board of Deputies 447
South African National Democratic Party 446
South African National Party 446
South African Party 434-8, 803
South African Republic 431-2
South Korea 150
South- West Africa 447, 804
South West Political Council of Kwangtung and Kwangsi Provinces 237, 244
Southwest Africa 71, 87-89, 92-93
Southworth, H. R. 522
Souza, Abel F. de
Soviet Union 29, 57, 58, 62, 72, 128, 146, 186, 226, 233, 254, 266, 314, 353, 388, 474, 476, 479, 514, 576, 601-2, 621, 693, 729, 732, 756, 760, 795, 798
Spain 49, 77, 116-122, 124, 126-133, 135-138, 140-152, 176, 202, 522, 573, 578, 604, 622, 725, 728, 743, 782,801, 805-6, 813
Spanish Circle of Friends of Europe 59
Spanish Communist Party 132
Sparks, C. 465
Special Services Troops 501
Spektorowski, Alberto 529, 809-10
Spengler, Oswald 364, 375, 574-5
Spitz, David 610, 637, 701
Spivak, John 637
SPS 487
SS 652
SS Action Group 55
St. George, Maximilian 685
Stahlhelm 194
Stalin, Josef 29, 170, 246-7, 643
Stalingrad, 137, 803
State of Ceará 488
State of Minas Gerais 488-9
State of Rio 498
State of São Paulo 492
Stein, Louis 130
Steinberg, David 784
Stellenbosch 441, 448-459
Stephenson, Jill 222
Stern group 387-8
Stern, Avraham 382, 384-6, 388, 390-1

Sternhell, Zeev 38, 47, 68, 390, 530, 573, 577, 592, 595, 631, 673
Stevens, Henry 609, 700
Stiller, Bruno 93
Stoker, H.G. 439-40
Stone, I.F. 637
Stone, Oliver 56
Storm Falcons 53
Storm troopers 452
Stormjaers 452-3
Storry, Richard 184
Strasbourg 59
Strasser, Georg 196
Strasser, Otto 196
Strausz-Hupe, Robert 641
Streicher, Julius 658
Strong, Philip 307
Strydom, H. 465
Stryodm, J.G. 439
Stultz, N.M. 462, 465
Stürzenhofecker, Hubert 302, 303
Subhi, Mustafa 327
Sudetenland, 726
Suez Canal 400
Sufino, Camilo 369
Suishintai (Pioneer Brigade) 791
Sukarela Tenatara Pembela Tanah Air – Army Defenders of the Homeland 789
Sukarno 46, 229, 231, 787, 789-92
Sumatra 755, 764
Sun Po-chien 248
Sun Yat Sen 234, 244
Sun'ichi Uno 185
Suphi, Hamdullah 353
Supreme Council 502-3
Supreme Muslim Council (SMC) 798
Suwalki 384
Suzuki, Gen. Teiichi 206
Svarzman, Gustavo 132
Swart, C.R. 439
Swastika Clubs 670
Sweden 61, 81, 203
Sweezy, Paul 596
Swing, Raymond Gram 602, 610, 637, 642-3, 649, 693, 701
Switzerland 62, 77, 81, 203, 731
Sword and Arm of the Lord 56
Sydney 54, 85, 87, 270-1, 273-9, 282, 302-3
Sykes, C. 757
Süner, Serrano 138
Süreyya, Şevket 358
Syria 396-7, 401-2, 406-7, 409, 411-2, 414, 422, 795-8, 800
Syrian League of National Action 407
Syrian Nationalist Party 797
Süssmuth, Hans 343
Sznajder, Mario 21, 68, 530-1, 561, 566, 576, 595, 632, 809-10
Saadah, Antun 797

T

Tōjō, General Hideki 184, 192, 205, 219
Tabarena, Nuria 118, 127
Table Bay 429-30
Tacna 562
Tacna batallion 582
Taipei 756
Taiwan 740, 748
Takabatake, Michitoshi 188
Takabatake, Motoyuki 196
Takahashi, Kamekichi 210
Talmon, Jacob L. 44
Tamayo, Jaime 611-2, 631
Tambs, Lewis A. 136
Tamrat, Taddesse 395
Tan, Chester C. 241
Tan, Lek 768
Tanganyika 87-88
Tangier 137
Tannenbaum, Edward R. 359-60
Tannenbaum, Frank 596-7
Tanunda 302, 306
Tanzania 38
Tarde, Gabriel 320
Tariq al-Ifriqi, Muhammad 406
Tasca 511
Tatura 305
Tatz, C.M. 465
Taylor, Alan J.P. 17, 44
Taylor, F. Jay 124
Tayyasir Zabiyan al-Kaylani 407
Tehiya (Revival) party 389, 391
Tehiya [Revival] movement 390
Teixeira, Lourenco 163
Tekeli, İlhan 322, 328-9, 336-7, 343, 354
Tel Aviv 370, 374, 417
Tel-Hain 374
Temuco 564, 586
Tenasserim 774
Teng Wen-i 250
Tenorio, Mauricio 593, 809-10
Tessler, Mark 798
Tetzlaff, R 300
Teutonia 657
Teutonic Unity 55
Texas 640
Thabit, Karim 407
Thailand 726, 753, 759, 764-8, 772-3, 775, 779, 813
Thakin 778
Thakin party 775

Thakin Party (lord/master party – we are the masters of Burma) 774
Than 768
Than Phumam 773
Than Son Ngoc 767-8
The Triple A Movement (Pergerakan Tiga A: Japan the Light of Asia, Japan protector of Asia and Japan the Leader of Asia) 786
Theotonio dos Santos 531
Theweleit, Klaus 45
Third Temple 386
Thirty Comrades 775
Thomas, Hugh 122, 131
Thompson, L. 466
Thomson, Raven A. 379
Thrace 325-6, 337, 351
Thälmann 380
Tibet 752
Tietze, Andreas 338
Tigre 394
Tim, Trong Tran 770
Ting Wen-chiang 214
TNA 564, 579, 581-3
Toit, du 458
Tojo, Hideki General 184, 204, 218
Tokkoka (Political police) 779
Tokushu Kôyônin 771
Tokyo 196, 213, 740, 754,-5, 758
Toledano, Vicente Lombardo 129, 601, 621, 630
Tomasi, S.M. 102
Tonguç, İsmail Hakkı 350
Tonking 769
Toprak, Zafer 320, 323-5, 328-9, 351
Torino 557
Torrente, Vicente 143
Torres, Alberto 485, 497
Torres, Blanca 601, 631
Torres, J. C. Oliveira 491
Torres, Jose Luis 542
Torres, José M. 137
Torres, Rogelio Escamilla 600
Torrey, E. F. 636
Tovar, Antonio 137
Townsend, Francis E. 595, 649, 664
Toyo 758
Tozz-Fontana, M. 171
Traina, Richard P. 124
Transvaal 431-3, 439, 448-9
Trapido, S. 464-465
Trás-os-Montes, 172
Trengganu 779
Trifone, Víctor 132
Trindade, Helgio 116, 180, 469, 503-4, 528, 581, 594, 604, 631, 809
Triple A Movement 787, 790
Tripolis 326
Tripolitania 393
Trollip, A. E. 451, 454-55, 461, 464
Tropas Nacistas de Asalto 564
Trott, Adam von 757
Truman, Harry 645
Trumpeldor, Josef 373
Trythall, Franco 147
Trythall, J.W.D. 146
Tsing hua (University) 242
Tsomet 391
Tull, Charles J. 610, 649, 701
Tunçay, Mete 327-8, 331-3, 335, 340, 342-3, 345, 348-9, 353, 359
Tuncer, Hüseyin 323
Turkey 251, 261, 313-5, 320, 322, 324-6, 329-30, 332-4, 336-7, 339-41, 343, 347-9, 351-4, 356-60, 365, 384, 387, 796, 813
Turkish Association for National Economy and Parsimony 353
Turkish Communist Party 327
Turkish Hearth 323, 338, 341, 353
Turkish Historical Society 344
Turkish Republic 314, 316
Turkish Society 323
Turner, Henry A. Jr. 22, 45, 47, 68, 265, 743, 814
Turrou, Leon C. 641
Tussel, J. 136
Tydings-McDuffie Act 782
Türkan Çetin 350
Tønnesson, Stein 769-70

U

U.P. 455, 458
U.S.A. /US (America) 50, 55-9, 63, 65, 72, 81, 83-4, 95, 101-4, 106-8, 117-20, 123-125, 122-3, 130, 135, 137-138, 141, 146-7, 150-53, 186, 189, 203, 208, 213, 218, 233, 254, 271, 291, 465, 470, 476, 481-2, 532, 534, 555, 577-8, 593-5, 597, 599, 635-46, 648-50, 652, 654-9, 660-65, 670, 673-5, 677-9, 682-94, 698-701, 731, 734, 738, 740, 768, 782-3, 793, 808, 812-3
U.S.S.R. 232
Ubayd, Makram 405
Uchikawa, Yoshimi 215
Ugaki, General Kazushige 185
Umar-al-Mukhtar 800
Umbria 99
Un American Activities Committee 640
Unamuno, Miguel de 537
Undurraga, Eduardo 562
União Nacional 227, 352
UNIDO 62
Unión Cívica Radical 539
Unión de Damas Católicas Mejicanas 600

Union Ferroviaria 552
Unión Nacional Sinarquista 600, 607, 619
Union of Electors 666
Union of South Africa 71, 433-5
Union Party 590, 607, 649, 660, 663-4, 698
Unión Popular 607
Union Socialista 581
Unione Internazionale per la Difesa dell'Ovest 61
Unionist Party 436
Unit 728, 731
United Farmer 667
United Kingdom (Britain/Great Britain) 55, 62, 101, 130, 133, 141, 143, 203, 208, 213, 254, 272, 274, 276-7, 285, 363-4, 366, 370-1, 375, 382-4, 386, 390-1, 394, 396-7, 399, 402, 405, 407-8, 432, 435, 437, 444, 447, 449, 452, 464-5, 470, 538-9, 540-3, 545, 547, 682, 694, 731, 757, 771-2, 775, 777, 800
United Party 438, 442, 445, 449-50, 455
United Patriotic Front 55
United We Stand 600, 691
University Reform movement 808
UNS 600, 607-9, 615-6, 619, 620, 623
Ureña, Pedro H. 118
Uriburismo 546
Uriburu, Felix de 132, 529, 540, 542-5, 550
Urrutia, Abraham Oyanedel 563
Urrutia, Federico de. 126
Uruguay 52, 59, 141, 149, 470
US (See U.S.A.)
Usbat al'amal al-qawmi 407
Uyar, Hakkı 346, 350

V

Vachter, E.W. 465
Vackman, H. H. 306
Vajda, Mihaly 22, 45
Valdivieso, Humberto Arriagada 582
Valdivieso, Raul 562
Valle, T. Justiz del 138
Valois, Georges 32, 530
Valparaíso 564
Van Niekerk, A.E. 22, 45
Vanguardia 50
Varela, Corrêa 162-3
Vargas, Getúlio 157, 169, 180, 469-73, 476--9, 481-3, 503-4, 533, 594, 728-9, 806, 809
Vargas, Gustavo 562
Vargas, Jorge 783
Varsori, Antonio 153
Vasconcelos, José 118, 602, 604, 609, 626
Vatican 385, 649
Vedat Nedim (Tör) 356, 357
Vega, Bernardo 127
Vega, de la 619
Vega-Leinert, Anne Marie de la 600, 620, 632
Veldileti, Maarif 344
Velasco, Angel Martínez de 121, 229-30
Velidi (Togan), Zeki 345
Venezuela 150
Venice 494
Venter, E.J. 464
Versailles 236, 290, 313, 358, 447, 648
Vertigan, D. M. 307
Verwoerd, H.F. 441, 448, 454, 463
Viana, Oliveira 477, 485
Vianna, Helio 486-7
Victoria 305, 307
Vieira, Paim 490
Vienna 364, 368, 374, 378
Vientiane 765
Vietminh organization 770
Vietnam 759, 764-6, 769-71
Viking Youth 66
Viljoen 52
Villa, Francisco 594, 598, 626
Village Institutes 350
Villar, Gregorio Camara 142
Villegas, Daniel C. 129
Viñas, Angel 151
Vindhya 752
Virginia 59
Visser, G.C. 465
Vistula 383
Vítoria 501
Voigt, Johannes H., 754, 757
Voldemaras, Augustinas 228-9, 365
Volkmann, H.E. 72
Volksdeutcher Rat 75
Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle 74
Volksraad 785
Volkswag 52
VoMi 75-6, 82
Von Strahl, Otto 94
Voortrekkers 443
Voortrekkers republic 431, 440
Voortrekkers youth movement 52
Vorster 460
Vunavulung 303

W

Wachman, Alan M. 740
Wacke, Karl 305
Wafd Party 396-7, 405, 411
Waffen-SS 753, 758, 791
Wagner, Adolf 308
Wagner, H. 299
Wai-chiao p'ing-lun she 239
Waisman, Carlos 530
Walker, E.A. 465

Wallace, George 598, 689,
Wallerstein, Immanuel 609, 632
Wal-wal 403
Wampoa facion /clique 243-4, 250
Wang Ching-wei 239, 244
Wannsee 816
Ward, Louis A. 647-8
Ward, Robert E. 314
Warren, Donald I. 597-8, 600-2, 610, 635, 688-9, 691-693, 701, 811-2
Warsaw 383, 385
Washington 84, 141, 148, 150-151, 645, 653-654, 638, 689
Washington, George 106, 598, 658
WASP 601-2
Wast, Hugo 554
Wastab, J. 304
Watt, D. Cameron 141
Wau 307
Weber, Eugen 20, 45, 199, 531
Weber, Heinz 602
Weber, M. D. Algora 146
Weber, Max, 724, 727, 728
Webster, Donald E. 339, 349
Wehrsportsgruppe Hoffman 64
Weichardt, Louis 446-7
Weiker, Walter F. 340
Weimar 601, 692
Weimar Republik 297-8, 346, 746
Weiner, M. 119
Weinshal, A. 376, 380
Weisl, Ze'ev (Wolfgang) von 364-5, 379, 390
Weizmann 377, 379-80, 391
Welch, D. 465
Weng Wen-hao 239
Wessels, Manie 446
West Africa 137
Western Goals Institute 62
Westin 597, 688
Wetherell, D 307
Wette, W. 72
Whitaker, Arthur 534
White American Revolutionary Army 56
White Commando guerilla movement 52
White People's Party 54
White People's Alliance 55
White, Ricardo 582
Widmann, Horst 345
Wiechers, Leonor Ludlow 600
Wiegandt-Sakoun, C. 101
Wild, Stefan 411
Wilkins, I. 465
Wilkinson, P. 465
Wilkinson, Paul 63, 68, 70
Williams, T. Harry 642
Wilson, F. 466
Wilson, George Macklin 184, 197, 200, 336, 346-7, 353, 743
Wilson, Howard E. 328
Wilson, M. 466
Win, Ne 229-31
Winchell, Walter 63
Windhoek 88-89
Windrip, Berzelius 635
Windsor 647
Winrod, Gerald B. 596, 654, 655, 687, 680
Winter Fund 657
Wippermann, Wolfgang 359
Wistrich, R. 76-77
Witwatersrand 436, 446
Wolff, Kurt H. 237
Wolff, Otto 304
Wolpe, E. 466
Wolpe, R. 463
Womack, John Zapata 616, 632
Women's Auxiliary 784
Woods, Roger 31, 45
Woolf, S.J. 466
Woolf, Stuart. J. 20, 45, 315
World Anti-communist League 61
World Depression 808
World Muslim League 63
World Revisionist Movement 368
World Union of National Socialists (WUNS) 59
World Zionist Organization 364, 370, 371
Wu Kunang-chien, General 231
WUNS 61
Wy Hsing-ya 250
Wynot, Jr., Edward D. 225-6
WZO 376

Y

Yabe, Teiji 208
Yahya, Imam 395
Yamaguchi, Yasushi 185, 187, 190
Yamauchi, Masayuki 326
Yeivin, H. 365, 380-2
Yellin-Mor 389
Yemen 395
Yishuv 383, 389
Yisrael, Eretz 371
Yisraeli, D. 387
Yitzhaki, S. 369
Yodfat 373
Yoon, Won Z 775
Yorkville 660
Yoshida, Shigeru 206
Yoshimura, Michio 191
Young Egypt 407-8, 410, 413-6, 422
Young fascists 509
Young Italians 509

Young Lions of Arabism 411-2
Young Muslims 416
Young Turk 315, 318-9, 325-6, 336, 338
Young, George F. W. 562, 565, 570, 575
Youth , the 410-11
Youth Leage 456
Youth organization 509
Yrigoyen, Hipolito 132, 540, 543
Üstel, Füsun 350
Yugoslavia 224, 232, 365
Yuvan Kampuchearat 767
Yuwachon Thahan 773
Yaacob, Ibrahim 781

Z

Za'ami [Yeivin], R. 382
Zacatecas 611
Zaghlul, Sa'd 397
Zaire 38
Zapata, Emiliano 594, 598, 608, 616, 632
Zapatistas 615, 616
Zapp, Manfred 351
Zárate, Miguel Guadalupe 603
Zasloff, Joseph J. 767
Zentrale Freies Indien (ZFI) 754
Zermeño, Guillermo P. 600, 632
Zermeño, Manuel 620
Zeskind, Leonard 57
Zhirinovsky 63
Zionist movement 363, 370, 375-6, 384
Zionist-Revisionist Movement 362
Zitelmann, Rainer 23, 45
Ziya, Yusuf 345
ZOG, Zionist Occupation Government 56
ZRM 362, 364, 367-8, 374, 376, 378-79
Zubiria, Martinez 554-5
Zündel, Ernst 61
Zürcher, Erik Jan 314-5, 325, 331

Özbudun, Ergun 340
Özen, Haldun 345

Ä 53